



THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

OR A VIEW TO THE

HISTORY OF

POLITICS

AND

LITERATURE

For the YEAR 1792



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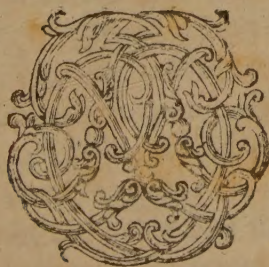


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## P R E F A C E.

THE war between the great Powers on the borders of Europe and Asia, necessarily demanded, on various accounts, our utmost attention, in treating the History of the present year. Its importance was not only proportioned to its present magnitude, and the greatness of the parties immediately engaged, but to the general and abundant danger with which it seemed teeming. Having, in the first instance, speedily extended its baleful influence to the northern kingdoms, it was apparently on the point of involving the greater part, if not the whole, of Europe in the calamity; nor would it have been easy to draw a line in any quarter of the world, beyond which, from its nature, it was not possibly capable of reaching. This war, in its actual and more confined state, presented a spectacle neither common nor incurious. It shewed the extraordinary exertions which the untaught genius of a single man, operating upon the desperate courage of a people fighting for their all, but almost totally destitute of military knowledge, experience, and discipline, were together capable of making, when opposed, not only to a vast superiority in number and force, but to the veteran armies of two of the first military Powers in the world, who have long been uniformly endeavouring to carry the art of war, in all its parts, to the highest possible point of perfection.

## P R E F A C E.

In treating this subject, besides giving the clearest narrative of the transactions of the war, which the imperfect and suppressed state of our information would admit, we have endeavoured to trace those unavowed causes and motives, which operated upon the contending parties, in urging them to that event. We have likewise endeavoured to point out the different degrees, in which the views and objects of the two great Christian empires, in their combination to subvert the Ottoman, might have affected the political interests or endangered the security of the other states of Europe; and how far this consideration influenced their conduct in its progress.

We trust our readers will perceive, that neither the magnitude nor generality of these subjects, has at all diverted our attention from our own public affairs, nor caused any relaxation in our endeavours to give a clear and distinct view of them. As they are the objects in which, as a nation, we are most interested, and upon which all our power and greatness depend, they must ever hold the first place in our thoughts and care.

This multiplicity of foreign and internal business, has not afforded room or leisure for entering properly into the affairs either of France or the Low Countries; nor were they sufficiently developed, in the year of which we treat, to admit of any thing like a perfect or satisfactory account being yet given.



THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1788.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the year 1787, which led to, or preceded the rupture between the great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia. Ruined state of the Tartars. Sahim Guerai, their late khan, who had betrayed and sold his country to the Russians, flies from their dominion, and surrenders himself to the grand signior. Porte makes great preparations for war. Circular letter from the grand signior to the seven classes of the militia. Mauro Cordato, the hospodar of Moldavia, having escaped, under a charge of treason, into the Russian territories, is re-demanded by the Porte; but the court of Petersburg refuses to deliver him up, and treats the demand as an insult or injury. Captain Pacha recalled from Egypt, on account of the war, to the great prejudice of the empire. He returns, with great treasures for the public service, to Constantinople. Russian minister, on his return from Cherson, finds a total change in the countenance and disposition of the Porte, and a set of propositions, which he had left to be adopted as the basis of a new treaty between the two empires, are rejected with disdain. M. Bulgakow, the Russian minister, being summoned to a grand divan, is presented with a written instrument, containing a set of counter propositions,*

Vol. XXX. [A] which

which he is required to sign directly, as the only alternative of immediate war. Spirited refusal of the Russian minister occasions his being committed prisoner to the castle of the Seven Towers. Declaration of war against Russia. Question of policy discussed, as to the propriety of the Porte's precipitating a war at this juncture. Astonishment of the court of Petersburg at this unexpected measure. Not prepared for immediate war. Long manifesto against the Turks. Russian ship of the line driven by tempest from the Black Sea into the harbour of Constantinople, and taken. Ill success of the Turks in the few attempts which they made, towards the close of the year, upon the new Russian frontiers. New prophet, Sheik Mansour, repeatedly defeated, and his partizans finally ruined, by prince Potemkin's army. Turkish vice-admiral, though a brave and able seaman, being prevented by the dissensions in his fleet from performing any of the actions that were expected, in the Black Sea, loses his head at his return. Brave garrison of Oczakow, after several gallant attempts to recover Kinburne, are so nearly cut off in their last attack, that Te Deum is sung for it at Petersburg, as if it had been a great and decisive victory. Shabah Guerai appointed by the Porte khan of the Tartars. Deplorable state of that people. Unexampled depopulation of the Crimea. State of that beautiful peninsula. Natives sell their estates for any price they can procure, in order to abandon the country. A number of English, confiding in the faith of the empress, become purchasers, form settlements, and have already commenced great and expensive works for the cultivation and improvement of the country. Dictatorial powers granted by the grand signior to his minister and general, the grand vizir, in order to enable him to conduct the war with effect. Indian ambassador from Tippoo Saib treated with extraordinary honours and respect at Constantinople. Magnificent military spectacle exhibited by the grand vizir, in honour of the Indian embassy. Turkish ambassador at Spain magnificently received. Wavering and equivocal conduct of that court with respect to the war. Conduct of France with respect to the war: declares she cannot take any other part in it than as a mediator. Her minister to the Porte studiously endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between her and Russia, proposes a cessation of arms for three months, as indispensably necessary to afford time for negotiation; but the divan declare the proposal inadmissible, as being partially favourable to the enemy, and directly the reverse to them. Emperor of Germany declares his resolution to support his ally, Russia, with 80,000 men, being the force he was bound to furnish her with by treaty; but offered his mediation, merely to prevent the shedding of blood.

THE meetings and conferences of great and ambitious monarchs, have ever been deemed dangerous to their equals in power, and terrible to their inferiors. If all former instances of their nature and effect had been forgotten, the combination which desolated the

kingdom of Poland, might serve to warn mankind in similar cases. It can therefore be no matter of surprise, that the Ottoman court, which had already received proofs of no very disinterested dispositions in its great Christian neighbours, should have been to the last degree alarmed by



by the late congress at Cherson; where the bands of union were to be cemented and drawn more straitly between two of the most formidable powers in the universe; whose ambition was at least equal to their power; and whose object in this meeting was understood as aiming at nothing less than the subversion of that empire.

And, as if this combination of the two Imperial powers of Russia and Germany had not been in itself sufficiently alarming and dangerous, the poor king of Poland, who had already been the victim to their mutual enmity, was now, upon their ambition taking a new direction, called to participate, in some small degree, in the fruits of their union. He could not indeed add much, nor perhaps any thing, to the scale of hostile power against the Ottomans by actual exertion; but this was not, in fact, the kind of aid which the great allies wanted, and wished to draw from him. Their own forces were sufficiently numerous to answer all the purposes to which, from the nature of things, armies could be applied with effect.

Poland in repose, was equal in value to the activity of any other ally. By its situation it was capable of uniting the two empires in such a manner as to render their force one, and enable their combined or separate armies to make their impression in any one or different parts of three-fourths of a vast circle, by which they would then embrace so great a part of the Turkish frontiers. Its products were no less valuable. Besides abundant room for winter quarters, hospitals, magazines, places of refreshment, and all those other appendages necessary to great armies, the country was to

be considered as a vast granary, teeming with every kind of provision; nor were its military resources despicable with respect to men; but in regard to horses, cattle, and forage, they were unequalled. Thus was Poland capable of becoming a most useful member of the confederacy; an accession of hostile strength, which to the Ottomans would be the more intolerably grievous from the recollection, that all their late misfortunes, along with the present unprosperous state of their affairs, originated in their apparently generous endeavours to preserve the freedom and independence of that republic, and to prevent the alienation of her dominions, in opposition to the rapacious views of those very powers, with whom she was now to be leagued against them.

It was even rumoured at the time, that the king's friendship (limited as his authority is) had been secured, in one of the conferences held on the memorable progress to Cherson, by the present of a very large sum of money (amounting to near half a million sterling) in Russian roubles; and although that report was probably unfounded, yet it had so much effect, that he was publicly charged, at the ensuing diet, with having, at that conference, entered into private conditions inimical to the republic; a charge, to which the excellency of that prince's character, and his known patriotism, would seem a sufficient refutation; for although the decided part which, with some apparent risque to himself, he has taken in support of the Russian views and interest, undoubtedly afforded some colour to the charge, yet it would be more equitable to attribute his conduct in that respect to his real political senti-

ments, and rather to suppose that he consulted what he considered as the present interest or the future security of the remains of his mangled country. It should likewise be remembered, that he owed his seat on the throne to the empress of Russia; and that gratitude being one of the most predominant, among the many excellent qualities which adorn his private character, he has never since omitted any opportunity of shewing his sense of that obligation; and has, perhaps, in some cases, confounded the virtues of the man too much with the duties of the sovereign, under that impression.

We have shewn in a former volume \* the very interesting appeal, under the form of a declaration or manifesto, which the grand signior made in the year 1786, not only to his own subjects, but to the whole race of Mahometans, shewing the common danger to which they were liable shortly to be exposed, and calling upon them, by every thing dear or sacred to men, to prepare and unite, with hearts and with hands, in order to repel the designs of their implacable enemy, whose views were not directed to conquest, but to extermination, and who, if they were permitted to succeed, would stop at nothing short of the utter annihilation of the Ottoman name, and the extinction of all true believers from the face of the earth.

It is little to be doubted that an appeal of so new and extraordinary a nature, coming from a sovereign so great, and a name which had for so many ages been in the highest degree revered, cloathed in the most

pathetic language, and stating circumstances of such evident injury, as would have interested the feelings of strangers, and even those of a different communion, must have operated most powerfully in all those wide regions where the Mahometan creed predominated. Such was the state of things, and such the season of apprehension and alarm, that every Mussulman was already, in imagination, snatching up his weapons, and rushing to the common defence, when the report was spread abroad of the imperial Catharine's intended triumphal procession to Cherson, to receive the homage of conquered nations, and to celebrate, with an ostentation unknown to later ages, the triumph of her arms, and her inauguration to new kingdoms and empires. The vastness and prodigality of the original design, with the powerful army which was included in it, were of themselves sufficient to spread amazement and terror on all sides; but when to this was added the effect produced by the language of flattery and of vanity on the spot, and the amplification incident to all reports, in proportion to the length of their course, it is not to be wondered at if this spectacle was magnified and rendered more terrific in the conception of distant and ignorant nations.

But it was not merely the gratification of feminine vanity in celebrating a triumph over a fallen enemy, however distasteful and odious such a celebration must necessarily be, that chiefly affected the Ottomans with regard to this progress. A report was spread, and the opinion very generally received,

\* Annual Register, Vol. XXVIII. Historical Article, p. 151.

that the Empress of Russia's ambition soared so high, that the acquisition of provinces or kingdoms were little farther estimated by her, than as they might lead to the attainment of her grand object; and that this was nothing less than the placing of her second grandson, prince Constantine, on the throne of the ancient Greek emperors at Constantinople; and thereby establishing, in her own family, two mighty empires, capable, perhaps, of subverting Europe and Asia. The christian name of that prince was brought as circumstantial evidence in support of this opinion; and the conduct of Russia in various respects, since the conclusion of the peace of Kainardgi, the conditions of which she had so frequently violated, were brought as farther corroborations. Particularly her continual endeavours to weaken the Ottoman empire, by loosening her dependencies on every side, both in Europe and in Asia, and exciting the vassal princes to withdraw from their allegiance; her debauching the Greeks in all places, through the agency of her consuls, and rendering them ripe for rebellion; her insidious arts to excite insurrections in Egypt, by offering to render the turbulent beys sovereigns of their respective provinces under her protection; and her unceasing efforts to corrupt even those Mussulman officers, who held public employments, civil or military, in all parts adjoining to the frontiers.

The ruined Tartars too, who had been driven from the Crimea, and their other ancient seats, filled all places with their complaints of the pusillanimity of the Porte in thus abandoning them, and called loudly upon heaven and earth for

justice and vengeance. Now the intended and avowed enthronement of Catharine, would be affixing a final seal to all the usurpations of Russia since the peace of Kainardgi; for as such the Porte considered, or affected to consider, the seizure of the Crimea, and of the neighbouring countries; insisting, that, as they had only been obtained by fraud and circumvention, in the midst of peace, no claim could lie against them by the laws of arms as a conquest, and it would not be pretended that the Russians could have any prior right to them; and as to the subsequent convention, which seemed to give a sanction to the seizure, they asserted it was only a temporary measure, adopted for the present to divert the evils of war, until an equitable arrangement of frontier between the two empires could take place, the Tartars should be restored to their rights, and their future independence firmly established. It was further said, that it would be an extraordinary violation of all laws, human and divine, for the Porte to pretend to barter or assign the rights and dominions of others; and it would render the injustice still more flagrant and odious, if they concurred, in any degree, in stripping the race of Timur, their perpetual allies, and eventual successors to the Ottoman throne, of the patrimony which they derived from their glorious ancestors. Such were not the principles upon which their government acted; justice and good faith, whether with respect to Mussulmans or Christians, were the invariable maxims of the Porte.

It was a singular circumstance with respect to the Crimea, and seemed like a dramatic fiction for the punishment of false ambition,



that the wretched Sahim Guerai, the late Russian khan of that peninsula, should have been led by some fatality to throw himself voluntarily into the hands of a government, which he had injured in the most supreme degree, and which, he well knew, had ever been inexorably severe in its punishment of state offenders.

This unfortunate prince, who, as we have heretofore seen, had dishonoured the illustrious line of Tamerlane, by becoming the instrument of betraying his country into the hands of foreigners, and who had personally degraded himself by the acceptance of a commission in the Russian service, as well as of considerable estates which were the price of his defection, whether it proceeded from any causes of disgust which he now experienced, or from the incessant reproaches of his own mind, quickened by a sense of the contemptuous state into which he was sunk, became so tired of his new condition, that he made his escape from Russia, and arriving, with a few attendants, at a small village near the borders of Moldavia, dispatched, by a trusty messenger, a letter to be delivered into the hands of the grand signior only. In this epistle, after deploring his past misdeeds, declaring the fulness of his contrition, and imploring pardon for them, he farther requested leave to proceed to Constantinople, and to be permitted to throw himself at the emperor's feet. Either a safe-conduct to Constantinople, or a general indemnity from punishment, in case of his going there, was granted; but on his arrival, instead of being permitted to approach the throne, he was sent under a proper guard to the island of Rhodes; the constant place of

exile assigned to the deposed or disgraced princes of his family.

As we shall have no farther mention to make of this unfortunate adventurer, it may perhaps afford some gratification to curiosity to relate, in this place, that, after spending several months unmolested and at large, in that beautiful island, he was suddenly assaulted, and (after a gallant defence, in which he killed three of them) cut to pieces by a set of ruffians. As these assassins did not pretend to have any commission or order from the Porte for the perpetration of this deed, and did not appear like the usual ministers of justice, it seems probable that they were operated upon merely by the rage of enthusiasm, as thinking him a necessary sacrifice to the mischiefs which he had brought upon his country and religion.

Under the circumstances and impressions which we have mentioned, it will not be wondered at that the discontent of the Porte was too great to be concealed, when the Russian minister announced the intended progress of his mistress to Cherson; although he endeavoured to soften the communication, by declaring, that some necessary internal regulations were the only objects of his sovereign in this visit to a part of her subjects. The late menace of prince Potemkin, that he would march at the head of an army of 70,000 men to the frontiers, and that the empress would attend in person, to enforce her claims, and to settle all differences between the two empires, could not fail to increase their mixed indignation and alarm.

An army was immediately ordered to assemble in the neighbourhood of Oczakow; dispatches were forwarded

forwarded to every part of the empire to prepare for war; and the grand signior himself is said to have written a circular letter to the seven classes of the militia, wherever spread, exhorting them to fight valiantly; declaring that those who fell in defence of the holy law of their prophet, would be received as saints in the next world, while those who bravely vanquished the enemy should be considered as heroes in this. In the mean time the people were outrageous with government for its supineness in suffering the empress to prosecute her journey to Cherfon; indeed all Europe was surprized at the forbearance of the Porte, if war was determined, in not obstructing that boasted and insulting progress, or, in fact, vain-glorious triumph.

Mauro Cordato, the hospodar of Moldavia, had long been, with reason, suspected of treachery, and the Porte was well informed of his carrying on a secret correspondence, through the medium of the Russian consul, with both the Imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg. Although this conduct had hitherto been passed over without apparent notice, it was now thought necessary, upon the approaching season of trial, not only to deprive him of the means of future mischief, but to punish his past treachery. The Porte did not act with its usual promptness of decision upon this occasion; for he was stripped of his office, without securing his person, two days before the order arrived for his head. The wary Greek, well seeing his danger, profited of the neglect, and, under pretence of an airing, accompanied by a party of trusty friends, finely mounted, and all perhaps involved in it, esca-

ped from Jassy, and arrived safely in the Russian territories. The Porte reclaimed its subject and offending servant to be delivered up, according to the terms of the subsisting treaties, which had fully bound both parties in all such cases. But the Russians not only peremptorily rejected the demand, but the removal of Cordato from his office, the design upon his life, and the application for his delivery, were ranked with the many other injuries charged against the Ottomans, and held out either as sufficient grounds for a war, or as instances of the greatest forbearance.

Nothing, that did not affect the immediate preservation of the empire, could have been so urgent or so important to the Porte at this time as the affairs of Egypt. The Captain Pacha had already succeeded so far in his endeavours for the entire reduction of the rebel beys that their situation was apparently desperate, and it seems probable that another year would have enabled him totally to overthrow the Mamaluc power; when his own excellent plan for the future government of that country, besides security from foreign danger, and the establishment of domestic tranquillity, would have rendered it an inexhaustible mine of wealth and resource of strength to its possessor.

But the present necessity superseding all future considerations, and the courage and conduct of the Captain Pacha, as well as his counsel, being deemed indispensable in the intended scene of action, he was hastily recalled from Egypt to more dangerous, if not more active service, and to the encounter of a most formidable enemy, possessing such

long-established and immensely superior advantages in all the habitual and mechanical business of war, as no extent of genius and ability, in a single person, could in any degree be hoped to counterbalance.

The old veteran received and obeyed the order for his recall with the greatest regret. Besides the common vexation of being deprived of his object when it seemed within his reach, and after surmounting much difficulty and danger in the approach to it, that object was likewise of such a nature, that while it held out the most signal advantages to his country, it would have crowned his name with lasting glory, as one of its greatest benefactors. Nor did it add a little to the vexation, that the intended war was, in the present state of things, much against his opinion; he considering it as too dangerous a measure to attack Russia until the ties between her and the emperor were in some degree relaxed, or that the restless ambition of the latter had plunged him into a war with some of his Christian neighbours; which, if his attention was not attracted by the Ottomans, was an event most likely soon to happen.

But notwithstanding these sentiments, and the cruel disappointment to his hopes and ambition by which they were more strongly enforced, the Captain Pacha immediately accommodated himself to his new situation, endeavouring, with wonderful address and dexterity, to draw all the public benefit from the present disjointed state of affairs in Egypt, which it was possibly capable of affording; and now supported with no less fidelity the character of an artful politician, than he had ever done that of an able com-

mander. He had indeed a nice and difficult part to play; for he was of a sudden not only obliged to change all his measures, but to depart from every apparent principle upon which he had hitherto acted; and all at once, without any visible cause or understood motive, to temporize with the rebel beys, whose subversion and ruin he had so eagerly sought, and so nearly accomplished. Yet such a countenance was to be preserved in this change of conduct, as that, instead of suspecting the real cause, they should attribute it entirely to grace and favour: for he was well acquainted with the deep designs which Russia had so long formed upon that country, and of her artful intrigues and continued negotiations with the beys, by which she not only fomented their outrages and rebellions, but laboured hard to induce them to shake off all dependence on the Porte entirely, and to throw themselves into the hands of her rival.

As there was not leisure then for the intended establishment of the country, which must have included the final subversion of the Mamelucs, it became necessary to secure, if possible, their fidelity during the approaching war, of which they had yet no knowledge or suspicion; otherwise, the country would be lost upon the first appearance of a Russian squadron. The grand admiral managed this business with so much address, that he not only gained his point in that respect, but he wrought so successfully upon their apprehensions, that they willingly parted with their treasures as the purchase of future peace and security. Thus far his conduct was excellent; but, according to the established and barbarous custom of Eastern kings and



and commanders, he despoiled the country as effectually as he had done the beys, and returned to Constantinople, in the month of May 1787, with such treasures as had not been brought thither for many years, and were alone sufficient to invigorate all the preparations for war.

On the return of the Russian minister from Cherson, whither he had gone, accompanied by the Imperial internuncio, to attend their respective sovereigns, and probably to receive such instructions for their future conduct as were suited to the determinations adopted at that place, he found a total change in the countenance and disposition of the Porte, and soon experienced, that haughtiness in conduct, and a dictatorial peremptory tone, were so far from being monopolized by the fortunate and the triumphant, that they might be suddenly assumed where they were least expected. A set of propositions, which he had previously laid down as the basis of a new treaty, and as the only means of establishing in a permanent manner the tranquillity of both empires, being now pressingly urged, were rejected with disdain. These included, besides the admission of a Russian consul at the port of Varna, within 120 miles of Constantinople, (which had long been an object of much solicitude) a total renunciation of the sovereignty of Georgia; which, as that ill-defined denomination of territory might be extended to all the neighbouring countries, as well as to Mingrelia, would have afforded a sanction to all the past and future encroachments of Russia on that side. Another proposed condition, and still more hard to be admitted, was, a new settlement of the provinces of Moldavia and Walla-

chia, by which their governors (generally called in Europe princes) were to hold them by hereditary succession, and in a great measure independent of the Porte. But the most singular claim perhaps of any was that upon Bessarabia, which, as having once belonged to the Tartar khans, Russia now demanded; a principle of no very limited operation, and which, if pursued to its full length, would have made the usurpation of the Crimea a lawful title to all the conquests of Tamerlane.

Not satisfied with this absolute rejection, M. Bulgakow August 16th 1787. being summoned to attend a grand divan, a set of conditions entirely counter, in which the restoration of the Crimea was the leading article, and including others which could scarcely be supposed much less inadmissible, were laid down, not only as the basis of a new treaty, but as the only terms upon which peace could be preserved. At the same time a written instrument was produced, containing those articles at length, which he was required, without farther consideration, to sign upon the spot. The Russian minister shewed his utter incapability of concluding any treaty, or signing any conditions, without specific orders for so doing from his court; he therefore desired time for receiving instructions with respect to the generality of them; but with regard to the cession of the Crimea, and the consequent annulling of the conventions concluded between the two powers since the treaty of Kainardgi, he declared, with great spirit and firmness, that he could not even venture to mention such a proposal to his sovereign; and that he well

well knew, in no fortune, and in no circumstances whatever, could she ever be induced to relinquish the sovereignty of that country. Upon this bold answer (it being undoubtedly a measure already determined) M. Bulgakow, with his secretary, and two other principal officers of the mission, were committed prisoners to the castle of the Seven Towers; the rest of his family were conveyed to his country seat at Pera. Although the barbarous custom of imprisoning foreign ministers upon a rupture with their principals was thus far adhered to, it was, however, upon this occasion, attended with circumstances of such unusual lenity, and the confinement rendered so easy to M. Bulgakow and his companions, that they served greatly to soften the barbarity of the practice, although they could not entirely change its nature, or remove the odium attached to it.

The abruptness and precipitancy of the Ottoman ministry in this transaction, particularly as they had first agreed that M. Bulgakow should have time for receiving fresh instructions, afforded much ground of complaint to their enemies, who did not fail to expatiate largely upon it in their appeal to mankind. The result of these proceedings was a declaration of war, two days after, against Russia. The manifesto, which was upon this occasion presented to the ministers of the Christian powers resident at Constantinople, contained much of the matter which had appeared in the grand signior's appeal to his own subjects and religion; excepting only that it was held forth in a bolder and loftier tone, and abstained from any expressions implying weakness or ap-

prehension. It stated the good faith, and the strict attention to the terms of the treaty of Kainardgi, which the grand sultan had since that time uniformly observed; and placed in opposition to this conduct, the continued violation of the most solemn stipulations, whether of more ancient or modern date, which Russia had committed during that period. In the enumeration of the various instances in which this violation had taken place, their instigating the prince of Georgia to rebellion, and their sending troops to support him against his sovereign, were particularly displayed. As likewise, their depriving the inhabitants of Ocza-kow of the benefit of the salt mines, which had not only from time immemorial been open to them, but which were expressly stipulated by treaty, to be held in common by both nations. Their corrupting, through the agency of their consuls, the wayvode of Moldavia, and when he fled from justice, and was reclaimed by his sovereign according to the stipulations established on both sides by treaty, their minister at the Porte had the hardness peremptorily to answer, "that his court would not surrender him." Her placing consuls in various places where they were totally unnecessary, with a view to corrupt the subjects of the Porte from their duty and allegiance, exciting dissensions even among the true believers, seducing some to enter into her service, and enticing others by civil employments to settle in her dominions; together with her constant interference in the internal policy of the empire, and presuming to dictate to the Porte; insomuch, that when the pachas, governors, or judges,

judges, have, by a faithful discharge of their duty, displeased her, she has arrogantly demanded their removal or punishment.

The complaints on the subject of commerce were not less numerous. All the world was called upon as a witness of the readiness with which the Porte opened her seas, admitted Russia to an unrestrained freedom of commerce, and of the good faith with which the treaty had been fulfilled in all its parts on her side; while, on the contrary, the object of Russia being to monopolize all commerce to herself, instead of affording advantages to the Ottoman merchants similar to those which her own received, she loaded them with double, and in some cases treble duties, in direct violation of subsisting treaties: that with the same ill faith and injustice, when the subjects of the Porte sold goods upon credit to the Russians, payment was not only withheld, but, in contempt of all appearances of justice and equity, the merchants were not permitted to use the usual legal means for the recovery of their property, which were afforded to all other men. To these commercial wrongs were added, the refusal to suffer Russian ships to be examined by the proper officers, although they were known constantly to convey large quantities of contraband goods; and the shameful charge, of not only refusing entrance to, but of firing at and cannonading the Turkish ships, which were driven by stress of weather, and the danger of the seas, to seek for shelter in the Russian ports. It represents, as a great aggravation of these and other injuries, the constant refusal of redress, or a contemptuous silence, while a repetition of the wrong af-

forded the only answer. Upon the whole, the sum of injury and insult, of which the Porte complained, appears from this piece to have been great indeed, although the particulars are by no means stated to advantage. We are not, however, to rely any farther upon this kind of public documents, than as they are supported by established facts, or convey that strong internal evidence which approaches to conviction.

The policy of the Porte, in thus precipitating a war which she was so totally unequal to, and her becoming the aggressor in it, has been much called in question, and even condemned. That power is, however, not entirely destitute of arguments, either of policy or justice, in support of her conduct. She may, with some colour allege, that she had sufficient grounds for belief, and possibly a certainty, that her ruin, so far as the intentions of her potent enemies could carry it into effect, had been determined on at Cherson. That, although it was certain she was not in condition for entering into so arduous a contest at present, it was no less apparent, that her restless and ambitious enemies, who were constantly watching her movements, and prying into all her domestic regulations, would by no means afford her leisure for recovering her affairs, or being in a better state of preparation: that their open enmity could scarcely be more fatal, than the insidious measures, under the covert of peace, which, in violation of the public faith of nations, they constantly pursued to impair and weaken the empire; that by these arts, they too well succeeded in keeping its remote parts in a constant state of distraction;



distraction; and, taking advantage of the disorders which they excited, while they corrupted, terrified, or crushed her subjects and vassals, extensive territories were lost, and her most valuable dependencies loosened. That they only abstained from acts of direct hostility, which would necessarily have excited immediate resistance, until, by making effectual resistance impossible, they should find a fit season for force to avow itself, and to complete by war the triumphs of circumvention. That it was in vain to concede, and in vain to sacrifice, since occasional concession could never be opposed with effect to an established system of encroachment; and every concession she made, served as a stimulus to increase the lust of ambition, and to direct its views to new objects.

The Porte likewise knew that her enemies were not yet thoroughly prepared for war; that, if left to their own decision, they would not commence hostilities until their preparations, both in point of money, and with respect to military provision, were entirely completed; that they would in the intermediate time use all their arts to mitigate, by postponing, the spirit of just revenge which animated her subjects, and make them remit their exertions, by holding out delusive proposals for new treaties and arrangements; whereas this sudden and unexpected aggression on their side, might serve to embarrass the schemes and disturb the arrangements of the enemy. Neither had the Porte any thing to hazard by being the aggressor in a war, as she had no allies to whom it would be incumbent upon her to justify her proceeding, to prevent their seek-

ing a pretence for not fulfilling their engagements. Men's minds likewise still retained the energy which the grand signior's late appeal had communicated to them; it would have been unwise to let it wear off; a future repetition, along with its novelty, would have lost its effect. Nor was the season of the year unfavourable to the Ottomans, in the present state of things, for the commencement of a war. It was too far advanced to admit of any decisive operations on the side of the enemy; but it was not so late as to preclude the Porte from prospects of advantage, by sudden hostility and desultory enterprize on the borders; while the ensuing long winter would afford an interval of full nine months for completing her preparation, drawing her Asiatic troops into Europe, and inuring them in some degree to the business of a camp, to order, and to the climate.

Upon the whole, we cannot join in condemning the policy of the Porte at this juncture, in choosing to encounter the doubtful fortune of a war. Nor is much credit due to the reports that the grand signior had been forced into it, either by his ministers, or by the mob of Constantinople. Stung, as they repeatedly had been, almost to madness, the people were notwithstanding kept in order and obedience (by the settled influence rather than the exertion of a steady government) through all the most outrageous injuries and insults offered by Russia. No such occasions to try their temper at that particular moment occurred. And the spirit seemed to have been excited by their government, as instrumental to its own system of policy, and not to have borne down

down its wisdom by the force of popular impulse.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment which the news of this unexpected measure excited at Petersburg: and the court, already rent, and its councils distracted, by divisions, and the animosity of parties, was not a little embarrassed. They had so long been in the habit of trampling upon the Ottomans, and so long used to their apparently tame submission to every kind of indignity, that they seemed to consider them as a nation of abject slaves, rather than as brave men who were capable of asserting their rights, or defending their country; so that this sudden return of vigour and spirit appeared almost incredible. Nor were the finances of Russia in condition for a war. The unequalled magnificence, or, as a sober financier would have termed it, the unbounded extravagance of the court, was alone sufficient to drain any treasury. Their military establishments, by sea and land, were likewise too vast for the ability of the people. Add to this, that the subjugation of the Crimea and Cuban were attended with difficulties so far beyond what had been held out to the public, as to cost above two millions sterling, besides the great constant expence in preserving and attempting to settle them. Time too, which discloses all secrets, had now revealed, that the desperate courage of the Tartars, fighting in defence of their country, religion, and liberty, had in no small degree compensated for the want of artillery, discipline, and proper arms, inasmuch, that the veteran Russian forces, holding so vast a superiority as they did in every thing but valour, and equal

in that to the best troops in the world, had notwithstanding met with several severe checks, and suffered a very considerable loss of men in the course of that contest: and so great was the contempt with which the court regarded its patient and long-suffering adversary, that the thinned ranks of the troops had not yet been filled up by recruits. Upon these different accounts, war was as little welcome as it was expected, in the present moment, at Petersburg.

The manifesto issued by Russia betrayed no indications of consternation. It was long, and conceived in a lofty spirit, such as might seem, in the eyes of an impartial judge, more calculated to celebrate the triumphs and conquests of the last war, to display the fallen state of the Porte, lying at the mercy of her conquering armies, together with the clemency and generosity with which she restored her numerous conquests by the treaty of Kainardgi, then to justify, or to impress the public with ideas of the equity of her conduct and proceedings during the peace. The Turks are, however, charged with the blackest perfidy in every transaction; all the efforts made by the different nations of Tartars, whether in the defence of their own immediate rights and possessions, or for the succour of their friends and neighbours, are brought as proofs of this perfidy. Though the paramount sovereignty of Georgia had for several ages been claimed and exercised by the Porte, the Persian being her only competitor in that claim; yet the desolation which that country had undergone from the Leshgis, in its late convulsions, is one of the articles of charge imputed

puted to the Turks; who in their turn allege, that these evils were sustained while, in its attempts to shake off its tributary allegiance, it had thrown itself under the protection of a foreign power, and was in a state of actual rebellion against its sovereign.

The summary execution of Gika, the quondam hospodar of Moldavia, for treason and treachery, is in the manifesto represented as an act of the most glaring injustice and perfidy, because it was done without a trial; as if any could be ignorant that such was the mode of punishing crimes against the state, since the first establishment of the Ottoman government; or as if it could be supposed the crafty Greeks, who, besides paying vast sums of money for the purchase, exhaust all the arts of intrigue and treachery in their competition for attaining the governments of Moldavia and Wallachia, should be ignorant of the tenure upon which they were to hold these dangerous offices.

The seizing on the Crimea, on the island of Taman, and on the Cuban, is declared, in the apologetic part of the manifesto, not to have proceeded from any desire of enlarging the limits of the empire, (which is truly said to be already sufficiently extensive), but merely to dislodge the robbers who committed depredations on the borders, and thereby to secure lasting peace and amity with the Porte. The succeeding convention, which gave a sanction to the usurpation of those countries, is attributed to the sense which the Porte herself entertained of the justice and necessity of the measure; it being at the same time held out, either as a mark of favour, or as a compensation for her

acquiescence, that a district on the left of the river Cuban was assigned to her by the convention. Such are the substantial and argumentative parts of the document published on this occasion. These are supported and enforced throughout with abundant imputations of falsehood, treachery, contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a disregard to the sanctity of oaths, which are all charged upon the Ottomans, as if vices inherent in their nature.

A circumstance which happened soon after the opening of the war, though in itself of little consequence, occasioned great joy at Constantinople, from its being considered as an indication of future success, and that fortune had again begun to look favourably upon the crescent:—The Russian fleet having, in the month of September, been scattered and greatly injured by a violent tempest on the Black Sea, and having no port on the Asiatic side to afford them shelter, the *Boristhenes*, of 64 guns, being nearly dismasted, and otherwise in great distress, was driven by night into the canal of Constantinople; having passed so many of the forts in the dark, that her escape, when she discovered her situation, would have been impossible, had she even been in better condition for making the attempt. It may well be supposed that nothing could exceed the astonishment of the people, when daylight disclosed to them so novel a sight, and one so well calculated to excite a popular and enthusiastic joy. They were however probably equalled on the other side, by the grief and dismay of the Russian captain; who, perceiving himself inextricably involved, adopted the desperate



desperate resolution of blowing up the ship in the face of the city and harbour; but the crew, preferring the lesser evil of imprisonment, instantly seized his person, and held him in durance until they were boarded by the Turkish boats. About 650 Russians were made prisoners. The ship had been so extremely sickly as to lose 150 men in that short cruise.

The bad success which attended the few military enterprizes undertaken by the Turks to the close of the year, afforded little sanction to the popular hopes that might have been founded on this favourable augury. In every attempt on the new Russian frontiers the Ottomans were either baffled or defeated. Among other small enterprizes, which could answer no greater purpose than that of distracting the attention of the enemy, and perhaps a view of familiarizing their own subjects and partizans to war and danger, it was thought proper to bring the pretended prophet, Sheik Mansour, again forward on the side of Caucasus. It might have been supposed that the former demonstration of the inefficacy of his assumed supernatural powers and celestial aids, when opposed to Russian arms and discipline, had left behind such sore remembrancers of the failure and imposition, as could not but effectually cure the enthusiasm of his followers. But the Sheik, whatever other qualities he might be deficient in, possessed a large natural stock of courage, and it is possible that the people considered his valour more than his piety, in chusing him their leader.

However this might be, the Sheik being supported by some small

neighbouring tribes of Tartars, and by such Turks as were scattered amongst them, he entered the Russian new frontiers at the head of about 8,000 men, without seeming, from any thing that appears, to consider, or to make much enquiry, what force he had to encounter. It is however to be remembered, that in regions where the race of man are so thinly scattered as in the present scene of action, the difficulty of intelligence must necessarily be great: it is likewise to be observed, that although the boundless wastes of these flat countries, which scarcely have any other marks of division than a few great rivers, renders them exceedingly favourable to predatory excursion, yet the same properties expose the invader to a continual danger, which no foresight can at all times provide against, that of being suddenly surprized by a superior, and supposed distant enemy.

Prince Potemkin was in person at the head of the Russian army, which he immediately divided into four columns, one of which led by himself, as well as the others, but all pursuing different routes, advanced expeditiously upon the enemy. If it were possible to draw any scheme of design from, or to reason upon those military details, which were occasionally published by the court of Petersburg, it would be supposed that the object of this division and march of the army was to enclose the enemy on all sides, so that not a man could escape. Yet this was not done, nor, from what appears, attempted, although the passage of two or three rivers seem the only obstacles which the troops had to encounter on their march.

Oct. 1st, 1787. march. Rebinder's column, however, came finally in sight of the enemy. They found the Sheik himself, with about 600 Tartars, separated from the rest, and entrenched behind their waggons. These, upon the approach of the Russians, repeated aloud a short prayer dictated by their prophet, which, with the desperate courage they displayed in defence of their entrenchments, seemed to indicate that the spirit of enthusiasm was not yet extinct. It was, however, impossible that their courage could be of any avail; the trenches were carried: and we may judge of the defence, when, out of so small a number, 400 were left dead upon the spot.

The Sheik was so far from sinking under this misfortune, that, having collected all the troops within reach during the night, he boldly returned to the charge next day, and, without regard to their artillery, had the hardiness to attack the Russian camp. This mode was not likely to be successful, with such troops as he commanded, and such arms as they possessed. They were accordingly repulsed; the carabineers of Rosten, the dragoons of Astracan, and a battalion of grenadiers, carrying off the chief honours of the day. It seemed rather singular in this encounter, that the Tartars should have hoped, by a feigned flight, to draw an enemy, so far their superior in the art of war, into an ambushade. It is certainly a curious, though by no means a pleasing spectacle, to behold the vigorous, though ineffectual struggles of brave men, against a vast superiority of power, arms, and discipline.

Nor was the contest yet ended, and it seemed as if courage would rise superior to disaster, or perish in the attempt. The Tartars being reinforced, a third action took place, in which Major General Prince Ratisev, at the head probably of another column, gained a complete victory. After this success, the Sheik's habitation, and all the Tartar villages within reach, were plundered, and destroyed by fire. Ten thousand pints of butter, and a large quantity of barley, were the rural spoil made upon this occasion: the cattle had probably been driven to a safe distance; and money, valuable furniture, or merchandize, were articles not to be looked for in these regions.

Col. Deprarabowisch undertook a laborious march of three days, to extend the ravages to another quarter. Here he met with a desperate resistance, the Tartars maintaining a severe fight for seven hours. Genjelajin, at the end of that time, arrived with a large reinforcement to succour the colonel; but the enemy were already routed. Their loss in the action, in the pursuit, and in the villages (the latter being distinguished from that in the pursuit) was estimated by the victors at two thousand men; their own, considering the acknowledged length and obstinacy of the conflict, is rated so far below every thing that reason or experience could afford a sanction to, that it would seem shameful to repeat it. Indeed the bloodless victories of the Russians are apt to bring to recollection those of the Spaniards in their early wars with the Mexicans or Peruvians, although the comparative state of the combatants was, in all respects, widely

widely different. Such was the issue of the Sheik Mansour's second adventure in war,

The Lefghis were likewise said to have received a great defeat from the Russians, about this time, somewhere on the side of Georgia. No detail or particulars of this affair were ever given, nor did the subsequent state of affairs on the Asiatic side at all warrant the account. It is not impossible that the scattered hordes of Tartars, who were now defeated, might have been confounded with the Lefghis, through ignorance, or that these, being a more considerable, as well as an unconquered nation, their defeat was held to be a nobler object of triumph.

Some enterprizes which were undertaken by the Turks against the island of Taman, and the Crimea, were attended with as little success as the attempts of the Tartars. The captain pacha had this year taken the command of the fleet in the Archipelago, while that on the Black Sea was committed to the conduct of the vice-admiral, who bore the same name and title which his superior had rendered so eminent. This second Hassan Bey was deemed to be a man of great courage, enterprize, and experience, and held to be the best seaman in the Ottoman service. Great expectations were accordingly formed of the happy consequences which would be the result of his zeal and activity. Next to the defeat or destruction of the Russian fleet, no object, on that side, could be so interesting to the Porte as the recovery of Kinburne. For this fortress being situated directly opposite to Oczakow, from which it is separated only by the mouth of the Dnieper,

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where, united with the waters of the Bog, it falls into the Black Sea, this vicinity not only exposed the latter continually to the danger of a surprize, but being likewise a station for the Russian fleets, as well as a great naval and military arsenal, it was at all times pregnant with the means of war on both elements.

Through some fatality, probably the want of a due subordination being established among the commanders, such dissensions broke out in this fleet, as served totally to overthrow every design of the expedition. It was reported, that the failure proceeded from the mutual aversion and animosity which prevailed between the land and the marine forces; a misfortune which has been productive of similar effects, in services where order and discipline were much better established in both departments than in the Ottoman. Whatever it proceeded from, nothing could have been more unfortunate at the opening of a war, nor more ruinous than it proved in its subsequent consequences. Hassan Bey, after spending a few days fruitlessly at Oczakow, returned without making any attempt upon Kinburne, and, so far as appears, without any endeavour to fall in with the Russian fleet on his return. Nothing could exceed the rage and clamour of the people, nor the disappointment and indignation of the Porte, upon his bringing the news of his own misfortune and disgrace to Constantinople. The unfortunate vice-admiral was probably deemed a necessary victim to the first, and perhaps a necessary example of rigour at the commencement of a war. Thus, through the weak and cruel maxims of the Turkish policy,

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licy, was an excellent officer lost to the state, at a time when his services were likely to be more wanted than at any former period of its existence; whereas, a proper enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage, with a moderate reproof, if any was due, to the commander, might have stimulated him to the noblest actions.

In the mean time, the brave garrison of Oczakow, notwithstanding their being deserted by the fleet and army, were incessant in their endeavours, and shewed an extraordinary, but ill-judged and misapplied degree of enterprize and valour, in their efforts to recover Kinburne; either by surprize, which could scarcely be expected to succeed, or by mere force of hand, which was still more impracticable. They were accordingly repulsed with loss in the two first attempts, but the third proved fatal. The garrison of Kinburne had been considerably reinforced, when 5,000 Turks, possibly ignorant of the circumstance, having crossed the river from Oczakow, made a fierce attack on the fortrefs before day. The garrison had been too lately alarmed to be now surprized, and maintained their posts well while the darkness continued; but as soon as day-light appeared, they quitted the defensive, and sallying from different gates nearly enclosed the enemy, whom they attacked with great courage on at least three sides. A desperate action ensued, in which the Turks, being undoubtedly dismayed at the unusual danger and hopelessness of their situation, were routed; after which the fight was changed to an absolute slaughter; for, what with the grounding and other casualties, in such a hurry, which befel many

of the boats; what with the eager pursuit of the enemy, and, above all, the general blindness and confusion which terror produced, not above a thousand of the whole party are said to have escaped. A slaughter so vast, and so totally disproportioned to the number engaged, seems indeed rather difficult of belief; but the situation and circumstances of the assailants were unusually perilous. The circumstance of the two Russian generals, Beck and Suwarow, being severely wounded, seems to indicate that this action was not entirely bloodless to the victors. *Te Deum* was sung with the highest pomp in all the churches at Peterburgh upon this occasion, and the public rejoicings were such as might have been expected for the greatest victory.

In order to facilitate its designs upon the Crimea, the Porte appointed Shabah Guerai, grandson to the celebrated Crim Guerai, to be khan of the Tartars; hoping that the opinion and popularity derived from his illustrious ancestor (who was the last prince of the line of Tamerlane that had shewn himself worthy of it) would serve to recal and reunite that scattered people, and inspire them with new ardour and confidence to engage in the recovery of their country.

Indeed the state of that beautiful peninsula, notwithstanding the very pleasing prospects and flattering hopes of future cultivation and improvement held out by its immediate masters, was at the present truly deplorable; and, as another opportunity may not offer, we do not think it unnecessary in this place to bestow a few words upon a subject so universally interesting to mankind, as that of the extinction of

of a whole nation, and a transfer of its property to strangers.

We are then to observe, that through the means pursued for the accomplishment and support of the late revolution, that country had already been so ruinously depopulated, as to be reduced to less than one-third of the former number of its inhabitants; although including in that number the swarms of adventurers, which the unheard-of advantages held out to new settlers drew from different countries. For besides the vast tracts of the country which had been rendered desolate through the flight or destruction of the inhabitants during the troubles, those who remained, and who were either such as had been seduced to take an active part in favour of the Russians against their countrymen, or those, who, in order to preserve their possessions, had submitted quietly to what they were not able to oppose, were so little satisfied with their present condition, that, in order to withdraw from it, they were selling their lands upon almost any terms, as fast as they could obtain purchasers; so that it was easily seen, if these had been sufficiently numerous, that not a Tartar of any property would continue in the country; the common sort being only withheld until the means of emigration could be procured, and perhaps flattering themselves still (as the helpless are ever prone to do) with the slender hope of another revolution.

Under these circumstances, princely estates, possessing the greatest natural advantages, and holding out the most fascinating prospects of future improvement and benefit, were sold at prices below any thing before heard of, in any country

that was not entirely savage. Russia could ill spare wealth or inhabitants to benefit much of this favourable occasion; and what it could afford, at least in the latter respect, was chiefly drawn away by the immense confiscations which fell into the hands of prince Potemkin, and those commanders who acted under him in the conquest. This state of things drew foreign speculators, particularly English, possessed of money, and the spirit of adventure, to encounter all the risks of a disputed tenure, as well as those incident to a despotic government of doubtful stability, to become large purchasers, on the faith, and under the immediate protection of the empress. And these bringing with them, besides money, that energetical spirit of enterprize and improvement, with that comprehensive view of remote prospects and future contingencies, which so peculiarly characterises their country, had already embarked in such great and expensive works of every kind of cultivation and improvement, as seemed scarcely credible in so short a time; and, although the rendering their own estates productive, was the immediate object, yet the effect of their labours, if happily pursued, would in time extend to the benefit of the whole peninsula. Among these immediate objects of cultivation, was the introduction of new species of grain, and other agricultural products, not only for the home consumption, but with a commercial view to the supply of foreign markets. New breeds, if not species of cattle, were likewise introduced, and measures pursued for the establishment of a great manufacture for the salting, curing, and barrelling of beef, and rendering it a great and staple article of

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exportation.

exportation. Mills of various kinds, as well for the sawing of timber, as for domestic purposes, were constructed; and even the working of mines was said to have been in some degree commenced. Nor was this all; schemes were in agitation, and plans already formed, for the great operations of making new harbours, and opening of new ports. Such exertions for the cultivation and improvement of a country, by a handful of foreigners far from home, and relying entirely on the faith of a strange people, and a strange government, is unquestionably without example in the history of man.

Such was the state of the Crimea at the commencement of the present war; and, if these settlements should become permanent, and these designs prosper, and arrive at maturity, under the auspices of a fixed and equitable government, it may surely excite the astonishment of some future age, to discover a colony of English in so remote a nook, shut in so singularly as it is between Europe and Asia, and peculiarly cut off by nature from all intercourse with the western world.

It has happened, fortunately enough with respect to this object, that the new khan has not been able, in any degree, to disturb these settlements; the war, however, like an eastern blight, will be too likely in its consequences to stunt, if it should not entirely destroy their growth. That prince is said to have collected about 30,000 Tartars in the neighbouring provinces; but not having been able to gain any footing in the Crimea, and acting only subordinately under the Turkish banner, he has nearly escaped all notice in the war.

Although nothing could be more grateful to the Turks in general than the war, yet nothing was left undone at Constantinople to increase that disposition in the people, or to excite a military ardour among the troops. The standard of Mahomet was displayed with even more than usual ostentation and pomp, while thousands of true Mussulmans were happy in devoting themselves to the war under its supposed sacred influence; but things had suffered a prodigious change, both on the side of its supporters and of its enemies, since the days that it spread terror through the nations of the earth. The greatest possible exertions were likewise used in all the military preparations by sea and land; nor was any pains or expence spared in supplying the arsenals, from European countries, with such materials necessary for war, as there was either any deficiency of at home, or which were otherwise of an inferior quality. Large orders for musquetry, and other articles of a similar nature, were accordingly dispatched to England; and the distant Baltic, through the medium of Sweden, supplied some of its cumbrous but valuable products.

The sultan, in order to increase the opinion and reverence of the people for his minister, and the confidence of the army in his abilities, as well as to enable him to provide instantly for any sudden exigencies that might occur, and to conduct the various operations of the war with greater dispatch and effect, entrusted the grand vizir with such dictatorial powers, as no jealous potentate would have ventured in any hands but his own. These were committed to him in full divan, and authenticated by a written decree  
passed



passed in all the forms of state, after which the decree was proclaimed, and read aloud in the most public places, commanding all the subjects of the empire, of whatever rank or condition, to obey the grand vizir implicitly in all things, as they would the emperor himself. This demonstration of confidence in the minister, was every where received by the people with the strongest marks of approbation and joy. Upon the same principle, and as an invigorating encouragement to his zeal and exertion, the sultan sent that commander a gold-hilted sabre highly enriched with diamonds; this magnificent present being accompanied by a set of instructions in his own hand, for his government in the conduct of the war. In this sensible well-constructed piece, the emperor strongly exhorts his minister and general, constantly to maintain a close union and intimate correspondence with the different bashaws and governors, as well as with the commanders in actual service; and to use all possible means for diminishing the enormous quantity of baggage, and the inordinate number of domestics, which so fatally impede the motions of the troops, and clog the operations of the Turkish armies.

The return of the captain pacha from the Archipelago in the beginning of December, diffused great joy at Constantinople, and restored the spirits of the people, which began to flag through the late disappointments. Nor was his arrival a matter of less satisfaction to the grand vizir, nor to the emperor himself, who is said literally to have received him with open arms. The war had been declared in his absence, and, as he had before given

his opinion of its being premature and dangerous at the present time, while the union subsisted so closely between the two Christian empires, it was a matter of apprehension whether he would engage heartily in the support of a measure of which he had not approved. The veteran, however, soon put an end to all doubts upon this subject, by gallantly making, in a truly martial speech to the emperor, an unserved tender of his utmost services in endeavouring to restore the tarnished honour of the Ottoman arms. He declared, that though grown grey in the service of his country, he still felt himself strong and vigorous, and that there was nothing upon earth he wished for so passionately, as to close his life with the glorious act of driving the perfidious infidels out of their fraudulent usurpations in the Crimea, and on the Black Sea, of replacing the ruined nations of Tartars and other Mussulmans in their ancient possessions, and of restoring the khan to the seat of his illustrious ancestors, of which, in contempt of all laws, human and divine, he had been so cruelly despoiled.

Nothing could exceed the pleasure which this speech afforded, nor the confidence and admiration of the man which it excited in the grand signior; as the first demonstration of which, he immediately appointed him grand admiral of the fleet, and generalissimo of all the armies to be employed on the Black Sea.

A new and extraordinary spectacle was, in this season of danger, presented at Constantinople, which would at any time have been pleasing from its novelty, but which at this time was extremely gratifying

both to the court and people, from its serving to recal the flattering ideas of past greatness and glory, which had now been long obliterated. This was the arrival of an Indian ambassador, with a superb and numerous retinue, bringing with him curious and magnificent oriental presents, from the celebrated Tippoo Saib to the grand signior, for the purpose of establishing a lasting league of friendship and amity between those two very distant Mahometan powers.

The Indian ambassador was treated in a manner which no Christian minister, at any time, or from any power, could have formed the smallest idea of from his own reception at the Porte. Nothing could exceed the sumptuousness of his entertainment, the honours paid to himself, or the attention shewn to his numerous retinue, who conducted themselves with all that gravity and decorum so peculiar to their country. The grand vizir, in the true Eastern stile, both of taste and magnificence, exercised his ingenuity in contriving, and spared no expence in decorating and exhibiting, a grand military spectacle for the entertainment of the ambassador. Several detachments of cavalry, composed of picked men, superbly dressed and accoutred, were mounted on the finest horses, richly caparisoned; each division represented a nation, either appertaining to, or on which the Ottoman empire laid some claim; and each was dressed, armed, and manouvred in the peculiar mode of its country; so that Turks, Medes, Persians, Armenians, Arabs, Tartars, and even Turcomans, all appeared in their proper habits, and each filled its respective character. Mock en-

agements, and every kind of military evolution took place; while to heighten the contention, and render it the more faithful picture of real action, prizes were held out and distributed to those who excelled in dexterity. It may well be supposed, that in such an exhibition of the best horsemen in the world, many extraordinary feats of dexterity were displayed. These evolutions had been preceded by a grand exercise of artillery, including mortars as well as great guns; and were succeeded by an exhibition, still more interesting, from its novelty, to the spectators than any that had yet been offered. This was the appearance of three hundred Indians, of the ambassador's train, who, in their proper arms and habits, went through the military manouvres of their own country; while 200 sepoy's afforded a curious specimen of the superiority which they derived from the European arms and discipline introduced among them by Hyder Ali.

An immense crowd of above 200,000 people were assembled upon this occasion, and a large canal or river adjoining to the scene was covered with beautiful pleasure boats highly decorated. The grand signior was himself present, and said to have been greatly delighted; and the Indian ambassador likewise expressed much satisfaction, although it is possible that he had beheld scenes more truly military exhibited by Hyder. Nothing, however, could, upon the whole, be more splendid, or produce a grander effect; but the Eastern nations have ever been eminent in the splendour and magnificence of their public spectacles.

The Turkish ambassador to Spain was about the same time received,

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and treated with great magnificence by the king and court at Madrid. It was the general opinion that Spain had engaged, either by a private treaty or a verbal promise, not to admit the Russian fleets to enter the Mediterranean; and, if we are not mistaken, some declaration to that purpose was announced to the foreign ministers at Madrid. But the conduct of that court became afterwards so equivocal, and the different parts of it at different times accorded so ill with each other, that it became totally inexplicable; and no clue could be found to lead to her real designs. It seems probable that she adopted no fixed system, and that her measures would continue undetermined, until, perhaps, some unexpected contingency might force her to a decision. There were other causes, besides the age and weakness of the king, for this irresolution on the side of Spain. For the late war with England, into which, contrary to every principle of true policy, to the present interests and future security of her dominions, she had rather been dragged than led, by Bourbon connections, and the predominance of French counsels, had been exceedingly ruinous to Spain. It had incumbered her with a heavy debt, that would require many years of peace to discharge. And as, through the exceeding impolicy and misconduct of some late kings (although the faith of the present monarch was inviolable) the public credit of the nation had been greatly impaired, she would, under her present circumstances, have found it very difficult to borrow money from foreigners for the support of a new war.

France had declared to the Porte,

probably before the commencement of the war, that her affairs were at present so circumstanced, that it was utterly impossible for her to interfere in any other manner in it than as a mediator. Whether this declaration was satisfactory to government or not, it was far from being so to the people, who, considering France as a sure ally, and tied down to be a friend by the great benefits she derived from their commerce, built much upon her naval assistance, in keeping the Russians out of the Mediterranean; and are accordingly said to have resented the disappointment so much, that nothing less than a firm government, and a vigilant attention, could have prevented the populace from proceeding to some outrage against the ambassador of that nation.

The gentleman who had dignified that important station for several years past, as well as at present, was the celebrated, learned, and elegant Count de Choiseul Gouffier, whose curious researches into Eastern antiquities, and unceasing labour and expence in preserving memorials of the remaining vestiges of Grecian science and art, widely scattered as they are in Europe and Asia, are every where known, and can never be forgotten, while any taste for the noblest monuments of human genius and art subsists. This minister had been indefatigable in his endeavours to prevent the war, and no less zealous since in his exertions to bring about a reconciliation before matters were carried to an incurable extremity on either side.

Though all his efforts had hitherto been ineffectual, he laid a new set of propositions, towards the close of the year, tending to the same object,

[B] 4 before



before the divan. The preliminary article to these, and upon which all the rest depended, was a suspension of arms for three months, in order to afford time for a negociation to take effect. The minister supported this proposition with such cogent arguments as were not easily set aside. The strict union subsisting between the courts of Peterburgh and Vienna, from which it was little less than evident, that the latter would take an active part in the war—The mighty power of these empires, which seemed now to be at its zenith—The inability of the Porte to contend with them both, considering the vastness of their armies, and the superiority of their discipline; together with the present untoward state of things, which rendered her allies incapable of affording her any assistance.—To give the greater effect to this reasoning, or, at least, to render it more palatable, he shewed that the present state of things might not be lasting; the union between the two empires, like all things of the same nature, was subject to vicissitude; or one or both of them might be attracted by other objects. While, in the intermediate time, the Porte might recover her affairs, and, by proper improvements and arrangements in her military force, become much better prepared for war than she was at present.

The grand vizir declared the proposal for an armistice to be totally inadmissible, from its affording every advantage to Russia, and none whatever to the Porte. Their perfidious enemy, whose rapacity and ambition were insatiable, would gladly put them off their guard, and amuse them with a negociation until her preparations were complete; and

then resume the prosecution of her designs, without the smallest regard to any preliminaries that were laid down as the basis of an accommodation. He therefore could not consent to a suspension of arms upon any other condition, than that of the French king's becoming guarantee for the cession of the Crimea; or, at least, of its being restored to the same state in which it had been placed by the treaty of Kainardgi, so that the khan should be independent both of the Ottomans and Russians. He, however, made another offer, as a demonstration of the moderation of the Porte; this was, that France should engage, in case of the failure of the negociation through the obstinacy of Russia, to prevent her fleets from entering the Mediterranean; but without one of these securities, he could not expose his country to the risque of being duped by the artifices of her insidious enemies.

The French minister easily shewed the impossibility of the guaranty required; and to the causes already assigned, which prevented France from affording naval assistance, he added her late convention with England, by which she was restricted from the equipment of any naval armament whatever. He then argued, that the idea of recovering the Crimea by a war, was, in the present state of things, altogether futile: well, indeed, would it be if she could preserve her immediate possessions, in a contest with such potent adversaries; but the hope of making conquests was surely too vain to be seriously entertained. He questioned likewise the justice of the Porte in renewing her claim upon that peninsula; since, however injurious and unjust the conduct of

Russia had been in the usurpation, the subsequent convention afforded a sanction to the violence, and legalized her title to the possession.

To this point the grand vizir is said to have replied, that the convention was only a temporary arrangement, which was by no means intended to be conclusive; that if it had been otherwise, so evident a wrong and injustice could no longer be submitted to than while some uncontrollable necessity compelled an acquiescence; and above all, that the sacrifice of an ancient and illustrious Mussulman nation, would not only be in the last degree dishonourable and base, but that the cession of a country to unbelievers, which had for so many ages belonged to the faithful, would be a direct breach of the laws of the Alcoran, under a due observance of which the Ottoman empire had risen to such unexampled prosperity and greatness.

Religion and conscience being thus rendered parties on the side of war, it was easily seen that all farther discussion on the subject of peace would for the present be useless.

The Porte is said to have demanded of M. de Herbert, the Imperial internuncio, in rather a peremptory manner, what part his master intended to take in the war; at the same time requiring a specific answer from the court of Vienna upon the subject by a prescribed day.

The emperor's answer is likewise said to have been sufficiently haughty, and to amount in substance to what follows: That he had reason to expect the Porte would have made the demand with more decency; that the divan could not be

ignorant that his Imperial majesty, as the friend and ally of Russia, was bound by treaty to furnish her with 80,000 men, in case of a war; that, if the Porte should consider this as an act of hostility, he was prepared to abide the consequences; but that if, on the contrary, they should choose, notwithstanding, to maintain the good understanding which subsisted between the two empires, he would, with pleasure, undertake the office of mediator, in order to prevent the effusion of blood.

At the same time the greatest preparations were made for war, not only in Hungary and the frontier provinces, but in Bohemia and the interior countries; and still more particularly at Vienna, as the grand arsenal of supply to all parts, through the medium of the Danube, and its concurrent rivers. Four armies were ordered to be assembled; one at Carlstadt, in Croatia, under the command of general de Vins; another at Peterwaradin, in Hungary, commanded by general Langlois; a third on the borders of Lithuania, under general Febris; and the fourth in the Buccovine, under the orders of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg. Two other generals, ten lieutenant-generals, and thirty major-generals, were all ordered to prepare for active service in the frontier armies. If any thing were yet wanting to shew the fixed determination of the court of Vienna, the measure of sending general Alvinzi to act in, and observe the conduct of the Russian armies during the war, and the receiving a Russian officer of equal rank to act the same part in the Austrian, would have been alone a sufficient explanation.

Yet the Turks, in defiance of experience, had still such confidence in the

the public faith of nations, as vainly to flatter themselves, that, as no injury had been offered, nor wrong received by the emperor, but that, on the contrary, the greatest and most beneficial concessions, such as none of his ancestors ever had hoped for, were repeatedly granted during his reign, so he would be contented merely to fulfil the terms of his alliance, without engaging as a principal in the war. They were likewise so weak as to place a trust in political gratitude, which no true politician could have done. For, valuing themselves highly upon the inviolable faith and honour which they had observed (although the wounds of recent hostility were scarcely yet closed) during the distresses of Maria Theresa, when half the Christian princes of Europe, taking advantage of the deplorable state of her affairs, were leagued in a combination for her destruction, when the Porte, by acting upon the same principle, might have greatly enlarged the empire on the European side, besides establishing a secure barrier to her old dominions, and when, by so acting, she might have extinguished the house of Austria for ever, which had for so many ages been her hereditary enemy, yet, as she then sacrificed all these advantages, to the observation of

justice and good faith, and compassion for the fate of an ancient and illustrious family upon the brink of ruin, so she conceived that the emperor should regulate his present political conduct by that disinterested example.—Indeed, we shall hereafter see, in more than one instance, how studiously the Porte avoided giving any cause of umbrage to the emperor, and of affording any colourable pretence for his becoming an actual enemy; so that little doubt can be entertained, if ambition was capable of admitting any limits, but that he would be gratified with such concessions, as might probably, in the main, prove more beneficial than any acquisitions that were to be the hard-fought fruits of a long and bloody war.

In the mean time, the grand vizir did not so much rely on justice or gratitude, as not to use the greatest possible exertions to provide, on every side, for defence, or for actual war; and he used such admirable industry and celerity in drawing over the Asiatic troops, and collecting the European, that, during the winter, he had formed armies to the amount of 200,000 fighting men on this side of the Hellespont.



## C H A P. II.

*Emperor. Ineffectual attempt to surprize Belgrade. Similar attempt on Gradisca defeated. Austrians commence hostilities. War declared at Vienna. Court of Warsaw refuses a passage to the Imperial troops, in the pursuit of their military operations. Republic of Venice adheres inflexibly to her determination of not being drawn into the war, and of not lending one of her ports to the Russians for the use of their fleets. Probable motives for this conduct. Her final determination being communicated to the Emperor at Trieste, by a deputation of the senate, is by him highly resented, and the deputies treated with extraordinary haughtiness. He opens a subscription for a large loan in the Low Countries, but with little success. Emperor joins the grand army on the Danube, and is present at the taking of Schabatz. Prince Lichtenstein's troops repulsed in their attempt to storm Dubicza; are attacked next day in their trenches; their works destroyed; and obliged to abandon the siege, and repuls the Unna. Desperate valour displayed by the Turks in this campaign. Wise system adopted by the Grand Vizir in the conduct of the war. Wears out his enemy by continual attack, small action, and unremitted duty. Checks at Dubicza and other places, change the character of the war, which becomes defensive and languid on the Austrian side. Great dissatisfaction in the camps and at Vienna, increased by the tardiness of the Russians, whose junction had been long in vain expected. Not lessened by the innovations and reforms introduced by the Emperor. Prince of Cobourg repeatedly attacked with great fury by the Turks. Emperor prepares at length for the siege of Belgrade, which had been held out as the first object of the campaign. Collects a prodigious artillery, and throws three bridges over the Sava for that purpose. Grand Vizir, at the head of the grand Ottoman army, marches hastily from Silyria, to interrupt his design. Encamps in a most advantageous position on the Danube. Emperor breaks down his bridges, entrenches his troops, and adds new works to his already strong camp near Semlin. Sicknejs and a dreadful mortality, attended by a prodigious desertion in the Imperial armies. Three regiments drawn from Vienna, and 30,000 recruits hastily ordered to supply these losses. Prodigious waste of treasure and men in the course of the campaign. Recruits eagerly sought in all quarters. King of Sardinia forbids any to be raised in his dominions. Prince of Saxe Cobourg, being at length joined by a Russian body of forces under general Soltikow, they jointly commence the siege of Choczim. The town, magazines, and arsenal being destroyed, by a dreadful fire of artillery and bombs, the Serasquier is summoned to surrender, but refuses. Ruins of Choczim heroically defended by the gallant Serasquier and his intrepid garrison until the end of September. Grand Vizir lays bridges over the Danube at Cladova, and invades the Bannat of Temeswar. Defeat of the Austrians near Orjova. Continued losses and misfortunes. That fine country overrun and ruined. Rout of the Emperor's army on his retreat from Karansebes. Marshal Laudohn takes the command of the army in Croatia, where he reduces Dubicza and Novi,*  
*after*

*after most obstinate defences. Heavy rains, and the approach of winter, oblige the Grand Vizir to evacuate the Bannat. Emperor's return to Vienna, after writing a general letter to his army. Armistice concluded between the Austrian and Turkish commanders on the Danube. Manifesto issued by the Grand Signior, to encourage the Hungarians to shake off the Austrian yoke, occasioned the Emperor to promise them a restoration of their constitution and rights. Proceedings at Constantinople relative to the campaign, the evacuation of the Bannat, and the conduct of the Grand Vizir.*

**I**T might have been supposed, from the tenor of the emperor's public and private conduct, both before and after his arriving at the sole government of his dominions, that he had placed the wisdom and acts of the greatest legislators and heroes before him as models, by which he was to regulate his own conduct both in government and war, as intending, on a foundation thus surely laid, to raise to himself a monument of the most lasting fame. The opinions of men were accordingly raised to a very high pitch in his favour; his subjects warmly hoping that his reign would have been happy to them and glorious to himself: nor were foreigners at all backward in adopting similar sentiments.

We have since, however, had too many occasions for observing, that his civil government fell infinitely short of the expectations that had been formed; that his character as a legislator, as it became displayed, and the effects of his regulations were felt and understood, was far from rising in the public opinion; and that his subjects, instead of being easy and happy, were directly the reverse, and almost every where discontented and wretched. His military talents were in a great measure yet unknown: so that this path to glory being still open, while his desire of fame, and his passion for

all the apparatus and organical parts of war were conspicuous, it was naturally expected that he would justify the public estimation in that respect, and repair in the field the deficiencies of his civil character. The short war in Bohemia was not sufficient in any degree to develop his genius in this line. With one of the greatest and best appointed armies in the universe, with generals of the highest form and character to conduct his operations, he was contented to avail himself of the peculiar situation of the country, and, adopting all the caution of an old commander, to cover that vast force by impassable defiles, woods, and mountains, from the enterprize and ability of an enemy, who at all times, and in all situations, was justly terrible. Opposed thus to the most military monarch of the age, this caution, though it could afford no scope for ability or enterprize, demonstrated a solidity of judgment which by no means excluded the qualities of active genius, and which, if it accompanied, would materially aid the exertion of them. His exalted adversary apparently justified this conduct, from the necessity it placed him under of adopting a similar system of inaction. And in the event of such a contest, to sustain (as was the case) neither loss nor reproach, was itself an honour. The late contest about the Schelde,

Schelde, being terminated by negotiation, afforded no room for action.

The Ottoman war was then to be the criterion of the emperor's military character. It was not very propitious to the dawn of his fame, that he introduced this war with an act of a very doubtful nature. This was the attempt to surprize Belgrade under the covert of peace and good neighbourhood, and at a time when the Turks, to shew their unsuspecting confidence in the good faith of the Christians, admitted the emperor's subjects to an intercourse so free in that city, as is not usually practised by European states with respect to each other, even in frontier garrisons of infinitely less importance.

This step was considered as so subversive of all public faith, so destructive of all confidence among nations, as tending in its example to disable mankind from holding a friendly correspondence, and to lead them back again into all the distrust and ferocity of the most barbarous ages, that the existence of the event was for a long time disbelieved. It was perhaps with a view of burying the affair in oblivion, by rousing the attention of the world to a greater enormity, or perhaps it might have been intended as a justification, upon the principle that no faith was to be kept with a people so atrocious as to be the common enemies of mankind, that a report was at the same time raised, circumstantially related, and industriously spread through Europe, that all the Christian inhabitants of Belgrade, amounting to about four thousand men, women, and children, had been most inhumanly massacred, in cold blood, by the Turkish garrison.

It will not be expected that many particulars should come to hand of an abortive attempt of the Austrians, the design of which was totally denied by the actors, when the party injured affected to believe the denial, and from political motives willingly accepted the excuse that was offered. But though neither of the parties concerned took any notice of the design or attempt, it was impossible that such a measure could be kept secret.

The following seems the most consistent of the accounts, that have been published relative to that affair. That the garrison of Belgrade, relying on the rights of peace, and, like other troops of their nation, inattentive to the rules of rigid discipline, appeared to be wrapped in the most perfect security; that their unwillingness to disturb the great traffic which that city carried on with all the Imperial neighbouring countries, laid them the more open to surprize, the intercourse being as free as if no armies had been assembling, nor hostile preparations making. This state of things gave birth to the enterprize in question; and undoubtedly, leaving the morality of the act out of the question, there were the most urgent motives for carrying the measure into execution. For by that means, the vast expence of time, treasure, and blood, which the taking of a city by force, that had for so many ages been alternately considered as the key either of Christendom or Turkey, would have been saved in the first instance; and the prodigious advantages to be derived from carrying the war at once into the heart of the enemy's dominions, and perhaps to the very seat of power, instead of losing time upon the frontier, was evident



evident to every capacity. It even seemed possible, if other things succeeded equally, that the war might have been brought to a glorious and almost immediate termination.

The plan having been formed, and the previous measures conducted with the most profound secrecy, the generals Alvinzi and Gemmingen are said to have been appointed the principal actors in its execution. The first of these accordingly passed the Saave with six chosen regiments of Imperial infantry, and with the greatest silence, on the night appointed for the surprize. He must have been then on the peninsula formed by the junction of the Saave with the Danube, on the point of which Belgrade stands; and there he was to be joined by Gemmingen, who was to fall down the latter river in the vessels peculiar to it, with an equal number of regular forces, a large body of Croats, some artillery, and such stores or machines as might be necessary for the purpose.

Through some failure in the navigation, or, as some accounts stated, their falling below the town in the dark, Gemmingen's party did not arrive to second the attack; and Alvinzi found himself, on the opening of day, exposed without cover to the view of the town, to the fire of the batteries, and to the direct assaults of the numerous garrison. The surprize on one side, with the dismay and confusion of the other, at this unexpected development, may in some degree be conceived from their relative situation.

The governor bashaw behaved with wonderful coolness, and shewed great command of temper upon this occasion. He sent a polite message to the Austrian commander, expressing his surprize at seeing, in a season

of profound peace, such an appearance of troops on their territory, and in the precincts of a fortified city; only requiring farther to know the cause or motive of their coming. In the mean time, no appearance of hurry, alarm, or preparation, appeared in the city, more than if a body of their own troops had been in view; a circumstance which strongly indicates that the garrison, whatever opinion the Austrians might have formed on that subject, had not been at all negligent in their guards, and were well prepared for whatever might happen.

The way being thus opened for an apology, Alvinzi returned for answer, that a report having been spread, of a design formed by some Turkish irregulars, to surprize the neighbouring city of Semlin, he had advanced his troops in order to counteract their design; but finding now that the rumour was unfounded, he should immediately withdraw them. This excuse, such as it was, found acceptance, as giving full satisfaction; but it would seem as if the consciousness of their own intentions, with a sense of the danger of their situation, had operated with so much force upon the Imperial troops, that, placing little trust in the apparent moderation of the Turks, they repassed the Saave with such precipitation, that many men were said to be drowned, and the regiment of Esterhazy in particular to have suffered considerably.

Such was the conclusion of this inglorious affair. The attempt took place early in the month of December, and from that time the Croats, and other Austrian irregulars of various descriptions, began to commit cruel depredations on the Turkish borders. It might have been expected

ed that an immediate declaration of war (as that measure had been already determined) would have been adopted to cover the disgrace of this failure and detection. But, as if sinister means were to supersede all fair and open proceedings, it was thought proper, at the very time that war was on the point of being declared at Vienna, not to wait for that sanction, but to fully the fair name of peace by another act of the same nature.

This was the attempt to surprize and take by storm the frontier fortresses of Turkish Gradisca. At this place the Imperial troops seemed determined to wipe away the disgrace attending the ill-concerted attempt upon Belgrade. Though we are left in the dark as to particulars, yet the attack and defence seem to have been vigorous, as the Vienna gazette acknowledges the loss of 82 men killed and 349 wounded; other, and later accounts, state the loss as much greater: but all agree that the assailants were completely repulsed; nor did they attempt to claim any honour from the action. They were, however, more successful in taking Dressnick, and some other small places, in one of which the garrison were all put to the sword, under an imputation of treachery, in having fired upon a detachment which they had encouraged to approach the walls on a parole given.—All these transactions took place without the usual ceremonial of declaring war.

This measure was, however, at length adopted, in the usual forms, at Vienna, Feb. 10th, 1788. and copies of the declaration or manifesto were presented to all the foreign ministers. It is remarkable that this piece does not contain a single charge against the

Ottomans, of the smallest injury, wrong, or even disrespect offered by them to the emperor, or to his subjects. All their offences are comprized in their conduct to Russia, excepting only their blindness in not foreseeing the part which the strict amity between him and his great ally must have induced him to take, and their perverseness in not listening to the wholesome advice which he so repeatedly gave them to submit to her demands. Such are his grounds for declaring war; and on these he asserts himself authorized to rely with the utmost confidence on the approbation of all the courts of Europe, and flatters himself that they will unite in their wishes for the success of his arms against the common enemy of Christianity.

Some time previous to this declaration, the Imperial minister at the court of Warsaw presented a note, in the name of his master, purporting, that as the present state of affairs might in a short time render a passage through the territories of the republic necessary to the Imperial troops, in order to facilitate their junction, or to open a communication with those of Russia, he confided in the friendship on both sides, and made no doubt but the king and his permanent council would consent to the required passage: under a full assurance, that no violence or insult should be offered to the inhabitants, and that whatever they might furnish to the Imperial troops should be paid for in ready money.

To this it was answered, that the king and the permanent council had no power or authority to grant the passage demanded: that it was a matter which lay entirely with the general diet, and could only be determined by that body: that as to the

the concluding clause of the note, Poland could furnish neither corn nor forage; and it was hoped, that the emperor would find another passage.—However vexatious this refusal was, it would have been much more so, if it had not been intended to do that without licence which had been denied as a favour. But the republic was soon to display a new mode of policy in her conduct, and it seems as if the cause that produced that alteration was already beginning in some secret degree seriously to operate.

The emperor was not more successful in his application to another neighbour. The two Imperial courts had long been incessant in their endeavours to draw the republic of Venice into the league, which, whether avowed or not, undoubtedly aimed at the subversion of the Ottoman empire. The most tempting baits are said to have been held out to her, of which the island of Candia and the Morea are supposed to be only parts. Her naval assistance, and the use of her ports, would have been of such infinite importance to Russia, in extending the line of her ambition to that ultimate point which she aimed at, that it did not seem they could be rated at too high a price: and men are not often niggards in disposing of the fruits of future victories. The republic, with her characteristic wisdom, was proof to all these tempting offers.

It may, however, appear strange, upon a slight view of the subject, that Venice should not cheerfully join in the overthrow of her ancient and dangerous enemy, more especially, when her taking an active share in its accomplishment would be productive of great advantage to herself in the recovery of her ancient

possessions. On this subject it may be observed, that the Turks, in the present day, are perhaps the safest and most inoffensive neighbours in Europe, of those powers that possess the means and ability of being in any degree equally formidable. Nor had the emperor concealed his ambitious views from the neighbouring states, with all the caution of a wise politician. Both Venice and the court of Turin had long known and been long alarmed at the ambitious designs which he had formed on the side of Italy and Dalmatia, and they attributed his forbearance hitherto much more to the confused multiplicity of his projects than to his moderation. The senate likewise well saw, that the success of the united powers would of necessity, their mutual character considered, change their present interested friendship into the most violent and lasting animosity; but that in all cases, whether of their discord or union, the republic would equally be the victim to their joint or to their separate ambition.

These were undoubtedly some of the causes, which induced the republic of Venice to adhere with a firmness, considered as little less than pertinacity, to her determination of observing a strict neutrality during the present war. Nor is it much to be questioned that it was with a view to withdraw her, at least in some degree, from this determination, that the emperor adopted the long, laborious, circuitous route of Trieste, as his way to join the armies on the Danube. If she could not be drawn to go all the lengths that were wished, it was, however, hoped that something might be obtained by urgent and incessant application; and if every thing else failed, her assign-  
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ing a port for the use of the Russian fleet that was preparing for the Mediterranean, and to have been converted into an arsenal and place of arms during the war, would, in the fond ideas of naval dominion that were then predominant with both the allied powers, have been considered as an object of the greatest importance. It was probably expected, that the near approach of so formidable a sovereign to the Venetian territories, and even to the capital, would have produced no small effect on the conduct of the senate.

The republic, however, adhered to its former determination, which was communicated to the emperor by an extraordinary deputation at Trieste. That monarch is said to have received them with inexpressible haughtiness and disdain, and scarcely vouchsafed to listen to the answer. The remonstrances soon after made by his minister at Venice, were so fully expressive of his displeasure, that they are said to have carried more the appearance of magisterial censure, than of those temperate documents which are generally adopted in the intercourse and discussions of independent states.

As money is well understood to be the great nerve and sinew of modern war, without which the most numerous armies and the bravest troops are totally ineffective, the emperor, notwithstanding his general economy, the treasures which he had drawn from the church, and the great sum he had extorted from Holland, looking forward to future contingencies, and to the possibility of a longer continuance of the war than was at present to be expected in a contest with a weak enemy, thought it prudent to open a subscription for a large loan from his

subjects in the low countries. But, as he had already begun to break through most of those engagements which he had entered into with them in the preceding year, and which had been the happy means of restoring peace and harmony so suddenly to those provinces, the people conceived so violent an animosity against him for this final violation of all faith, and this flagrant avowal of perseverance in his original despotic designs, which were not to be diverted even by foreign war and danger, that, although the terms held out for raising the money would have been highly advantageous to the lenders, not a man could be found in the whole country that would subscribe a single florin to the loan.

The emperor joined the grand army on the Danube about the middle of April, where he found the small fortress of Schabatz invested; but the attack (as it could not fail of success) deferred to signalize his arrival. He altered the dispositions already made by the besiegers, and, directing the assault to be given on the opposite side of the town, had the satisfaction of seeing it succeed, and the place taken by April 24th. 800 men retired into the citadel, which not being defensible they surrendered prisoners of war; the emperor, as a grace for his being present, permitted their wives and children to retire with their effects to the nearest Turkish garrison, and paid a compliment to themselves on the bravery of their defence; a compliment which they had not an opportunity of deserving.

The triumph of this small success was soon effaced by the very severe check which prince Lichtenstein's

[C] army

army received about the same time at Dubicza. The prince having carried on his approaches regularly against that fortress, and made a breach which was deemed fully practicable, determined to carry the place by storm on the night of the 25th of April. But neither the order and discipline of the Imperialists, nor the cool determined valour incident to German veterans, were capable of withstanding the impetuous and desperate courage with which, hand to hand, they were encountered on the breach by the garrison. They were repulsed, routed, and pursued, with no small slaughter.

It is farther stated, that while yet warm in their success, the garrison was on the same night suddenly reinforced by the arrival of a body of fresh troops, which were so numerous as to increase their number to 12,000 men. That then, disdaining to observe any farther terms of caution with the besiegers, they threw their gates open on the following day, and attacked the Imperialists with incredible fury in their entrenchments. The battle lasted three hours, and such was the fierceness and violence of the onset, that all the works of the besiegers were acknowledged, by themselves, to have been destroyed in that time; and yet, however strange it may appear, the Austrians are said to have obtained the victory. But that, notwithstanding this advantage, the prince, (induced perhaps by the nakedness in which the destruction of his works exposed the army) for the important purpose of covering the Imperial borders from the insults of the enemy, suddenly raised the siege, and repassing the Unna on that very

night, posted his army on such high and commanding ground, on the Austrian side of the river, as was calculated to answer his purpose.

The loss sustained in these actions, on the Austrian side, amounted to 120 men killed, and 400 wounded, several officers, and some of rank, appearing on both lists. To the fall of the commander who led the attack, on the breach, and the immediate wounding of his successor, a major-general, is attributed the miscarriage in the attempt to carry the place. Such is the account given in the Imperial gazette. Other continental accounts, however, of a subsequent date, represent this affair in a more serious light, and the loss as considerable. An eminent French writer, who, from his residence in Paris at the time, and still more from his intercourse and correspondence in the eastern regions, where he had spent a great part of his life in a public character\*, had superior means of information, estimates the loss of the Austrians in both actions at not less than 2,000 men.

It seemed rather singular, that the spirit of the Turks, instead of being depressed by the vast weight of this accumulated hostility, appeared to rise against it with an elastic energy; so that the news of the emperor's declaration was not only received with the greatest joy by the populace of Constantinople, but by the armies, who were to experience its direct effects. Their old animosity to the Russians seemed likewise in a great measure to have changed its object, and to be directed almost entirely against the Austrians. The attempts upon Belgrade and Gradiſca, served equally to excite their

\* M. de Peyssonel.

animosity and contempt. The conduct of the emperor for several years, in his transactions with the Porte, was reviewed and commented upon; they said he had acted rather in the spirit of a low trafficker, than of a great sovereign, in the ungenerous and mean advantages which he took of the distresses of their situation, ever since fortune had begun to lour upon the Ottoman empire, and the extortion which he continually practised, in obtaining great advantages to himself and his subjects as the price of his pretended friendship; at the same time that he was combining with their mortal foe for their utter destruction, and now at length, when he found them already involved in difficulty and danger, his commencing an unjust war against them, without being able to form even a pretence of any wrong or injury offered, or to assign any other motives than those of a freebooter, and of a common enemy to mankind.

While the animosity against the Austrians was from these concurrent causes rising to the highest pitch, a revolution took place in the opinions of the Turkish soldiery, with respect to the military character of their new enemy, which was not without its consequences. For they had long considered the Germans as the best soldiers, and their country as the greatest military school in the world; but conceiving, from present trials, that they had detected a long-established error, as it sunk the Austrians in their esteem, so it served to inspire a high confidence in themselves; and, however dangerous or fatal the contempt of an enemy may prove to a general, it has an admirable effect when possessing an army.

From all these causes, nothing ever exceeded the impetuous and despe-

rate valour displayed by the Turks upon every occasion during this campaign. The first onset of the Ottomans has ever been deemed terrible, and nearly irresistible; but at present they seemed to transcend whatever had been before related or conceived of them. It has been strongly asserted, and a great number of concurring testimonies from the seat of war give no small weight to the assertion, that nothing could afford a more striking contrast, than the conduct of the hostile armies, with respect to humanity and generosity, in their mode of carrying on the war. That Christian and Turk seemed in this respect to have exchanged their nature and principles. That, while rapine, cruelty, devastation, and extermination, seemed to be the objects which the Austrians had in view, and while smoking villages and desolated countries indelibly marked their progress, wherever they made their way, the Ottomans seemed individually to be animated by the noblest objects of war, a passion for glory, and an enthusiastic eagerness for the preservation of their country, but disdaining to wreak their vengeance upon the inoffending rulers of the plains, and cultivators of the fields. It is not easy to determine whether it arose from a relapse into their ancient barbarous policy, or from a disposition to retaliate the cruelties and devastations committed in their own provinces; but, from whichever cause, it was grievous to humanity, and most unfortunate for the fertile and beautiful country of the Bannat, that the Turks thought it at length necessary to depart from the humane principles by which they were at first governed.

The grand vizir conducted the



war with an extraordinary degree of judgment and ability, shewing that he not only possessed a mind so extensive as to comprehend and combine the multiplicity of objects included in the widely-spread plan of operation which he had formed, but that he had previously studied with great care the military events of former wars, from whence he drew conclusions so just, and applied them so happily, as to seem rather the result of experience, or of both jointly, than of study alone; so that he seemed eminently qualified to avoid and to profit by the fatal errors of his late rash and ignorant predecessors, and to restore the lustre, so deeply tarnished, of the Ottoman arms. It was in consequence of this just estimate of things, which a strong and original mind could only form, under the numerous tactical disadvantages which he laboured, that he ventured to depart from the old Turkish system, which had not only received the sanction of time, but of a long train of former success, that of hazarding an immense army, and the safety of the empire, upon the fortune of a single field.

He perceived that the art of war had been long assiduously studied, as a science of the greatest difficulty as well as magnitude and importance, by the Europeans, who had accordingly carried it to a height of perfection before unknown; that they had reduced their various theories into practice, and were continually improving upon and correcting them by experience, so that all the modes and practice of war had undergone a total revolution, even among themselves, within a century; while, on the contrary, his nation, without the smallest attempt at improvement, had during that time

been continually declining from the severity and excellence of their own ancient discipline; so that their armies in the late war had fallen into the most abject contempt. He saw that the present constitution of the Turkish armies did not admit the possibility of their being placed upon an equal footing with the Europeans in point of discipline, and that no excess of valour, or superiority in number could supply that deficiency, in those general field battles, where the multitude of the combatants is so certain a source of disorder, that it can scarcely be prevented by the greatest generals, supported by the most experienced officers and the best regulated troops. But above all he dreaded, in such a conflict, the immense artillery of the Europeans, and the prodigious superiority which they possessed in the management of them; and he knew that his present enemy placed so unlimited a trust in these destructive machines, that he went far beyond all former example in the number of them which he brought into use, so that his different parks in Hungary, and along the frontier provinces, were supposed not to contain less than 2,000 pieces of field artillery.

On these various accounts, the grand vizir determined to render the present campaign a war of detachments and posts only, unless any great advantage should be obvious to his judgment in an occasional deviation from this general rule. By this means he intended to train his troops by degrees to war, to obedience, and to discipline; to give them continual opportunities of signalizing and confirming their courage in smaller and greater encounters with the enemy, until by habit they came thoroughly to know and

to despise him; that in such a course of action they would profit as much by occasional defeats as by uninterrupted success, and become inured by degrees to every kind of service. Thus he likewise intended to wear down the enemy by continual attacks, and not less by the severe unremitted duty which such a system of constant and undecisive warfare must occasion; nor did he build a little upon his knowledge of the excessive sultriness of the climate, and the extreme infalubrity of the regions which were the seat of war; evils which he knew his southern troops were much better able to resist than the Germans. What he considered as the perfection of his system was, that it could not be attended with any material loss, and could not possibly commit the security of the empire to any hazard: a mere waste of men being never an object of much consideration in an Ottoman army; for, depending more on enthusiasm than on discipline, its soldiery is replaced without difficulty, and lost without danger.

With these and similar views the grand vizir took the command of an army of 200,000 men, at the opening of the campaign, with which he encamped at Silistria in Bulgaria, and from thence dispatched a continued succession of detachments to feed the war in all its parts, through a line of frontier, that nearly reached from the borders of the Adriatic to the confines of Poland.

While the grand vizir was thus exerting the resources of an inventive mind, by introducing systematic alterations, founded on a judicious view of the object to which they were to apply, the same spirit of innovation, which so strongly marked the emperor's civil government, soon

began to appear no less prevalent in his military arrangements. Reforms were incessant; and his fondness for entering into the detail and minutiae of all things, if it had not even been the source of frequent error, disappointment, and difficulty, would, notwithstanding, seem incompatible with that attention to higher duties and more important objects, which the government and conduct of vast armies necessarily require. It was said, that the emperor, misled by some prospect of partial œconomy, was induced to break through the contracts for bread, forage, and other essential articles of provision, entered into with several Jew and other merchants, whose wealth was a security for their punctuality. This erroneous step, accompanied with an abortive attempt to simplify the modes of supplying the armies, and to place that department entirely under his own eye, not only excited the greatest discontent amongst the troops, who were continually mortified by the failure which they experienced of the most common necessities, but, it is said, that they were at length, towards the close of the campaign, reduced to absolute scarcity and distress, through the want of the most indispensable articles of provision.

His regulations in matters of less importance were capricious and singular. A number of French, Spanish, and English young noblemen or officers, being desirous of signifying their valour, were allured by the magnitude of the contest and danger to offer their services as volunteers; but, to their astonishment, they were peremptorily and indiscriminately rejected; a public order was at the same time issued, that no volunteers whatever should be received in the Imperial armies: as if

conscious of some important secrets and new discoveries in the art of war, which he was apprehensive that other nations would suddenly adopt, and dispute the invention and share the advantage. In pursuance of the same principle, all persons, whether immediately belonging to the armies, or appertaining to the civil duties of the camps and supplies, were forbidden, under the severest penalties, from communicating, in the correspondence with their friends, any account or circumstances whatever, good or bad, relative to the state of things or to the transactions of the war; while, to give full effect to this prohibition, all private letters were destined to the inspection of inquisitors appointed for the purpose, before they could be forwarded with safety by any mode of conveyance; as if it had been supposed possible, that the actions of half a million of combatants could by any means, or in any degree, be kept secret; or that any system of concealment, or extravagance of power, could preserve the errors of sovereigns, any more than those of other commanders, from becoming subjects of public investigation.

Another edict favoured more of injustice and cruelty; for it ordained, that all Christians taken in the Turkish armies should be condemned for life to the galleys. Few are ignorant that more than a moiety of the Ottoman subjects are Christians; that several of their vassal princes are likewise Christians; it must surely then be a novel system of casuistry, and a perversion of all moral laws and obligations, which would render men culpable, and amenable to the penal laws of foreigners, who had no authority over them, for fighting in defence of their natural sovereign

their country, and their property, whatever their peculiar modes of faith and religious worship might be. The preference which the Christian inhabitants of the frontier and disputed provinces have so often given to the Turkish government, rather than to that of the neighbouring states in their own communion, has been frequently attended with much loss to the latter in their wars with the Porte; and, though this circumstance affords no demonstration of the goodness of the Turkish government, it, however, affords a strong presumption against those which they abandoned. It seems to have been a great object with the united Imperial powers, that this war should assume the character of the ancient croisades; and that it should particularly be so considered by the Christian subjects of the Porte; though it may be doubted whether the means were conducive to the end, admitting the wisdom of the ultimate policy.

The first considerable action which took place after the repulse at Dubicza, was an attack made by the Turks upon the prince of Saxe Cobourg, who commanded in the Buccovine, and having crossed the Niester, with an intention of establishing himself in such a manner in Moldavia, as to cut off all supplies from the garrison of Choczim, occupied, with a considerable body of forces, the heights of Rohatin. The attack was furious, and, notwithstanding the havock made by a powerful artillery judiciously planted, was supported with unremitted vigour for three hours, until the arrival of a reinforcement to the prince obliged the enemy to retreat. But the Turks being likewise soon after reinforced, renewed the attack again in the evening,



evening, and the night was scarcely sufficient to separate the combatants.

The night, however, procured only a short cessation, for the mutual animosity was so implacable, that it seemed as if nothing less than the total destruction of one army could allay the rage of the other. The battle was renewed next morning, and, for that and the two following days the cessations were so short, each side being frequently relieved by fresh detachments, that it seemed little less than a continued action. The success was various, sometimes appearing on one side and then on the other: the loss of men on the side of the Turks was (from the careless and rash manner in which they exposed themselves) prodigious, nor could it be small on that of the Austrians; and the adverse armies at length parted, without any decisive advantage gained by either. It was reported that an Austrian regiment was entirely cut to pieces; but this was a loose account, and the particulars are defectively given.

The intrepidity and enthusiasm of the Turkish cavalry, upon this and other occasions, excited the astonishment of all beholders. They frequently, as if it had been an act of mere show and bravado, unattended with danger, rode up full gallop, without cover, and unsupported by infantry, to the mouths of the enemy's artillery, where they were swept away by their discharge, without a possibility of success or benefit. Their infantry likewise, who had long been out of repute, behaved with great valour, and made little of encountering the Austrians hand to hand with spears, opposed to their muskets and bayonets. As they placed but little trust in their own ar-

tillery, and indeed received but little benefit from it, so they affected to despise equally that of the enemy, notwithstanding the repeated experience which they had of its fatal effects.

The valour displayed by the Turks, occasioned as total a revolution in the sentiments entertained by the Austrians with respect to the military character of their enemy, as that which the latter had already undergone with regard to them; and this by degrees produced no small change in the aspect and even nature of the war. They had considered the Ottomans as nothing less than soldiers, as a tumultuous rabble destitute of spirit as well as discipline; while, proud of their own military character, of their artillery, of the excellency of their officers, with the ability and experience of their generals, they could dream of nothing but bloodless victories, of fortresses surrendered at the first sound of a trumpet, and kingdoms suing for mercy. But this illusion being dispelled, the prejudiced opinions of the Austrian soldier took a contrary direction, and the Turk, whom he before despised, appeared to him the most terrible of all enemies. Nor was this confined to the soldiers, the officers became circumspect and cautious, and both were happy if they could maintain themselves in their posts, without indulging a disposition to seek for adventures. By this means the war, without any express orders for the purpose, became defensive on the side of the invaders, and the spirit of enterprize appeared only on the other.

In the mean time discontent, dislike to the war in general, as well as to its conduct, and execration of the

Russians,

Russians, who, though its authors, seemed to leave the emperor to sustain its whole burthen and danger, became general, both in the armies and at Vienna. For the emperor's system of concealment could by no means prevent the inhabitants of the capital from being informed of the real state of things, which necessarily rendered the splendid victories, announced in their gazettes, subjects of ridicule. The emperor himself (whose characteristic it was to adopt measures precipitately, as hastily to relinquish them, and to be soon overpowered by unexpected difficulty) was already supposed to be sick of the war. The dilatory slowness of the Russians, whom he expected to act as principals, and the unsatisfactory causes which they assigned for their inactivity, filled him with doubt and jealousy; he could not help apprehending that he was become the dupe of their selfish ambition; a most provoking circumstance to a mind that flatters itself with being beyond the reach of imposition. The expences of the war too, notwithstanding all his regulations and retrenchments, were so enormous, as far to exceed all previous calculation. Nor was the expence the only cause of anxiety, but Italy, Germany, and the adjoining countries seemed unequal to the supply of the immense quantities of provision which were necessary to the support of such vast armies, including their very numerous cavalry, and the infinite number of horses necessary for their artillery and baggage. For, although the countries which were the scene of action are intersected by some of the noblest navigable rivers in the world, yet the number of baggage waggons exceeded 7,000, and no less

than 20,000 horses, and 12,000 oxen were used in their conveyance, besides the army of waggons and attendants necessary to their government.

From the united operation of all these causes, the dissatisfaction and chagrin of the emperor became too great to be concealed, and to that effect may probably with truth be attributed (at least in the first instance) that fatal change which he began to experience in his health. If such were the untoward effects which the war, the creature of his fondest imaginations, had already produced on the sovereign, we may from thence form some conception of its operation upon the troops, who found themselves disappointed in all the hopes of honour and profit, which they had eagerly formed. Soldiers at all times, however faulty in themselves, impute, and generally with no small degree of justice, all their misfortunes and disgraces to their commanders. This was now fully verified, and murmurs, complaints, and discontent, were spread through all the ranks of the Imperial armies.

The capture of Belgrade had been held out, even before the armies took the field, as the first great object of the campaign, and vast preparations were early made for that purpose. This idea was so strongly impressed on the public, that almost every week brought premature accounts from Vienna of the siege being already commenced. Whether it proceeded from any indecision in council, irresolution in conduct, or a continual expectation that the Russians would have made so vigorous an impression as to divide and weaken the enemy's grand force, before this bold effort was made, does not appear;

pear; but, whatever the cause was, the affair lingered strangely. The complaints and discontents that were now so prevalent, both at Vienna and in the army, probably induced the emperor to renew the design, and to adopt measures with vigour and apparent determination for carrying it directly into execution. Three bridges were accordingly thrown over the Saave, about the end of May or beginning of June, and an enormous train of battering cannon, with a profusion of all those engines which modern practice has introduced for the destruction of towns, and which render a long defence of the strongest fortresses impracticable, were brought forward from Semlin and other neighbouring garrisons.

The defensive system adopted by the grand vizir, by no means included a quiet submission to the loss of Belgrade; on the contrary, the preservation of that place was one of the few objects which he deemed worthy of encountering the greatest hazards for. He accordingly quit-  
ted Silistria with the grand army, (now supposed to amount to about 80,000 men) and advanced with hasty strides for its protection. The military world were not a little surprised at the judicious and excellent position which he chose for that purpose, and which they said would have done honour to the first general in Europe. Encamping, with the Danube extended along his whole front, his left was fully covered by Belgrade and the Saave, as his right was by the fortress of New Orsova, his rear being as effectually secured by the neighbouring Turkish garrisons and posts, which on that frontier ground were every where spread. While thus unassailable himself, he in a great measure commanded the

course of both rivers; and had it in his power to invade the enemy's territories in any direction, as the occasion might offer, and prospects of advantage invite.

This movement and position produced an immediate change in the emperor's plan of operation. The bridges over the Saave were hastily demolished, the Imperial camp at Semlin fortified on all sides, and every where covered by a prodigious artillery; and the war became now avowedly, as well as in fact, defensive. It was impossible that two such armies could subsist within so narrow a compass, without several bloody encounters taking place between their detached parties. Of these we have few particulars, and, as they produced no other effect than the loss of a great number of men on both sides, the deficiency of such details is little to be regretted. The Turks boasted of a victory obtained by the basha of Bosnia over a body of 20,000 Austrians, who, in their attempt to pass the Saave, were said to have been defeated with the loss of half their number. As no notice whatever had been taken of any such action in the Vienna gazettes, the account seems difficult of credit; and yet it must be allowed that the Turks shew no great talent for the framing of gazettes, and that they are far from being so great boasters as some of their neighbours.

But a more dreadful, as a more irresistible and destructive enemy than the Ottomans, had for some time been spreading desolation thro' the Imperial armies. It is well known that the Danubian lower provinces are not only by far the most unhealthy, and the most particularly destructive to armies, of any part of the temperate regions of Europe,  
but



but that they vie in this respect with the most deadly of the tropical climates. Heat, moisture, and putrid exhalations, produce the same effect in all; but to these is added, in the countries which were now the scene of action, the mischiefs proceeding from the exceeding sharp, cutting winds that blow at night over the snowy or frozen tops of the Carpathian mountains, and which suddenly strike a mortal chill into the human body, at the instant that it is already fainting, and seems nearly dissolved by the intense heat of the preceding sun. The Hungarian camp-fever has accordingly been long considered by physicians as a species of pestilence, and by no means the least deleterious of the class; while Hungary has ever been considered, since their first obtaining a footing in it, as the general grave of the Germans. It happened likewise, most unfortunately for the sufferers, that the heat of the present summer exceeded, by many degrees, any thing that had been before known even in those sultry regions, insomuch that it was not unusual for men, horses, oxen, and other animals, to drop dead in the fields, through the mere effect of exposure to the burning sun.

Various causes concurred, which must have predisposed the Imperial armies to the reception and generation of diseases, even in a temperate climate. Of these, ill success, and general discontent, should not be the last enumerated. The inactive indolence under which the grand army at Semlin was so long suffered to languish, cooped up within the confines of a camp, produced exactly the same effects with the unremitting duty and excessive fatigue to which the detached bodies were ex-

posed by the boldness and activity of the enemy; for, though the health and lives of soldiers undoubtedly depend upon action, yet it should be limited in degree to produce that effect.

Putrid fevers, and dysenteries of the most malignant kind, spread their baneful influence through all the Imperial armies. Officers as well as soldiers became victims to the reigning diseases; several of the generals were obliged to retire from the service, and were carried, more dead than alive, with small hopes of recovery, to their respective countries. As the season advanced, the scene became daily more deplorable, and the mortality in the course of the autumn was dreadful. Discontent and complaint became universal: the soldiers said publicly, and perhaps justly, that it were better and more honourable to lose 50,000 men in a battle, with their swords in their hands; than to perish thus miserably in the infection and poison of hospitals. Desertion likewise, the unfailing concomitant of such a state of things, became prodigious. Those fly from disease who would disdain to shrink from the sword. By these means one of the finest armies in the world, and the most nobly provided for war at the opening of the campaign, was supposed to be reduced, before its close, to less than one half of the number of its original combatants; the rest being either totally lost by desertion, mortality, and the sword, or rendered incapable of present service by disease.

Although the emperor, through his reliance on the faith of the king of Prussia, and the pacific aspect of the German confederacy, (whose band of union being only the preservation of the constitution of the empire,

empire, and the protection of its members in their respective rights, did not at all extend its views to the aggression of others) had already stripped the interior provinces of their troops, in a degree which would not have been generally deemed prudent or safe; yet in the present untoward circumstances of sickness, and of the great decrease which was daily taking place in his force, he found himself under a necessity of drawing three regiments from the garrison of Vienna as an immediate supply, and at the same time to issue orders to the hereditary countries, to dispatch 30,000 recruits with the utmost expedition, to fill up the vacancies.

This was, however, only a prelude to the immense supplies of men, which the insatiate cravings of the war demanded almost in its outset; for it was estimated that between eighty and ninety thousand recruits were drawn from their respective countries in the course of the year. As this enormous consumption of men, though rendered prompt in the supply through the coercive effect of the military conscriptions, could be ill borne by countries which are far from being in a high state of population, no pains or expence were spared to procure recruits from the neighbouring states. The king of Sardinia, upon this occasion, afforded an instance that he was by no means disposed to further the ambitious views of the united Imperial courts; that he regarded their projects rather with jealousy, if not apprehension; and that a crusade against infidels was by no means the actuating principle of the day. That prince absolutely prohibited the Austrian recruiting parties from entering his dominions, and took such effectual means as prevented a man from be-

ing drawn from them for the purpose of the war.

Although the failure of the Russians, in not joining the prince of Saxe Cobourg, had hitherto occasioned the war to languish a good deal on the side of the Bucowine, and in the adjacent Turkish provinces, which, by the cession of that district to the emperor, were laid continually open to invasion, yet it had not been entirely destitute of event, nor of a variety of small action. The Turks had early and suddenly lost the province of Moldavia, along with Jassy its capital, through the treachery of its hospodar; but it had been since almost as suddenly recovered, through the fidelity and vigorous activity of prince Maurojeni, who had been lately appointed by the Porte to the government of Walachia. The mountainous borders of Transylvania were likewise the scene of many bloody actions without glory or name, through the desperate but ineffectual efforts of the Turks to penetrate the naturally difficult, but strongly fortified and well defended defiles, which lead into that iron-bound country.

The reduction of Choczim was the first great object of the campaign, with the Imperial courts, on the side of Poland and the Bucowine. Few fortresses have been constructed, since the use and effect of artillery were understood, which, from their evil situation, are rendered so totally incapable of defence as this place. For, hanging on the side of a hill over the Niester, which alone separates it from Poland, the streets, houses, and even the movements of individuals, are generally exposed, through the greater part of the town, to the full view and the direct fire of whatever enemy is stationed

stationed on the opposite side of the river. If Poland, indeed, had been able to support its neutrality, and to maintain its independant rights of dominion and sovereignty, the attacks of the town being then of necessity confined to the Moldavian side of the river, where those disadvantages to the besieged do not subsist, the town might have been capable of a good defence.

The prince of Cobourg, in his impatience at the delay of the Russians, made several desultory attacks upon Choczim, with batteries of heavy artillery and mortars, from the Polish side of the river, which, from the situation of the place, could not but occasion damage. In the last of these, having made use of the Polish town of Braha as a cover for his batteries, and for the men who worked them, the serafquier who commanded Choczim, upon this application of a neutral place to the offensive purpose of his enemy, directed, according to the established rules of war, his shells, and the fire of his artillery, with such effect against it, that the unfortunate town was in a few hours reduced to ashes.

A Russian body of forces under general Soltikow, having at length joined the prince of Cobourg in the beginning of July, preparations were then seriously made for commencing, with their united force, the siege of Choczim in form. Although the principal and effective attacks were carried on from the Polish side of the river, they were now enabled to take such possession of the country on the Moldavian side, as entirely to enclose the place, and shut it in from the possibility of succour or supply, excepting through the inter-

vention of an equal or superior army, which the Ottomans were utterly incapable of collecting in that quarter.

During the night of the 20th of July, three Austrian and two Russian batteries were opened against Choczim; and were seconded at break of day by others erected in the ruins of Braha. The firing continued without intermission for several nights and days, and the number of shells, carcases, red-hot balls, and other modern instruments of destruction, thrown into the town, was said to exceed credibility. The situation of the place will in a great degree explain the effect of this terrible fire, which was rendered more dreadful by the correspondent internal flames that were at the same time consuming the town. All the houses in its upper part, the principal magazine, the corn-mill, the arsenal, and every thing within the direction of the enemies fire, was reduced to ashes; the very pallisadoes on the side of the fortress towards the river, and the gabions on the top of the bastions, were all consumed.

The besieging generals, who (as did the rest of Europe, when they heard the circumstances) considered the town as already in effect taken, ceased the fire of the batteries, and summoned the governor to surrender; who, July 26th. instead of an immediate compliance, as was expected, demanded three days time for deliberation, and for consulting his officers and soldiers upon a question in which they were all so deeply affected. As there was no prospect or apprehension of any relief from without, and as the destruction of the magazine seemed to render any longer defence of the town



town impossible, no difficulty was made of complying with this requisition.

But the intrepid sersaquier, instead of amusing himself in framing articles of capitulation, determined to make the best possible use of the time allotted, by a strict inquiry into the state of his defences and resources; the result of which should alone influence his further conduct. The powder magazine had fortunately escaped the danger, and measures were taken for its future security: the works of the fortress were found not to have sustained any essential injury; he knew that many of the hard and heavy articles in the arsenal might be recovered from its ruins; and he saw that the garrison would no longer be interrupted and distressed in the performance of their duty by the burning and falling of houses.

But this favourable state of things could afford little satisfaction, while the cruel doubt remained, whether any means of supporting human life were still existing within the walls. The ruins of the magazine formed an immense pile of rubbish, and the only hope was, that this might possibly cover the treasure of provision which was so much wished and wanted. This hope was not entirely vain. The falling in of the building had checked the action of the fire, so that considerable quantities of meal and grain were found unconsumed, although much damaged and spoiled. The basha, upon this discovery, returned for answer to the summons, that he did not, upon due enquiry, find that he was under any necessity of surrendering the fortress; and that his brave garrison had unanimously declared they would perish to a man, sooner than ever

consent to a surrender, while a possibility of defence remained.

This unexpected answer was considered as the effect of absolute madness; for, as the provisions were supposed to be entirely consumed, a frantic enthusiasm, even under the blind dominion of predestination, was not deemed sufficient to account for so desperate a resolution. Nothing then could exceed the public astonishment at finding, that the smoking ruins of a demolished town, with its arsenal and magazines destroyed, were most gallantly and effectually defended for two long succeeding months; and then only given up in consequence of a most honourable capitulation. Their bad and scanty fare, joined to the incessant duty, excessive fatigue, with the hardships and incommodities of every kind which they endured, had in that time reduced the garrison rather to the appearance of skeletons, than of soldiers engaged in the performance of brave service. It seemed as if the inhabitants wished to participate in the character of the garrison; for, under the pressure of misery still more extreme, without any other resource for food than the precarious supply of damaged and unwholesome provision, which, with infinite labour, and frequent disappointment, they sometimes drew from the ruins of private houses, and although they perished at the general rate of about twenty in a day, through mere want, yet not a murmur was heard, nor a wish expressed for the giving up of the fortresses.

It was only on Michaelmas day, 1788, that the heroic sersaquier, with his famished but unconquered garrison (amounting to about 2,800 men) and bearing all the ostensible honours

honours of war, marched out of that fortress.

The state of affairs, and the aspect of the war on the Danube, had undergone a total change long before this period. The grand vizir, instead of following the quiescent example set by his adversary, soon adopted measures which spread danger and tumult on all sides. Having laid bridges over the Danube at Cladova, he pushed large detachments to the other side, with a view of invading the Bannat of Temeswar, and of thereby reducing the emperor to the dilemma, either of seeing that fine province ruined, or of abandoning his strong camp at Semlin, and exposing his army to the continual attacks of the Turkish cavalry, in a dry, firm, open country, where the hills being intersected by large plains, was peculiarly adapted to their acting with advantage.

The Bannat of Temeswar is at all times difficult of conquest, thro' the prodigious strength of its capital, its inland situation, its remoteness from the Ottoman resources, and, above all, by its vicinity to the strong holds in the mountains of Transylvania, which would subject the besieging army to continual attack, surprize, and danger, besides the impossibility of protecting its convoys, with so powerful an army as the emperor's in its rear. But the country, possessing no other fortrefs of note, is liable to be ravaged by any army that is master of the field, and secure on the Danube. This was accordingly the grand vizir's object, who had no thoughts, in the present state of things, of involving himself in tedious sieges; and who, well knowing, that from the extreme fertility and high cultivation of the Bannat, nothing

could be more distressing or grievous to his enemy, he had no doubt but it would be the means of drawing him out of his fastnesses, and had then to hope, that he might be drawn into some situation, which would afford an opportunity of attacking him with unforeseen and unhop'd-for advantage.

Nothing could spread a greater consternation and dismay through the Imperial armies, the bordering provinces, and even the city of Vienna itself, than this bold invasion of the Bannat. It was so sudden, so unthought of, so subversive of all the sanguine expectations formed of the war, and of the confidence placed in the magnitude and excellence of their armies, that the people were thrown into a confusion and dismay as violent as if the enemy were already at their doors.

Strong detachments were immediately dispatched from Semlin to counteract the enemy, and endeavour to save the Bannat; while the grand vizir sent continual reinforcements to maintain the superiority which his troops had already obtained. Thus by degrees, each movement on one side begetting a similar on the other, both the grand armies were at length drawn from their respective camps, and involved, with their commanders, in the Bannat. General Wartensleben held the principal command in that province before the arrival of the emperor; and even after, he still continued in the command of a separate army, until he was at length driven, whether by the desperate courage, the superior force, or both conjointly, of the enemy, from the strong situation which he possessed on the heights of Mehadia, whereby that city was lost, and he was obliged to take shelter

shelter under the wings of the grand army.

The Austrian affairs seemed approaching to a very alarming crisis. Not only the splendid views of conquest, which were beheld in the imagined partition of a tottering empire, had totally disappeared, but had left in their place the sad and gloomy reverse of a discontented and impoverished people, an exhausted treasury, and an army thinned by pestilence and desertion. The first campaign of an invasive war had already produced an impression on the territory of the invader. In this situation it is not surprising that that overweening confidence in private opinion, which, amidst the flattery of courtiers, and the calm of peace, is easily generated in the mind of an arbitrary sovereign, should be a little abated. And it is not improbable that the emperor, at length, thought it time to resort to the more experienced and approved talents of a subject. An event now occurred, which gave a favourable occasion for the introduction of new councils.

Prince Lichtenstein's health had been so totally deranged by the destructive effect of the climate and season, that he was obliged to resign the command of the army on the side of Croatia, and was with difficulty conveyed in a litter on men's shoulders to Vienna.

Marshal Laudohn was, with some difficulty, drawn from his retirement to take the command of that army. The great name of that veteran commander, perhaps not less than his measures and abilities, served to inspire the troops with vigour and confidence. Under his auspices, fortune, which bore so gloomy an aspect in all other parts, began to

smile on the Austrian arms in that quarter. Indeed, such a gleam of sunshine was at that time absolutely necessary, to prevent the spirits of the Imperial armies from entirely sinking under the torrent of ill success, by which they were on every side nearly overwhelmed.

Marshal Laudohn's first enterprise was the siege and reduction of Dubicza; which was so obstinately defended, that the miserable remains of the garrison, when it was taken, amounted only to 366 men; and they were then compelled, it was said, to surrender at discretion, thro' the intolerable stench of the bodies of their unburied fellows; they being so constantly occupied in the defence, as not to find time for their interment. Laudohn shewed all the humanity, upon this occasion, becoming the character of a great general, who revered gallantry even in an enemy, and who had himself experienced all the vicissitudes of war. The Turkish women and children were permitted to depart with their effects, and a part of their own garrison allowed to escort them, upon their bare parole of return, and surrendering prisoners of war.

This place was taken on the 26th of August; and he proceeded directly from thence to the siege of Novi, a still stronger fortress, and where he experienced the same obstinacy of defence as before. The basha of Travenick made a bold attempt to raise the siege; but he being defeated, and what appeared to be a practicable breach made, M. Laudohn thought himself warranted by these circumstances to attempt carrying the place by assault, on the night of the 21st of September; but the place was so bravely defended, that the Austrians were repulsed



pulsed with loss, and obliged to recommence the siege in form. They, however, renewed their operations with such vigour, that, having formed lodgments on the breach and on the curtain, and brought cannon from both to play upon the town, this compelled the garrison, on the 3d of October, to hang out a flag of truce, and desire a capitulation; but this requisition was rejected, as being made too late, and the garrison was obliged to surrender at discretion. The remains of the garrison are said to have amounted to about 600 men, but we are not informed of their original state; and forty pieces of cannon were found in the fortress. Marshal Laudohn made no harsh use, nor took no undue advantage of the circumstances of the surrender; no plunder was permitted, and the garrison were well treated.

That general then sat down before Turkish Gradisca\*, with the capture of which he intended to close the campaign; but the autumnal rains came on with such violence, that the Saave overflowing its banks, soon deluged the adjoining country, in a degree that obliged M. Laudohn to raise the siege.

During this period, the war in the Bannat raged with the utmost violence; torrents of blood were shed on both sides; much desperate valour displayed on the one side, and many brave actions performed on the other; while a very great part of that fine but unfortunate country suffered all the desolation and ruin that fire and sword, under the dominion of vengeance and animosity, could inflict.

The first action of which we have any knowledge in the Bannat, was very unfortunate to the Imperialists, and took place about the 7th or 8th of August. General Papilla had the command of a large division of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Old Orsova and Schuppaneck, in the south-east angle of the province, adjoining to the Danube, and to the borders of Walachia, the camp at Semlin being more than two long marches to the west. In that situation he was suddenly attacked, the Austrian accounts say on three sides at once, with such irresistible impetuosity, by the Ottomans, that the troops seem to have been so confounded and astonished by the rapidity and violence of the shock, as not to have power or recollection for defence; for one of the same accounts states, that they did not fire a shot; and yet the attack was made by day, and no surprize was pretended.

It is certain that the desperate fury displayed by the Turkish cavalry, upon this occasion, exceeded any thing that had been ever before known even of that impetuous body, and that every thing was borne down before them, almost instantaneously. Two battalions of Reisky were cut to pieces in a moment; other divisions of the troops, broken and routed, fled into the neighbouring defiles for shelter, but, being unable to recover so suddenly their order and courage, were pursued with a dreadful slaughter. Thirteen pieces of cannon, with all the provision waggons, the tents, and baggage, with their horses, became a prey to the

\* This fortress has in preceding instances been so confounded with Dubicza, both by the Vienna and English gazettes, that we have, more than once, been at a loss to know which was intended; but here the name and description agree.

victors. No statement is given of the force on either side in this action, and the loss on one was too great to encourage the Vienna gazettes to make any estimate of it. Orsova, with several small neighbouring places, were set on fire and destroyed by the enemy, either during or after the pursuit. The grand vizir himself commanded the Ottomans in this battle; as he did in the subsequent pursuit and attacks of the emperor's army on its route to Weiskirchen.

The immediate consequence of this misfortune was the emperor's quitting the camp at Semlin, and advancing, in company with Marshal Lacy, and with the remainder of the grand army (estimated now at 40,000 men) through the Bannat to the northward, in a line which would secure his communications both with Temeswar, and with the borders of Transylvania; where, although general Fabris was already hard pressed by the enemy, the mountains, and the strong fortrefs of Arad, would afford great resources in the worst cases that might happen. But another principal object of this movement was, the drawing off, or supporting, as the occasion might require, the corps commanded by general Wartensleben, which occupied a very advantageous camp on the heights of Meadia, lying above that city. This post lies on the borders of Walachia, and consequently on the right of the emperor's line of march. The first secure post which he had in view to occupy on this route, was that of Weiskirchen, the situation of which, from its being overlooked in the maps, we cannot pretend to describe.

On this march (which seems to have taken up a greater number of

days than the extent of the country could well require) the Imperial army was closely pursued and incessantly harassed on all sides by the grand vizir; who, though by the superiority of their artillery and discipline he was repeatedly foiled in his attempts to break in upon the main body, yet was too frequently successful in his attacks on the wings, and those outlying parts which the nature of the ground separated in any degree from the succour of their fellows. On one of these occasions, two battalions of Breachanville were unfortunately cut to pieces, scarcely a man escaping; for it is said the Turkish cavalry, in the violence or fury of their zeal, had for some time entered into a resolution neither to give nor to take quarter. The army at length arrived at Weiskirchen, Aug. 20th. where it had some little time to pause and to recover from its fatigue.

In the mean time the serasquier of Georgia, who was properly the grand vizir's lieutenant, and commanded a separate corps of sixteen or eighteen thousand men, mostly cavalry, made repeated efforts to dislodge general Wartensleben, who commanded an inferior force, from his advantageous post on the heights of Meadia. One whole day was nearly spent in continual action, if it might properly be called action, where the Turks were so prodigal of life, and so inartificial in their attacks, that the Austrian infantry, covered by their redoubts, had little more to do than to mow them down by whole ranks with their grape-shot.

Notwithstanding the severe loss on this day's encounter, the serasquier attacked, with unabated vigour, the strong redoubt and defile

of Bursa, on the following evening; the possession of which would have greatly facilitated his main object. Though he was repulsed with loss in this attack, yet perseverance at length succeeded, and the post, notwithstanding a most valorous defence made by the Austrians, was carried without much skill or address, by the joint operation of numbers and resolution.

The emperor, after five days stay at Weiskirchen, proceeded towards Karansebes, which lies on the eastern side of the province, and considerably more to the northward than Meadia. This position he considered as equally calculated for the protection of Transylvania, and the support of general Wartensleben; while the situation was strong, and in other respects advantageous for a camp. But the loss of Bursa had rendered Wartensleben's situation very critical, who, even before that event, had looked anxiously for the relief or reinforcement which he daily expected from the emperor. The incessant exertions of the serasquier, who was no less prodigal of the lives of his soldiers than they were themselves individually, soon increased that general's difficulties to such a degree, that it required no common degree of ability and dexterity to extricate himself from the danger, before the toils were entirely closed.

For, besides continual alarms on every side, a body of Turks, with incredible labour and perseverance, dragged a number of heavy cannon to the top of a hill or mountain, which overlooked and commanded the Austrian camp, and which was so steep, and considered as being so utterly impracticable, that any suggestion of such a measure would have been previously treated with

ridicule. This unexpected stroke determined general Wartensleben's conduct. He abandoned his camp that night, and, pursuing the route to Karansebes, in order to join the emperor, conducted his retreat so ably, as to suffer no extraordinary loss. He was, however, obliged to abandon Meadia, with its dependent towns or villages, together with some magazines of provision and ammunition, to the enemy. The Turks purchased their success dearly, thro' the great number of men which they threw away in their various desperate attacks.

About this time, the Turks took a town or place called Mitrouski (of which we have no knowledge) after a very brave defence, and with an avowed considerable loss of men. A famous cavern, situated in an impracticable defile covered with mountains, and called the Veteranschihole, from general Veterani of the last century, by whom it was first fortified, was, after a most obstinate resistance made by a handful of men, at length compelled to surrender. The grand vizir was so much charmed with their gallantry, that, besides granting them an honourable capitulation and safe convoy, he desired to see the brave major who commanded, and his fellow officers, upon their coming out. The Ottoman treated them with great liberality, and declared to them, at parting, after a sumptuous regale and much praise, "That it was with the greatest regret the Ottomans found themselves forced into a war with the emperor, after having, by the most religious observance of treaties, given the fullest proofs of their being honest and peaceable neighbours."

Vipalanka,



Vipalanka, a place of more importance than any of these, and lying far in the rear of both armies, near the Danube, was likewise about this time taken by the Turks, whose superiority was every where manifest. During all these transactions, the war was carried on with great vehemence on the borders of Transylvania, where, though the success was various, and the contests bloody, yet general Fabris, though much inferior in force, made such good use of his artillery, and defended the mountains and passes with so much ability, that the Turks were at no time able to establish themselves in the interior country.

The emperor, being joined by general Wartenleben, fixed his camp in the valley of Karansebes, which, from other circumstances, as well as its being contradistinguished from the plain of the same name, we conceive to be situated in a gorge of the mountains, and to be strongly secured on two, if not on three sides by them.

The grand vizir being likewise strengthened by the junction of the seraskier's forces, lost no time in pressing hard upon the Imperial army, and displayed no less boldness than ability in the choice of the various posts which he occupied on all sides, in order to render their present situation untenable, and to throw such difficulties in the way, as should disable them from abandoning it without danger and loss.

In the prosecution of this plan, the Turks erected several batteries of heavy cannon and mortars on the adjoining mountains, in sight of the Austrians; who, from the height and steepness of the hills, were not able to interrupt their operations. While the fire of these batteries caused no

small alarm and disturbance in the camp, a bold attempt Sept. 14th. was made, by a considerable body of Turkish infantry and cavalry, to turn the Austrian left, and to attack the army in the rear. Though this attempt did not entirely succeed, and that the Turks were said to have been repulsed with great slaughter, yet other accounts gave a very different statement of the affair, representing the Imperial right wing as being by some circumstance rendered incapable of succouring the left, by which the latter suffered extremely.

On which side the fact lay, in this instance, is of the less consequence, as within a week the Imperial army found itself involved in such difficulties, as to be under a necessity of abandoning its camp in Sept. 21st. the valley of Karansebes, of descending into the open plain, and of being subjected to the vehement pursuit of a victorious enemy, on its march to Lugos, a place more to the northward than that which they had quitted. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this retreat, nor disgraceful to a veteran disciplined army than the panic which seemed to pervade all its parts. Two columns crossing or meeting in the dark, each mistaking the other for the enemy, fired, and it was said that 1,400 men were sacrificed before the error was detected. The terror, disorder, and confusion were so great, that the batmen throwing the loads from off their horses, and the waggoners taking theirs from the carriages, made their escape different ways, as their fears directed them; while the plain was strowed with baggage and carriages, which fell, without trouble, into the hands of the enemy.

The Turks boasted, in their account, of a complete victory gained after an obstinate struggle; of a bloody pursuit of three hours; and represent the artillery, arms, baggage, and accoutrements taken, as the fruits of both. Whatever truth may or may not be in this relation, it is certain that nothing can carry stronger marks of a complete rout, than this unfortunate affair does, even in the Austrian accounts of it. It was estimated that the emperor had not lost less than 5,000 men, between the time of breaking up his camp at Karansebes, and the arrival of his army at Lugos.

This affair nearly closed the campaign in the Bannat. The Imperial army, from the vicinity of Temeswar and Transylvania, was in tolerable security, and the lateness of the season began to affect the enemy. The autumnal rains came on with a violence scarcely known before; and, besides rendering many parts of the country impracticable, ruined the Turkish horses in such a manner, that 6,000 of their cavalry were dismounted, and forced to serve on foot. The Turkish troops are ill calculated, either by nature or circumstance, to withstand the extremities of cold and wet. The grand vizir had besides lost a prodigious number of men, in the repeated bloody exertions of this short campaign. He could not retain his new possessions in the Bannat, none of which were of any considerable strength, without the continuance there of the whole army, which, besides the difficulties and inconveniences arising from the distance of their magazines and resources, would be a means of exposing Belgrade and the Danubian provinces to great danger during the winter, when sud-

den movements would be impracticable, and the troops he commanded very unfit for action.

From these, and probably other causes and motives, particularly that of maintaining an uninterrupted communication with the court, and of supporting his interest in the Divan, the grand vizir commenced his march for Belgrade.

Oct. 20th. The knowledge of this movement alarmed the emperor so much for the security of his strong lines at Semlin, that he immediately marched with the utmost expedition the same way for their protection. In this course he endeavoured as much as was possible (but without much effect) to harass the vizir's army on its march. Some successes were however claimed; and one of them, as recorded in the Vienna gazettes, was attended with such particular circumstances, that they may perhaps serve to excuse its insertion. An Austrian division having come up with a body of the retreating enemy, which they attacked with great fury, were so roughly received, that a battalion of chasseurs was cut to pieces; they, however, prevailed, repulsed and drove the enemy; when, strange to relate! the vanquished Turks carried off with them in their rout, the baggage, horses, and pontons of the pursuing victors. Such is the state of information obtainable from authorized gazettes, in a war of concealment!

The emperor soon after departed for Vienna, a measure which the bad state of his health had long before rendered necessary. All the fruits which he derived for the immense expences, a waste of men almost unheard of, and the ruin of one of the finest and most rising provinces in his dominions, from this very bloody

and destructive campaign, were two or three insignificant places on the frontiers of Croatia, with the fortresses of Choczim, in Moldavia, and some parts of the adjoining country, which he held in common with the Russians. For these, it may be truly said, that he besides bartered his life, and sacrificed, in no small degree, that very high military character and reputation which his armies before possessed.

As this sovereign was singular in many things, if not all, he is said to have written a general letter to his armies at the close of the campaign. In this epistle, he by no means scattered indiscriminate praise; for, while he generally and highly applauded the conduct of the cavalry, he was rather severe upon the infantry, whom he reproached with not displaying that celerity and vigour of exertion, which were alone capable of repelling the impetuous attacks of their enemies. He likewise complained much of the jealousy which prevailed among the commanding officers, and to which he attributed many miscarriages.

As the grand vizir knew they must of necessity be sacrificed, he left but slight garrisons, in general, in those places which he possessed in the Bannat; so that they were soon and easily recovered. But Vipalanka, which was of greater importance, and lay within his reach, he certainly intended to retain, and should have provided better than he did for its defence. Perhaps he relied more than he should upon the want of vigour which had long appeared in the operations of his enemy; for, though the garrison consisted of a thousand chosen men, that number was inadequate to the purpose. This remissness did not escape the vigi-

lance of count Harrach, who, soon after the emperor's departure, attacked the place with such vigour and effect, that the garrison, after the loss of a fifth of their number, were obliged to surrender at discretion. This occasioned the renewal of an observation which had been before frequently made, viz. that the Imperial generals were much more successful in the absence than under the eye of their master. It was likewise observed, that all those commanders who, like Laudohn, were of sufficient importance to demand attention to their proposals, were uniform in their endeavours to obtain commands distinct and remote from the grand army.

It is very singular, at least appears so in the view which can yet be taken of affairs at this distance, that marshal count Lacy, who had acquired such high reputation and honour, in former wars, as to be considered among the first generals in Europe, is scarcely ever mentioned in the transactions of this campaign, any other than as companion, or, as it would seem, as private secretary to the emperor.

An armistice was concluded in the month of November, for an indefinite term, between the Austrian and the Ottoman generals; but the contracting parties were each bound to give ten days previous notice to the other of their intention, before they in any degree renewed hostilities. Indeed the excessive severity of the winter, which occasioned such havoc among men and other animals in most parts of Europe, rendering it nearly impossible for either to subsist in the open air, seemed to supersede for the present the necessity of a formal armistice; and as it was, produced the most



deplorable effects upon the poor relics of the war, on their way to quarters of refreshment; so that the calamities of this very hard campaign did not end with its action.

As the present grand signior mixed more in the politics of Europe, and understood them better, than most of his predecessors, so he was not inattentive to the numberless causes of dislike and discontent, which the emperor's harsh and arbitrary measures, in the government of Hungary, had afforded to that brave nation; for he had carried his contempt of all legal forms, conventions, and obligations, to such an extent, that he not only disdained to receive the kingdom upon the easy condition of being crowned in it, (for want of which he was their sovereign) only by force, but not constitutionally; but he had sent their ancient crown and regalia to Vienna, as if they had been the spoil and trophies of a conquered nation. The grand signior accordingly published a manifesto, before the close of the campaign, calling upon and inviting them, as a people so long renowned for valour, to assert their liberty in shaking off the Austrian yoke; assuring them withal, of the fullest protection in their present, and the most perfect restoration of all their ancient rights and privileges, both civil and religious.

This manifesto, though it answered no immediate purpose to the Ottomans, produced an excellent effect upon the emperor; who, at this crisis, found himself so seriously alarmed by it, that he hastily issued a proclamation, in which he bound himself to the Hungarians for the restoration of their ancient constitution, and of all their peculiar rights and privileges. Nor did the im-

pression now made soon wear away, for on his death-bed, and only a few days before his decease, he ordered the contested crown and regalia to be sent back from Vienna to Buda. Happy would it be to mankind, if the approach of death, or any other cause, could always produce so salutary an effect upon their oppressors.

The people of Constantinople had been so long used to hear of nothing but defeat and misfortune from their armies, that they were not disposed to give much credit to the favourable accounts which they had from time to time received of the progress of the campaign. But when the victory near Karansebes, with the consequent ruinous retreat of the Imperial army, were confirmed by the sight of trophies, and by a detail of preceding and subsequent circumstances, nothing could exceed their joy, nor, so far as the gravity of their manners admit, their expressions of it. The grand signior was publicly saluted by the mufti, clergy, and courtiers, with the title of Gazi, or conqueror; and that pleasing sound reverberated through the metropolis by the joyful acclamations of the people. To give full effect to this honour, the title was recognized and confirmed by a religious ceremonial, similar to a general thanksgiving in Christendom, which was celebrated in all the mosques of the empire.

In a direct inverse ratio to the joy and triumph which took place upon this occasion, was the sudden dejection, hopelessness, and dismay, which seized the people, when the news soon after arrived, that the grand vizir had abandoned the Bannat, and thereby, as was supposed, not only cowardly resigned all the past advantages of the war, but even sacrificed



sacrificed its future fortune. The account of the loss of Vipalanka, which soon succeeded, increased the public indignation to such an extreme, that, had the grand vizir been on the spot, he probably would have fallen a victim to the vengeance and fury of the people.

An ignorant court and divan, who were little better judges of military affairs than the populace, and who were likewise operated upon by private views and cabals, adopted, or seemed to adopt, all their prejudices. The grand signior alone continued firm in the opinion he held of his general. From this, however, proceeded the ruin, which not long after, under a new, giddy, and inexperi-

enced reign, fell upon that great commander, and which nearly involved in his fall the destruction of the empire. He must have been, indeed, a truly great man, who, destitute himself of all experience in war, and at the head of raw undisciplined forces, who had never before seen the face of an enemy, could, by the mere force of his genius, have used such astonishing efforts for restoring the character and honour of the Ottoman arms, and for again exalting the fallen fortune of the empire. His military errors (if any) were few, and his evacuating the Bannat can never be admitted amongst them.

## C H A P. III.

Preparations of Russia for conducting the war, directed to the side of the Black Sea. Supposed causes or motives for her failure of co-operation with the Austrians on the Danube. Powerful Squadron equipped for the Mediterranean. Light Squadron or flotilla, under the conduct of the Prince of Nassau, prepared on the Black Sea. Allied empires seem to have relied too much upon the supposed supineness of other powers, in the adoption of their present ambitious designs. General apparent disposition of the powers and states of Europe with respect to the war. Italian states. Spain. France. Northern powers. Holland. Prussia. England. Great disappointment to Russia, and check given to the Mediterranean expedition, through the declared neutrality of England and Holland, and the restraint laid upon its seamen and shipping from entering into foreign service by the former. Sixty British officers in the Russian naval service go in a body to lay down their commissions, upon the appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the fleet at Cronstadt. Thut adventurer sent to the Black Sea. Vast Russian army appears on the borders of the Bog. General Solitikow marches to join the prince of Cobourg. Prince Potemkin advances to besiege Oczakow. Several engagements between the Russian and Turkish flotillas at the mouth of the Nieper, in which the latter are constantly defeated. Siege of Oczakow commenced; flotilla destroyed, and town bombarded by the prince of Nassau. Unusual length of the siege and obstinacy of the defence. Winter approaches, and little progress yet made. Excessive coldness of the winter reduces the besiegers to great distress. Russian cavalry, incapable any longer of enduring the extremity of the weather, desert their infantry, and abandon the siege. Mutiny apprehended in the camp. Prince Potemkin, as the last resort, orders a general bombardment and cannonade with red-hot balls. Shell falls upon the grand powder magazine, which blows up with so terrible an explosion, as to destroy a great part of the wall. Long and bloody engagement in the streets and houses. Town taken with dreadful slaughter. Great designs of Russia against the Ottoman empire interrupted by the war with Sweden. Causes and motives which operated upon the Swedish sovereign in adopting that unexpected measure. Army sent to Finland: fleet sails from Carlskroon. Note presented by the Russian minister at Stockholm, greatly resented by the king. Answer to it. Circular note to the foreign ministers. Count Razamowski ordered to depart the kingdom. King proceeds to Finland. Hostilities commence. Russian manifesto. Severe naval action between the Russians and Swedes. Victory claimed on both sides. Great valour displayed by the Swedes, who were much inferior in force, Admiral Greig attacks the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, and burns a ship of the line. Russians become masters of the midland seas within the Sound; take a Swedish flotilla laden with provisions for the fleet and army. Joy at Petersburg. Honours paid to admiral Greig. Empress writes a letter to him with her own hand. His death and pompous funeral. Delinquent officers, who had been sent home in irons for misbehaviour in the late

*late sea fight, condemned for life to the galleys. Swedish manifesto. Great disappointments and mortifications experienced by the king, through the disaffection of the principal officers of the army, which renders the campaign ineffective on the side of Finland. Obligated to abandon the army to the care of his brother the duke of Ostrogothia, and to depart suddenly himself from Finland, in order to oppose the irruption of the Danes on the side of Norway.*

**T**HOUGH the warlike preparations of Russia were vast, and the expences, in any other country, and any other form of government, would have been enormous, yet the movements of her armies, as we have already seen, were extremely slow. It is impossible to determine, with any precision, what the concerted arrangements for the operations of the campaign, between the Imperial allies, might have been; but it is evident, from the disappointment, vexation, and complaint, which prevailed both at Vienna and in the grand army, together with the anxiety and chagrin which appeared in the emperor himself, thro' the tardiness of the Russians, that a strong co-operation of their force was eagerly expected on the borders of the Danube.

Whatever ground there might have been for this expectation, it appears now clearly from the event, that Russia directed her views principally to her own separate aggrandizement, by enlarging and securing her possessions on the Black Sea, in such a manner, as to form there such a body of power as could not hereafter be shaken; this being the grand magnet which, with little interruption to its power, had attracted the views of that empire from the days of Peter the Great to the present. Nor should we attribute too much to selfish and interested motives her conduct in the present instance; and still less consider it as

a shameful dereliction of her ally. For undoubtedly Russia supposed, as the rest of the world did, that the emperor, with the vast force in his hands, and the admirable nature of that force, consisting in tried and excellent armies, was not only fully competent to maintain the war on the Danube with effect, but was likewise capable of making such an irruption into the Turkish dominions on that side, as might have shaken the Ottoman empire to its centre; more especially when she reflected, that, as her own powerful armies would at the same time be making a deep impression in other parts, that would produce, by dividing the force and distracting the councils and attention of the enemy, perhaps a greater effect, than a direct co-operation in the same field. It may therefore be presumed, that any room which Russia afforded for such an expectation, though it amounted even to an absolute engagement, was intended merely to cheer up and to encourage an unfledged warrior, until he had felt his own strength, was grown warm by action, and become sanguine from success.

But if Russia was slow in her movements by land, she was by no means slack in her naval preparation, which was so favourite an object, that no labour was deemed a toil, nor no expence a waste of treasure, in its pursuit. For, besides that the sea presented the Ottoman weak

weak side, and that one decisive action on that element would more fatally affect the security of the Turkish empire than the loss of half a dozen battles by land, Egypt, and the beautiful islands of the Archipelago, held out such a variety of fascinating objects, and so apparently easy of attainment, that it would require no common degree of political temperance and self-denial to withstand the temptation of seizing them. It need scarcely be observed, that all the Ottoman possessions on the continent of Europe must, after such an event, lie at the mercy of Russia.

A powerful fleet of eighteen sail of the line, most of them heavy ships, of high rates, and great weight of metal, together with a cloud of frigates, and other smaller and lighter vessels, suited to the nature of the seas, and intended service, were accordingly equipped, and destined for the Mediterranean. As the celebrated count Orlow, who had acquired so much glory in the last war, and who had the addition of *Chisme* to his title, in commemoration of the remarkable destruction which then befel the Turkish fleet, in a port or bay of that name, on the coast of the Lesser Asia, had now declined, from some causes not generally known, to take upon him the command of this expedition, that important trust was committed to the charge of admiral Greig, a Scotsman, and a brave and distinguished seaman, who, in a strange country, without fortune or interest, had risen, merely by his superior merit, from the humblest walks of life to his present exalted situation.

Another naval armament was pre-

pared, with no less industry, for the service of the Black Sea; but, Russia not being able to cope with her enemy there, in the number or strength of line of battle ships which she could bring into action, intended to supply this defect by the construction of a numerous flotilla, composed of frigates, gallies, gun-boats, and various descriptions of light vessels, calculated to act near the shores, in a depth of water which would not admit the approach of capital ships. It was, however, principally intended for the security of *Kinburne*, by rendering the entrance of the *Nieper* inaccessible to the Turkish fleet; which was the more easily accomplished, as the navigation is at all times difficult, and particularly dangerous to bad seamen, from the number of shoals with which the river is incumbered, together with the narrowness of its channels, and variety of the currents. As these vessels were not, on this service, liable to be exposed to the dangers of seas and storms, they were accordingly fortified with a tremendous artillery, composed of heavy battering cannon, and of large mortars: and, being besides excellently stored with able seamen and veteran soldiers, they were eminently fitted for the designed purpose. The prince of *Nassau*, who we may remember to have heard of in the last war, both in the French unfortunate attempt on the island of *Jersey*, and in the still more disastrous attack of the combined nations, of France and Spain, on the fortress of *Gibraltar*; and whose uncommon rage for adventure, and eagerness to signalize himself, have led him almost to every part of the world, where any service was to be performed, or danger encountered;



countered; was appointed to the command of this naval armament on the Black Sea.

It would seem as if the unaccountable supineness with which Europe looked on, as if totally unconcerned, at that dangerous precedent, and atrocious act of fraud, perfidy, and violence, the dismemberment of their neighbour kingdom of Poland, had misled the united allies of Austria and Russia in their present system of policy, and that they took it for granted, that the subversion of an ancient, and one of the greatest empires in the world, with the apportioning of its vast members and spoils to their mutual aggrandizement, would have been beheld with the same indifference in the present day, which had prevailed on their first essay at partitioning countries in the former memorable instance.

But things were now changed, and the minds of men and of nations were not asleep; or, what amounts to the same thing, were not so entirely occupied by mean concerns, or selfish petty designs, as to overlook affairs of the greatest moment. That supineness, to which both great communities and the most watchful individuals are at particular periods subject, may, perhaps, with propriety, be as much considered as an epidemical disease of the mind, as those which rank under the same description are with respect to the body. Some of the principal powers in Europe had long since looked back with wonder and regret at their own inertness upon that occasion. The insupportable haughtiness and arrogance of one of the allied powers, which was disposed to dictate to all mankind in their most secluded concerns, together with the selfish policy and known duplicity of the

other, served likewise to rouse that general attention, and to awaken that jealousy, which their power and union alone should have been fully competent to excite, without any auxiliary aid. England too, had had full leisure to ruminate upon, and sufficient cause to reprobate, that absurd and blind policy, under the influence of which she had drawn an uncertain ally, and an ever to be suspected friend, from the bottom of the Bothnic gulph, to establish a new naval empire in the Mediterranean and Archipelago; a measure which, if it could have taken effect, that not only would have proved in the end ruinous to England herself, but which would have involved, while it could last, all the vast surrounding regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in continued broils, troubles, and wars.

The allied empires accordingly now experienced a very general coldness, with an implied or declared disapprobation, with respect to their claims, pretensions, and designs, in almost all the courts of Europe. The republic of Genoa was almost the only exception; she, besides a considerable loan, granted the use of her ports to Russia, and engaged to furnish the Mediterranean fleet with stores and supplies. We have already seen the determination of Venice with respect to the war, and the refusal of the king of Sardinia to permit recruiting in his dominions. The new commercial treaties which Russia had entered into with Naples and Portugal, whatever future benefits they might possibly afford in seasons of peace, could tell but little with respect to the war. But Spain, which was of much greater importance than both together, had a Turkish ambassador then at her court, who

who was treated with the greatest honours, and was not only herself at all times avowedly inimical to the Russians obtaining any footing whatever in the Mediterranean, but, it was now universally believed, would have resisted the passage of their fleet through the streights by force of arms; and nobody was ignorant that her fleets were far superior, both in number and goodness, to those of Russia.

With respect to France, she made no secret of her disposition, nor could any doubt be entertained of it though she had. An uninterrupted alliance for between two and three centuries (a duration of friendship scarcely to be paralleled between nations upon any equality of power) a most advantageous commerce, amounting nearly to a monopoly, through that period, together with many particular acts of friendship, and many essential political services in seasons of great occasion, were, exclusive of that just policy, which had long induced her to regard with a jealous eye any augmentation of power to Russia, the strong ties that bound France to the Porte. It was then easily seen, that nothing less than the deranged present state of her own affairs, could compel her to be a quiescent spectator to the ruin of the Ottoman empire.

As to the northern powers, Sweden ordered the strictest neutrality to be observed, and forbid her seamen, and subjects in general, from entering into the service of any of the belligerent powers. Denmark was silent, and the part she was disposed to take not yet understood by her nearest neighbours; but, although she was known to be a good deal in the hands of Russia, yet it

was not believed that, under the influence of a wise political foresight, she could really wish any farther aggrandizement of that overgrown empire, whose colossal power had already rendered the independence and liberties of all the nations of the north extremely precarious.

Holland, the open mart of all nations, whether friends or enemies, for all commodities, lent some money to Russia; but this was no public act, and the loan dragged on but heavily even with individuals. With regard to the political sentiments of that republic, nobody would venture to suspect her present government of being at all favourably disposed to those schemes of ambition and conquest adopted by the allied empires.

The Prussian monarch, both from situation and power, seemed alone capable of disturbing the views, and even of entirely frustrating the designs of the allied empires; nor was there more than one sovereign in Europe, to whom any great accession of dominion to either would have been so immediately dangerous. And, though he was not perhaps competent singly to maintain a contest against their vast united force, yet, in a cause which affected so many other interests as the present, he could not long fail of effective alliances. His policy was, however, too deep to be yet fathomed. Collected in his redoubtable native force, which rendered him superior to apprehension and circumstance, he coolly surveyed the gathering tempest, and waited to behold it burst, with a steady eye, and an undaunted countenance. The emperor had done as much, as the habitual stiffness and pride of the court of Vienna, joined to his own incurable

able animosity, could well admit, in order to procure the quiescence and good neighbourhood of Prussia during the war. But the superior haughtiness of his great ally disdained to stoop to temporizing measures, or to conciliatory expressions. It seemed as if she rather wished, that Prussia was considered as not of sufficient importance to come within her estimate of things, than that it should be at all regarded as interfering with her views of ambition, or as capable of disturbing her calculations of conquest and dominion. Perhaps it was thought that all the spirit and wisdom of that kingdom had fled with the immortal Frederic.

Such was the aspect of public affairs, and so little favour did the countenance of most of the European powers express to that war, which its partizans warmly hoped, and many others expected, would have terminated in the final subversion of the Ottoman empire.

The disposition of the first maritime power in the world was still unknown; and upon that much depended. We have seen that the expedition to the Mediterranean was a most favourite object with Russia; but it was not its being merely a favourite that rendered it of importance; it was considered as the most effective, if not the most potent arm of the war, without whose aid no other exertion could be deemed absolutely decisive. Yet it was scarcely possible that this expedition could succeed, in almost any degree, without the concurrence, favour, and even assistance of England. With an equal disregard of future consequences, and contempt of former favours and services, Russia had, for several years, heaped disobligation

upon disobligation, in her transactions with Great Britain; and even now, when so much was immediately at stake, she still refused to renew the commercial treaties which had so long subsisted between the two nations; at the same time that she was running about all Europe to form commercial engagements with states, who from nature, situation, and circumstances, were incapable of receiving or communicating any benefit from the connection; and that the English merchants, without the security of a treaty, were still the great supporters of the manufactures and commerce of that empire.——Yet, she expected, that England would again become the dupe to her ambition!

In this confidence, pilot-boats were engaged in England, to wait in proper stations for the arrival of the Russian fleet; to guide them into those ports, which, being the station of the royal naval arsenals, could the more expeditiously supply them with all manner of stores and provisions, and, at the same time, most effectually facilitate their equipment for the Mediterranean service. These objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the channel, and then to be replaced by a new set, equally versed in the navigation of the more distant seas which they were to encounter.

In the mean time, some merchants in London, as agents to the court of Petersburg, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ships, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, in the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promising train seemed the state of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette,

Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service, threw a fatal damp upon the design. This was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for supplying them must be renounced; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war, with respect to all the hostile powers, and consequently should afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of remedying in some degree this grievous disappointment, or at least of putting the better countenance upon the business, and affecting not to regard it, Russia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of large transports to answer the same purpose; but here the disappointment was renewed, that government not only absolutely refusing a compliance with the request, but declaring its fixed determination to observe the strictest neutrality through the course of the war. As this rejection was attributed solely to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, so it was added to the black catalogue of her political sins, and stored up for future remembrance.

Though nothing could exceed the vexation which this disappointment occasioned, nor serve more effectually to exasperate the court of Petersburg, yet it happened, singularly enough, that few things could have been of more essential service to her than the failure. For, had that fleet proceeded on its intended course to the Mediterranean early in the summer (as was intended, and the service required) the remaining part of her marine force, her great naval and military arsenals, her

ports, - her golden acquisition, the province of Livonia, and her capital itself, would have been all exposed to great risque and apparent danger, in consequence of the rupture which soon after took place between her and her jealous and exasperated neighbour, the king of Sweden. Thus, it not seldom happens, that the favoured children of fortune are greatly served by her in spite of themselves, by her overruling and counteracting those ill-laid designs, which the blindness of their passions and violence of their desires have given birth to.

Although the Russian fleets appeared powerful and formidable, from the number of ships, men, and guns of which they consisted, yet one defect prevailed, which was nearly an irremediable source of weakness. This was the want of native officers of sufficient ability and experience to conduct their operations with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this want could be fully supplied by foreigners; it was, however, the only resource; and the conclusion of the American war afforded a considerable supply of young English officers, whose minds were too active to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of these, had risen to any higher rank in their own service than that of lieutenant, so that the command of single ships seemed the highest advancement they could yet be competent to. They were, however, of the utmost importance to Russia in the present state of things, and Great Britain, notwithstanding the jealousies subsisting between both courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them.

This known paucity of commanders



ders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the English pirate and renegado, Paul Jones, who had rendered himself so notorious in the American war, by the mischiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whose desperate courage, which only served to render his atrociousness conspicuous, would, in a good cause, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the consideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his services to the court of Petersburg, where they seem to have been joyfully received, for he was immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronstadt. The British officers, full of those national and professional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and service, considered this appointment as the highest affront that could be offered to them, and a submission to it an act of such degradation, that no time or circumstance could wipe away the dishonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of above three-score, without a single dissentient lagging behind, or hesitating on the account of inconvenience or personal distress, to lay down their commissions, declaring at the same time, that it was impossible for them either to serve under, or to act with, in any manner or capacity whatever, a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarrassing to the court of Petersburg, at the pre-

sent critical period, than this spirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard-of in that service. No Russian, under the first rank or order, would dare to insinuate such an idea. As it was, it could not be considered as less than a direct insult to the court, and any submission to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would besides establish a precedent which may be troublesome or dangerous with respect to her own subjects. Happy it was that the officers were not the subjects of a small state, and that this did not happen in a season of peace, when their services might be dispensed with. Under these united circumstances, a sentence of serving for life before the mast, would have been deemed a lenient punishment for their contumacy. The necessity of the time, however, prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronstadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whose character of an impetuous courage had made an impression on the court far beyond its real value) was dispatched to the Black Sea as second to the prince of Nassau.

In the mean time vast armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to insure the most decisive success, could be withheld from the grand favourite, prince Potemkin, in whose department the war lay. It was even expected, that, in the distribution of kingdoms and empires, a sovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his share. Those Russians, who considered themselves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the most serious apprehensions of the consequences which might ensue, under  
certain.

certain possible and natural circumstances, from so vast a power being lodged in the hands of a single man, as he already possessed. With respect to the war, nothing could exhibit a more forbidding or a more deplorable aspect than the intended scene of action. Famine, pestilence, with all the desolation and calamity of a long and most cruel war, had laid waste the Tartar countries, and ravaged both the Russian and Turkish borders, so that all the provision for the armies, the single article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immense distance.

In defiance of these difficulties, a vast Russian army, estimated at 150,000 men, appeared on the banks of the river Bog, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Black Sea, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general Romanzow; these being assisted by prince Repnin, general Soltikow, and other commanders of note. This great force was supported by a field train of 137 pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, destined for the siege of Oczakow; and furnished with that exuberance of powder, ball, shells, and all manner of military machines, which are the usual concomitants of a Russian army, particularly when engaged, as at present, upon favourite service. A large portion of this army, under the command of General Romanzow, was designed to command respect on the side of Poland and Lithuania, and to furnish a strong separate command under general Soltikow, to support the Austrian commander prince de Cobourg, on the side of Moldavia, with a view first

to the siege of Chockzim, and after that capture, to the conquest of the whole province. This assignment of the active and principal service to prince Potemkin, was so decisive a victory over his great rival, and competitor for honour and favour, general Romanzow, and so grievous a mortification to the latter, that it has since occasioned his resignation.

In the mean time, the captain pacha having taken the command of the Turkish force on the Black Sea, appeared with a numerous fleet at the mouth of the Nieper, where the service grew warm between him and the prince of Nassau, who, with his flotilla of galleys and light vessels, opposed, with great success, the attempts of the enemy to become masters of that river.

Two, if not three, desperate and bloody engagements took place between the hostile armaments, in that broad lake which is formed by the Nieper and the Bog, before their junction with the Black Sea, and which is itself so considerable a piece of water, as to be distinguished by the name of the Liman Sea. In all these the Russians were so highly successful, as to afford occasion for singing *Te Deum* twice, if not oftener, both at Petersburg and in the army of prince Potemkin. The Turks displayed as desperate a valour in these amphibious engagements (which could scarcely be considered as naval) as their brethren had done by land, on the borders of the Danube; but, through that fatal indolence which has so long marked the conduct of that government, they were totally ignorant of the navigation of a river, which had for so many ages been in their possession. The Russians were likewise superior

to them in point of seamanship; still more in the construction and fitness of their vessels for the service; and above all in the management of their powerful artillery.

A loose relation of one of these actions, taken from accounts which ever studiously abstain from any thing that carries the appearance of perspicuity or precision, will, however, serve to convey some general idea of the whole, or at least of the nature of the service.

We are not certain whether it was in the first or the second engagement, that the captain pacha lay with his fleet of line of battle ships on the Oczakow side of the river, but stretching between that fortress and its mouth. The prince of Nassau's flotilla occupied the shoals and channels of the broad water in front, which extended to the Kinburne side. The Turks having failed in all their attempts to cannonade the Russian light fleet, with any effect, from their great ships, the high admiral endeavoured to remedy this defect, by hastily forming a similar light armament to engage them upon equal terms. For this purpose he collected all the small vessels that were within his reach, which, with the boats belonging to the ships of war, the frigates, and perhaps some galleys appertaining to the fleet, formed, all together, an armament far superior in number to that of the prince of Nassau; but as far inferior in point of construction and equipment. The victory, however, as we shall see, did not depend upon either, but upon the ignorance of the Turks with respect to the river and its navigation.

The great admiral, with his usual eagerness and accustomed intrepidity,

took the command of this armament himself, and directed the attack in a frigate, with his standard displayed. The Russian armament was very advantageously posted, being drawn up in a line near Kinburne, where, besides the difficulties of the approach, they were in a great measure covered by the cannon of the fortresses. The Turkish vessels soon began to stick in the sands, and were at the same time woefully torn, by the incessant and excellently directed fire of their enemy. The grand admiral's frigate, in his eagerness to bear down upon a vexatious enemy, who seemed so nearly within his reach, stuck so fast, that she could never be got off; and, whether it proceeded from a rash obstinacy or not, continued for several hours in that position, equally exposed to the fire from the town and from the vessels. At length, though the frigate was on fire, he was not brought off until she was nearly burnt to the water edge. A signal instance of intrepidity was then shewn by a Russian, who boarded her in that state, and carried off the standard just before she blew up.

Five other vessels, including a second flag, were burnt, and two taken; the remainder of the scattered flotilla fled for shelter to the ships of the line. Three or four thousand prisoners were said to be taken; but the loss of vessels holds no proportion to such a number. The grand admiral was, however, obliged to proceed to the port of Varna with the fleet, either to refit, to take in supplies, or both; but he soon appeared again in the Nieper. —In another action, similar to this, and which seems to have been pre-

vious to it, two Turkish vessels were blown up, one sunk, and the rest routed.

As if the Russian details of military transactions had not at all times been so obscure and imperfect as to require every possible auxiliary aid that could be obtained for their elucidation, so that court, as if fascinated by the wisdom of the emperor's system of concealment in war, adopted herself the same principle. A decree was issued at Petersburg, strictly forbidding, under the heaviest penalties, all merchants and others, but particularly including Jews and foreigners, from taking any notice whatever of public affairs, of the war, or of any matters relative to the state or transactions of the fleets or armies, in the letters which they dispatched to their foreign correspondents.

July 12th. It was after the return of the capain pacha from Varna, that prince Potemkin invested Oczakow; but, as his battering artillery were not arrived, he could not yet commence a regular siege. His field artillery, though, running from 14 to 24 pounders, he erected batteries against the town, and against the Turkish light fleet of gallies and gun-boats, which were now under the batteries, with a view equally of receiving protection and of communicating assistance. While the town and the fleet were warmly engaged on the land side, the prince of Nassau increased their peril and dismay, by a fierce attack with cannon and mortars on the side of the Liman. These attacks were all conducted in the night, and, from its nature, nothing could be more dreadful than the conflict, which raged without intermission for eight

hours. In that time the Turkish light marine was totally destroyed; and the number of vessels and of guns which they are said to have lost (the latter being rated at a thousand) appears almost incredible. It is likewise stated, that during this destruction of the fleet, the prince of Nassau bombarded the town with such vigour and effect, as to reduce its upper part nearly to ashes; a circumstance that ill accords with the long and obstinate defence which it continued to make for so many months after.

Oczakow was garrisoned by about twenty thousand choice troops, and the vigour, obstinacy, and perseverance of the defence, fully justified that character. Every foot of ground was bravely disputed, generally maintained, and if lost, dearly purchased by the besiegers. The sallies of the garrison were frequent, not seldom successful, and, with whatever judgment they were conducted, were ever dangerous to the enemy, and desperately supported. In the first grand attack upon some of the outworks, letters from several neutral places represented the besiegers to have been repulsed in a manner scarcely short of a defeat. The supposed successes, published in the Russian gazettes, were evidently intended to stifle the murmurs of the people at home, and to obviate the complaints and reproaches of their allies; while the continuance of the siege afforded a silent but unanswerable refutation to them.

It was indeed little consistent with the modern compendious method of taking fortresses (which has caused so great an alteration in the nature and circumstances of wars, and by which they seem almost to be considered as taken from the time the trenches



trenches are opened) to see so great a force, so vast an artillery, such able generals, veteran troops, and expert engineers, for so long a time baffled by a single insulated place, detached from all hope or possibility of succour.

Winter approached, the combatants on the Danube were retiring into winter quarters, and nothing was done at Oczakow, where the prospects of taking the place seemed to be as remote as they had been on the first day of opening the siege. This was inconceivably distressing to prince Potemkin, whose honour, and perhaps fortune, were staked on the event. Nor was it much less distressing to the court of Petersburg, who felt that the character and honour of the empire would be deeply affected by a failure in the only great object of the campaign.

In the mean time the insufferable cold of that dreadful winter, which made such havock among men and animals through the greater part of Europe, began to be felt with irresistible effect in the camp. This was rendered more intolerable by the scarcity of fire-wood in that bare and bleak region; a want, which the length of carriage, and other difficulties, defied all human industry to remedy. It seemed as if this scourge of nature must have been decisive in its effects. The Russian cavalry, in defiance of the influence of their commanders, of the severity of their discipline, and of the allurements of an immense expected plunder, deserted the camp. The infantry, sinking under the same insupportable distress, and dispirited by the loss of their fellows, could scarcely be retained to their duty. It was in this deplorable state of affairs, when rout and disgrace appeared

little less than inevitable, that the fortune of Russia seemed to rise superior to all difficulties, and, by a most fortuitous circumstance, to cover her arms with glory and victory.

Prince Potemkin, as Dec. 17th. the last effort, ordered, a dreadful general bombardment, and cannonade of the place with red-hot balls, to take place. One of these fell upon the grand powder magazine, which, being still amply provided, blew up with so terrible an explosion, as to demolish too great a portion of the wall to admit of the fortress being any longer tenable. The Turks, notwithstanding, defended both the breach and the streets with the most desperate valour, and the brave aga, who commanded them, disdaining to survive his men, rejected all offers of quarter, and was of necessity cut to pieces. The slaughter was great, but no two of the published accounts agree in their estimate of the number slain on either side. That published at Vienna, under the sanction of prince Galliczin, and which enters into such particularity as to mention precise numbers, states that 7,400 Turks were killed in the action, or, as it is called, in the field; besides those that were *sabred* in the houses. The slaughter was evidently great, as the number of Turkish military prisoners made, of so great a garrison, was some hundreds under three thousand. The governor basha, not holding the same contempt of life displayed by the intrepid aga, was of that number; and, to the great chagrin of prince Potemkin's numerous enemies, served to grace his triumphant return to Petersburg.

The loss of the Russians in this final assault, is generally estimated at about 4,000 men killed or wounded,

and near 200 officers are included in the former list: so that the action must have been exceedingly hard fought and severe. It seems a singular circumstance of fatality with respect to Oczakow, that it was lost in the year 1737, exactly in the same manner, by the fall of a shell, and the blowing up of the powder magazine; and that too at the critical period when the celebrated marshal Munich (who was likewise a distinguished favourite of fortune) would have been otherwise obliged to raise the siege with disgrace, and that his retreat, in all its consequences, would have been probably attended with the loss of half his army. The carnage was, however, greater in the former instance than even in the present; 6,000 Turks having perished in the explosion, and the whole loss on their side falling little short of 20,000 men.

Oczakow, independent of the value it derived from strength and situation, seems to have been of much more consideration as a trading town, than it was usually regarded in this part of the world; for the number of inhabitants now made prisoners exceeded 25,000; a degree of population which affords no small indication of former prosperity. Such are the fatal ravages of un pitying war! As this event took place on the festival of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russian empire, so the superstition of the soldiery and common people attributed the guidance of the fortunate shell entirely to their tutelary saint, who, they supposed, had thus gained a complete victory over Mahomet. If the occasion had been less doleful, it might have been rather a laughable circumstance to observe, that all the letters from Oczakow, however they disagreed in other things, took

particular notice, and seemed to lay some emphasis upon the recital, that four thousand very fine women were included among the prisoners.

It was during the progress of these hostilities with the Porte, that Russia found herself suddenly involved in a new and unexpected war; the possibility and consequences of which were certainly not taken into account, in her original calculations of conquest and schemes of aggrandisement. For though the world, as well as themselves, had long known the distaste which prevailed between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm, and saw that public jealousies were by degrees ripened into personal dislike, and even an apparently fixed animosity between the sovereigns, yet nobody imagined, or indeed believed, that, considering the prodigious disproportion of their power, Sweden could have ventured upon entering into a direct war with Russia.

The king of Sweden had spirit, perhaps it may hereafter be considered as sagacity and wisdom, to see things in a different point of view. He might have been taught (if all more remote history had been extinct) from the numerous examples afforded by his uncle, the hero and founder of the Prussian empire, how to distinguish between great difficulties and absolute impossibilities; he might likewise have learnt, from the same school of knowledge and experience, that there are certain critical situations, when it becomes wisdom, and is consonant to the strictest laws of calculation, to commit every thing to the hazard of a single great exertion, rather than to wait for that irretrievable state of things, when it would be impossible for any exertion to produce a single favourable cast.

As

As a nation, Sweden had the greatest causes of resentment against Russia for past injury and loss, at the same time that she had every thing to dread from her present overgrown power and boundless ambition, which was as little qualified in the wanton display, as it was ungoverned in the actual exertion. It was impossible to behold the rich province of Livonia, with the adjoining valuable ones of Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, besides a great part of Finland, in the hands of strangers and enemies, without the deepest regret; or could a Swedish patriot behold, without a degree of indignation equal to the regret, his countrymen perishing all round him for want of bread, while the first of these provinces could most abundantly have supplied their wants? These losses were embittered by the recollection of particular injuries and extraordinary cruelties. The savage war carried on by Peter the first (it may be said against human nature) in the bowels and lowest caverns of the earth, for the destruction of the Swedish copper and iron works, and rendering the ruin irretrievable, by breaking down the mounds that prevented the water from overflowing the mines, was, so far as human power and malice could apply, entailing misery and want through all generations upon a people, whose harvests and means of life were produced in those dark regions.

Yet, in defiance of these, seemingly incurable, national animosities, Russia has constantly found means to maintain a strong and numerous party in Sweden, who were ever ready to sacrifice the interests of their country to her selfish and dangerous views. This she has accomplished by various means, by the common

effect of power, in dazzling and subduing the weak and the timid; by her money, which could not fail to operate with great effect, upon a very numerous, poor, and factious nobility; to this head may be referred the facility with which her vast military establishments enabled her to provide for all those, and even for their relations and friends, whose zeal for her service rendered them obnoxious to their country. The vicinity of Russia too, with that overreaching affectation of friendship and good neighbourhood, under the covert of which she endeavours to become a party in the affairs of all her neighbours, together with the common ties of language, religion, blood, and various other connections, subsisting between the subjugated Swedish provinces, and those still retained by that crown, afforded her continual opportunities of being minutely acquainted with the most secret affairs of that country, of knowing the exact state, views, and value of parties, and of knowing all those men who were the fittest for the purpose, and the most liable to be practised on, in order to make them proselytes to her views.

The great revolution in the government of Sweden, effected by the present king, tended greatly to lessen this sinister influence; but the evil was too deeply fixed to be soon eradicated, and the bold intriguing disposition of the Russian ministers at Stockholm, who, presuming too much on the greatness of the power by which they were supported, disdained to submit to those nice regulations, which the wisdom of ages and nations have established as laws to govern the conduct of the diplomatic body during their mission in foreign courts. By this means a strong



foreign faction, though seemingly cemented by constitutional principles, and looking only to domestic regulation and concerns, was constantly nursed and supported in the kingdom, who, directly inimical to the king, and to the new form of government, were no less so in effect, whether intentionally or not, to the real interests and security of their country.

That sudden and unforeseen revolution in the government of Sweden, was the source of all the coolness, jealousy, and dislike, which has since taken place between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the views of Russia, or subversive of the policy which she has pursued during the greater part of the present century, than that Sweden should ever again recover her former rank among nations, or any part of that weight and influence which she once held in the political scale of Europe. A nominal king without power or effect, with a nation constantly rent and distracted by jarring factions, any of which she might occasionally support against the others, as best suited her immediate purposes, would, in process of time, afford her such continual opportunities for interference and regulation, and such frequent pretences for sending armies into the country to support her decisions, that all the substantial benefits of conquest would thus be obtained, without the odium and jealousy ever inseparable from that term. Nor might it be entirely overlooked, that dependent kings, as well as dependent princes, would be necessary appendages to the splendor, as well as gratifications to the vanity of an imperial court.

The revolution destroyed all schemes of this nature, however fondly entertained. It is now well known, that nothing less than the various calamities, occasioned by a long foreign war, a dangerous rebellion at home, and the cruel ravages of the pestilence, all of which about that time afflicted Russia, could have prevented her from taking a direct and decisive part in overthrowing, as she had not time to prevent, the system of government then established by the king of Sweden. It was, however, still perhaps expected, that a young prince like Gustavus, feeling himself yet weak, and not fully assured in his new accession of power, would have gladly applied to his great, wise, and powerful neighbour, for her approbation and confirmation of it. That by becoming her pupil in the art of government, an easy way would be chalked out to him, for reaping all the fruits of her wisdom and experience, and at the same time, of freeing himself entirely from all the trouble, care, and danger, incident to that most arduous of all human tasks; and that by this means, tho' the old system of policy was changed, the same ends would be obtained under the new. But the new king, seeming to partake largely of that vanity common to young men, of holding a good opinion of his own abilities, went on boldly with the business of regulation, government, and legislation, without requiring any foreign advice or assistance.

Every body, however, expected, that the visit which the king not long after paid to the court of Petersburg, would have amply atoned for this inattention or neglect, which might well be imputed to the giddy effect, that a sudden accession of power



power is liable to produce on a youthful and inexperienced mind. The world is still to learn the nature or design of the conferences which took place on this occasion; for, whether there were witnesses or not, the secret has been inviolably preserved on both sides; it is, however, evident from the result, that the sentiments, ideas, or principles of the empress and of the king did not accord in all respects, although the ground and matter of difference are unknown. For the king suddenly departed from the court of Peterburgh, it was said, without taking leave, while the expedition which he used in returning to his own dominions carried almost the appearance of precipitation; and from that period, the breach between the two courts, instead of closing, has been continually growing wider.

The effects produced by the revolution, fully justified the apprehensions entertained from, and the aversion conceived by Russia to that measure. A prompt, firm, executive government, union and decision in the cabinet, with a tolerable degree of apparent harmony between the king and the deliberative orders of the state, succeeded to anarchy, weakness, and discord. Instead of that wretched state of civil and military affairs, which brought such ruin and disgrace on Sweden, in the unfortunate war of 1740, and the succeeding ignominious peace, she now shewed a good and well-supplied army, with an excellent fleet, and such a well-regulated state of finances, as would give energy to both in case of emergency.

A deep sense of the supposed danger to which the liberties of the north are exposed by the power and ambition of Russia, may be confi-

dered as the peculiar characteristic of the present reign, and an endeavour to provide against that evil, as the first and last object of the king's attention and care. He endeavoured, but in vain, to impress Denmark with the same sentiments; although the only favour which, under a certain consummation of things, that kingdom could in wisdom hope for, would be that simple one, of being the last that was devoured. The design of subverting and partitioning the Ottoman empire, with the vast military preparations for carrying the design into act, could not but increase in the highest degree the king's apprehension and alarm. He saw, by the last war, the inability of the Turks to oppose the power of Russia only, how then could they be supposed capable now of resisting the immense combined force of both empires? If Russia was already too formidable for the repose and safety of her neighbours, how must she appear when clothed and armed in the Herculean spoils of the Ottoman empire?

It is stated, in a pamphlet said to have been written by himself on the situation of public affairs, that the king of Sweden had early endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by offering his mediation to reconcile the differences between Russia and the Porte; an office he was peculiarly qualified to succeed in, from the long-established friendship subsisting between Turkey and Sweden. The contemptuous scorn with which the proposal was received, and the disdainful manner in which it was rejected, seems to have been sensibly felt by the royal writer. A similar proposal made by Great Britain, supported by Prussia, was scarcely better received. To

this pertinacious adherence to her ambitious designs, the king directly attributes the subsequent measures, which, he says, he was under a necessity of adopting on the principle of defence.

Common danger, the grand cement between the most heterogeneous characters and distant nations, had many years since laid the foundation of a strict offensive and defensive treaty between Sweden and the Porte. Russia, by name, was the avowed and only object of this treaty, which was concluded in the year 1739, and by which the contracting parties were mutually bound to assist each other with their whole force, in case of either being attacked by her. The weakness and timidity of the Swedish government occasioned their evading the performance of these stipulations in the last war between the Russians and Turks, under pretence that the latter had been the aggressors. The good correspondence which had subsisted between both courts, ever since the reign of Charles XII. was, notwithstanding this failure, still continued.

It would add little importance to the subject, if we were able to inform our readers, whether Sweden or the Porte made the first overtures, upon the approach of the present state of things, for the revival and giving efficacy to this treaty. In fact, the danger was so common to both, that it was not easy to say which was the least affected by it, or which it behoved most to make every possible provision to oppose it. However that was, the king of Sweden began to arm by sea and land in the spring of the present year; while Russia seemed to survey his motions with such sovereign contempt, as not to deign to make any enquiry

into their cause; she, however, did not neglect to replenish her magazines on the side of Finland, and to order supplies of troops to that country. In those regions whose principal products are, in the beautiful language of the poet;

“Iron and man, the soldier and his  
“sword,”

money being always a scarce commodity, becomes an indispensably necessary ingredient in the hands of those who wish to give energy to both. This seems to have been adopted by the Porte as a state maxim; for the watchful jealousy of Denmark, with respect to her neighbour, had discovered, pretty early in the year, and published to the world, that a foreign ship, supposed to be Spanish, had passed through the Sound, in her way to Stockholm, with a large quantity of coined silver on board, said to amount to 2,400,000 rixdollars (which we estimate at about 400,000 English guineas) and which was farther said to come from the Levant.

But though Russia did not seem to take any direct notice of the armaments preparing in Sweden, she was indefatigable in the exertion of her usual artifice and spirit of intrigue, to foment such dissensions between the people and the sovereign, as should not only render them ineffective, but might possibly produce a very different state of things. The accomplishment of this design could not appear difficult to a power so thoroughly acquainted with the internal state of affairs in the country. For, however matters were outwardly glossed over, and however smooth they appeared to the eye, there still remained in the kingdom a powerful and numerous party (including  
most

most of the ancient nobility, with their numerous friends and partizans, with a great number of military officers, of all degrees of rank and condition) who, being utterly adverse to the late revolution, and to every principle upon which it was founded, were necessarily little satisfied with its fruit in the present order of government; however they might possibly esteem or approve of the king personally. These men had no manner of natural predilection for Russia, but indeed the very reverse, only submitting to her influence, through the hope of recovering, by her means, their favourite form of government. Another, perhaps, more numerous body of men, under the assumption of the same livery, and of holding the same patriotic principles, were undeservedly classed with these, and, though their secret views were very different, contributed much to render the general mass of opposition to the court formidable. These were the direct partizans of Russia, who, corrupted by her money, or debauched by the various means which her greatness and vicinity afforded, were ready to embark in all her schemes, without regard to the interests or security of their country.

The power of commencing a war, without the authority of the states, was not, according to the strictness of the constitution, lodged in the hands of the king of Sweden. An innovation in that respect could not accordingly but afford a colourable pretence to the opposition for endeavouring to counteract the views of the court, by exciting a jealousy and raising a clamour among the people, and an opening for the direct interference of Russia, in the support of objects so ostensibly dear

to her as the constitution of Sweden and the liberties of that people. This opening was seized, and occupied with great vigour and industry, and soon rendered a strong ground of offensive and defensive operation against the king; upon whom the same game was attempted to be played, by which Russia had formerly so successfully distracted and embittered the reign of his father, as to bring that prince to the act of resigning that nominal shadow of royalty which they allowed him to possess. Without paying any regard to the change which the revolution had wrought in the government, the present sovereign was represented, and affectingly considered, as a mere cypher in, and instrument of, the state; who, possessing no authority in himself, but what he violently and arbitrarily wrested from it, in defiance of the constitution, it became therefore the first duty of all true Swedes to resist such dangerous assumptions of power to the utmost.

To prevent the Danes from taking umbrage at the great armaments he was making, and relying upon the near ties of blood and affinity which united both the royal houses, as well as the evident common interests of both nations, which, under the immediate pressure of affairs, seemed to require their being joined in the strictest bands of political union, the king of Sweden thought it fitting, along with an amicable assurance that he harboured no designs contrary to the friendship subsisting between them, to communicate to the court of Copenhagen the real motive for the measures he was pursuing; and which he stated to be confined merely to self-defence, against the vast military preparations and

and dangerous designs of Russia; as well as to fulfil the engagements by which Sweden and the Ottoman Porte were bound for mutual security.

As the king was thoroughly acquainted with the unbounded influence and the unconcealed ascendancy, which Russia has maintained, during the present reign, in the public councils, and even in the private conduct of the court of Copenhagen, he seems to have built too much upon the efficacy of friendship and family ties, or even upon the influence of a sound and wise policy, in making this communication, if he really expected (which seems to have been the case) that it should be made a secret. It was immediately disclosed to the court of Petersburg; and this disclosure was the means of soon bringing things to a remarkable crisis between the king and the Russian minister at the court of Stockholm.

The king fell into another error, of much greater consequence, upon this occasion. As trust begets faith, in any situation proper for its production, it was undoubtedly upon that principle, that, to shew his entire confidence in the good faith, honour, and friendship of Denmark, he ventured to strip the frontier provinces of Sweden, bordering on Norway, so entirely of their troops, (which were sent to the remotest boundary of that large country, in Finland) as to leave them almost totally defenceless, thereby exposing some of the best parts of the kingdom to sudden ravage, and the city of Gottenburgh, so far superior to any other it contains, with respect to commercial consequence and wealth, to the danger of absolute ruin.

Count Razamowski, the Russian

minister at Stockholm, was deeply initiated in all the intrigues, designs, and political mysteries of his court; at the same time that he derived from nature and habit no small portion of that haughty and overbearing spirit, which marked her conduct in all transactions with her weaker neighbours. He is charged with even exceeding his predecessors, in the contempt with which he trampled upon the general laws of nations, with respect to the conduct prescribed to public ministers in their mission at foreign courts; with paying no regard even to outward appearances; and with carrying on his intrigues of seduction and corruption, in forming factions against the state, openly, and too successfully, in the capital, and under the eye of the sovereign at whose court he resided.

Although the preparations for war made by Sweden were so obvious to all the world, that nobody doubted her object in arming; that an army of 35,000 men was assembling, in order to embark for Finland; that the king was on the point of setting out for that province; and that the fleet was on the point of sailing from Carlskroon; yet no public notice had been taken of any of these proceedings by the court of Petersburg, until the notification communicated by Denmark.

In consequence, however, of that intimation, the Russian minister at Stockholm presented a June 18th. rescript or memorial of a singular nature to the Swedish ministers. This piece seemed to be directed to every man in the kingdom excepting the king himself, to whom alone it should have been directed. It is addressed in specific terms to the ministers, and to all who have any share in the administration



ministration of the country; to all of whom, as well as to the nation at large, the greatest regards are professed, and the strongest desire of preserving their tranquillity declared; but a marked distinction is made between the king and the nation, who seem to be regarded as separate and unconnected interests.

This document was warmly represented by the king. It produced a direct answer, and a circular note which was presented to all the foreign ministers. In these pieces he severely reprehended the personal insult offered to himself, in the insidious distinction made between him and the nation, which he, however, represented as only a continuation of the system long constantly pursued, and particularly adopted by the present minister, of exciting dissention and discord in the state, and spreading their dangerous effects through the kingdom. He seems rather disposed in general, at least in terms, to confine the charges of insidious designs and endeavours hostile and dangerous to the tranquillity of the nation, of wishing to renew the former anarchy, and of this last wound to his dignity, by an appeal to all the members of the administration and to the nation at large against their sovereign, to the agents, than to their principal; reserving himself, until his arrival in Finland, for an explanation with the court of Petersburg. He at the same time ordered count Rasamowski to quit the kingdom, as he could no longer treat with, or acknowledge him as a public minister; promising, that he should be allowed a week to prepare for his departure, and that full attention should be paid, in providing proper vessels, and all other conveniences for his conveyance.

The Russian minister was not at all disposed, at this interesting period, to quit the proper sphere of his action, to leave unfinished those schemes which were yet only in train, or to trust entirely to others the execution of those which had been already determined upon. He refused to obey the order for his departure, appealed loudly to the law of nations, talked largely, as usual, of the power, greatness, and dignity of his principal, and declared finally, that he should obey no orders, nor receive any instructions whatever for the regulation of his conduct, from any other than his own court. It does not appear that the foreign ministers resident at Stockholm, afforded the smallest sanction, by countenance or otherwise, to the conduct of count Razamowski in any part of these transactions.

The king's sudden departure to Finland occasioned the adjustment of this troublesome affair to fall upon the regency, who were appointed to the government of the kingdom during his absence. The regency, to prevent the disagreeable necessity of being urged to greater extremities, placed a guard upon the ambassador's house, who, strictly prohibiting all intercourse, by letter or otherwise, between the confined family and those without, and denying all access of provisions or necessaries for their support, this sort of siege compelled, without absolute violence, the minister to accept of the means which were provided for his conveyance to Petersburg.

Hostilities were commenced between the Swedes and Russians, in Finland, a few days after the king's arrival in that province. Each side charged the  
June 21st.  
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the other with the first aggression, and it would be of little use to enter into the merits of the question; the hostility was considered and treated by each as a declaration of war. The Swedes were generally successful in the small actions and skirmishes that now took place, taking several places of no great consequence, besieging others of greater, and seizing some strong posts and difficult defiles, which might serve to facilitate their further operations, in a country which nature had rendered in all respects so extremely impracticable.

This commencement of hostility speedily brought forth the manifesto or declaration of war from the court of Petersburg. This piece was couched, in whatever related to the Swedish nation, or in which the public in general seemed concerned, in terms of the greatest moderation; and breathed throughout a spirit of candour and equity, abhorrent of violence, injustice, and war, which had not always adorned similar documents from the same quarter. It likewise abstained from those odious assumptions of power, greatness, and superiority, which had often been so painfully endured in other cases. Their place was supplied with advantage by a long justificatory detail of the empress's conduct with respect to Sweden for twenty-six years past, fairly inferring, from the equity, kindness, and friendship that attended her commerce with that nation through so long a period, the purity of her present as well as past intentions. This statement likewise afforded an opportunity, which was well taken, of overthrowing the ill-founded pretence adopted by the king, that the ap-

prehension of an immediate attack on his own dominions, had urged him to the necessity of the present proceedings. This was refuted by an appeal to the common sense of mankind, whether, after an observance of peace and good neighbourhood, through all the opportunities for a contrary conduct which so long a period offered, it could be rationally supposed that she would choose the present moment, when she was already deeply engaged in war with a powerful enemy, wantonly to involve herself in another.

But with respect to the king himself, as distinct from the nation, a mixture of the most violent personal animosity, and of the most sovereign contempt, is every where apparent. An uneasiness or restlessness of mind, arising from envy and jealousy of the power of others, a sort of weak and boyish ambition, seem to be considered as the sources of all his actions. A contempt of that good faith which ought more particularly to actuate the hearts of sovereigns, is implied in one part, and a breach of faith, that marked his whole conduct, directly charged in another. A practice of false and insidious imputations, is so strongly applied as not to be mistaken; and some odd or ludicrous expressions, such as wishing to *give a flight to his passions*, are made use of.—Particular care is taken to remind both the king and the nation, that he was bound by a solemn compact not to undertake any war without the consent of his subjects.

So near an approach of an enemy could not but greatly alarm the capital, where the voice of war, except in issuing its decrees against remote nations, had never before been

been heard, from the first laying of its foundations by Peter the Great. Troops were drawn from all quarters for its protection, and every possible measure adopted to secure it from the effect of any sudden attack, to which, from situation, it was so much exposed. The younger branches of the Imperial family were removed to Moscow; but the empress, with her usual magnanimity, waited unappalled to face the tempest. All the Cossacks within reach were hastily collected to be turned loose, as opportunity served, upon the Swedish provinces; and admiral Greig failed with a strong fleet from Cronstadt, to counteract the designs of the enemy by sea, on which side only, they could yet menace Petersburg.

The gulph of Finland was too confined a theatre of action, for two hostile fleets to manœuvre long without an encounter. That of Sweden, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, consisted of fifteen ships of the line, but including no high rates, and consequently no superior weight of metal; the highest rates were one of seventy, and three of sixty-eight guns each, the other eleven being only of sixty guns each; a rate nearly exploded from the English line of battle.

On the other side, the Russian fleet, under admiral Greig, amounted to seventeen sail of the line, including in that number several great ships, with a proportionately heavy weight of metal; the admiral's ship carrying 108 guns, eight others 74 each, and the remaining eight 66 guns each; possessing upon the whole a superiority of 294 pieces of cannon; while that in the weight of metal was perhaps of greater mo-

ment than what proceeded from the excess in number of either the ships or the guns. To counterbalance this in some degree, the Swedes had five large frigates of 40 guns each, which, admiral Greig observes, carried heavy metal, and fought in the line. The number of smaller frigates, on both sides, was pretty much on an equality.

The hostile fleets came in sight, or rather approached each other, in a fog, off the island of Hoogland. No scene was ever less calculated for the action and evolutions of two such numerous fleets, composed of great and heavy ships; a narrow sea, every where studded with innumerable islands, rocks, and shoals, intermixed with deceitful channels, and rendered more dangerous by violent, irregular, and jarring currents: nor were the climate and face of the heavens more favourable: overcast skies, a frequently foggy, and generally hazy air, with sudden tempestuous squalls, and unexpected dead calms, were among the incommodities which seemed to set seamanship and naval skill at defiance. Indeed such an exhibition, in such a situation, seemed scarcely less than an outrage upon nature.

The Russians, along with their great superiority in force, had likewise the advantage of the wind, while any lasted, for at one time it seems to have fallen to a stark calm. The action did not commence until five o'clock in the afternoon; and so great was the fury of the combatants, that in two hours so many ships were disabled on each side, that they were mutually obliged to lie by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a fresh accession of rage on both

both sides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obstinacy with which it was maintained. National pride, animosity, a sense of former glory, with a deep recollection of past injuries, operated upon the Swedes with all the force which their combination was possibly capable of exciting. The darkness was so great, that the knowledge of each ship was in a great measure confined to her own sphere of action; so that ignorant of, and inattentive to, what was passing elsewhere, she fought as if all depended upon herself individually, and as if victory or destruction were the only alternatives.

The Swedes seem to have had much the advantage in this latter action, to which the unequalled exertions of the gallant count Horne, in extricating the duke of Sudermania, when surrounded and over-laid by a great superiority of hostile force, not a little contributed. Every body regretted that neither this nobleman, nor his two brave associates, the first and second captains, by whom he was nobly seconded, should have survived to enjoy that glory which they so heroically purchased. Two hours limited the action of this bloody encounter, like the first. - About ten o'clock, the disorder and confusion, together with the total ignorance on each side of their friends or their adversaries state, all produced by the darkness, with the severe loss and general damage which the ships sustained, obliged the exhausted combatants to withdraw from the scene of action. Many of the Swedish ships had likewise expended all their ammunition, and there was not a sufficiency left, in any part of the fleet, to afford

them an adequate supply for fresh adventure.

The victory, as is usually the case in actions not apparently and absolutely decisive, was claimed by both sides; and each had an honourable trophy to shew in support of its claim. The Uladislaff, a flag-ship of 74 guns, and 783 men, commanded by brigadier Berger, was taken by the Swedes, having struck to the duke of Sudermania. On the other hand, the Prince Gustave, of 68 guns, likewise a flag, and one of the best ships in the Swedish fleet, commanded by count Wachtmeister, after having bravely fought until she was rendered entirely defenceless, and nearly immoveable, was taken by the Russians. The loss of men on both sides must have been great, and, from the nature and circumstances of the action, was probably pretty equally balanced. Two hundred men had been killed or wounded in the ship taken by the Swedes; and the Russians say, that the loss in the ship taken by them amounted to three hundred; the difference undoubtedly proceeded from the desperate resistance of count Wachtmeister. Admiral Greig is said to have declared, in the account published by authority at Petersburg, "that he never saw a fight better sustained than this was on both sides." This, however, accords but badly with the number of delinquent officers (of whom seventeen were captains) loaded with chains, who he sent home in a frigate, for ill behaviour in this action.

The duke of Sudermania takes notice in his public letter, that the Russian fleet being intended for the Mediterranean, no expence was spared in its preparation; that nothing could accordingly exceed the completeness



completeness of its equipment; and that the weight of its metal was great and unusual. It seems, upon the whole, that the Swedes, in the brightest period of their glory, had never displayed greater gallantry by sea or land, than they did in this engagement. Their princely commander merited more glory than he really obtained, for the conduct as well as intrepidity which he so eminently displayed in this his first action.

For the vast superiority of power on the side of Russia enabled her, in a few days, to carry away all the fruits of victory, and to weaken, if not to cancel, that praise, which, in despite of fortune, and independent of circumstance, should ever be the meed of distinguished valour, when illustriously exerted in the cause or defence of its country. Admiral Greig, from the accession of fresh ships, and the nearness of the great naval magazines and arsenals, was enabled, in less time than seemed credible, to put again to sea with greater force than before. He came suddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, in Finland, where they were as inapprehensive of attack, as they were from situation and circumstance incapable of defence. He attacked them furiously in this moment of consternation and surprise, and during the disorder occasioned by their endeavours to get within the protection of the forts. The Gustavus Adolphus, of sixty guns, seemed a sacrifice destined to the security of the rest; she was taken and burnt by the Russians.

From this time to the end of the campaign, the late victors continued shut up in the harbour of Sweaburg, being precluded even from the means of re-equipment, while the

Russian fleet rode the triumphant mistress of all the seas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of small vessels, laden with provisions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet, through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this sudden turn of affairs occasioned at Petersburg, may be estimated from the panic which had so lately, for the first time, seized that capital; and the importance in which the service was considered by the court, was fully shewn by the favours which the empress conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter, written to him with her own hand, was filled with praise and acknowledgment; and this honour was succeeded or accompanied by the substantial benefits of a considerable sum of money, and of a good estate in Livonia. This commander, who was singularly fortunate in his life, seems to have been no less so in its period, which took place before the close of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he seemed well capable of receiving. For by this means he not only escaped the common danger of a reverse of fortune, to which military character and honour are so particularly liable; but he escaped the more certain and fatal effects of that jealousy, envy, and malevolence, which the various circumstances of his being a foreigner, without weight or natural interest in the country, his sudden rise, and the greatness of his favour, all served eminently to expose him to, and which long experience has shewn to be either interwoven in the nature or consequences of the system adopted in that court and service. The distinction and honour paid

paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the express orders of the empress, celebrated with the greatest pomp, being decorated and adorned by all those appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have assigned as the last tribute to the memory of the brave.

The wretched officers who had been sent in chains to Cronstadt were, without any form of trial, or public enquiry into their conduct, condemned to that deplorable state of existence, in which death would have been the first of mercies, of serving in the galleys, and of wearing iron collars round their necks for life. So much attention was paid to their families, as not to publish their names.

July 21st. The king of Sweden's manifesto, which was published after his arrival in Finland, but some time later than the Russian, was fraught with much severe charge against the conduct and views of the court of Petersburg, for a series of past years; and the effect heightened, where the charge is deficient, by the bitterness of implication, which leaves more to be conceived than directly meets the eye. But the scolding of sovereigns affords no more pleasure or edification than that of common people; and most of the real causes of complaint we have already gone over. The designs and attempts of Russia upon the province of Finland, which are here delineated, being new ground, yet untouched upon, we shall here lay open. That power is charged with having, almost continually, ever since the conclusion of the peace at Abo, endeavoured to debauch the Finlanders from their connection with Sweden, under the specious pre-

tence of rendering that great dutchy independent, under which it would have experienced the fate which Courland already has done, of becoming a feudatory province to Russia. The failure of these projects, which is attributed only to the integrity and attachment of the people, seemed to damp the design for a time; but the defection of an officer of high rank, whom she found means to draw into her service, and who had been long entrusted by the king in commands of importance in Finland, is said again to have roused all the ambitious projects of that court. That she has accordingly laboured incessantly since to excite a spirit of dissention and revolt among that people, and had even sent a general officer privately into the country, to reconnoitre the posts, and to sound their disposition.

The king of Sweden was destined to meet with the greatest disappointments, and to experience the most grievous mortifications, in his endeavours to emancipate his country from foreign interference and controul, to redeem, in some degree, her antient glory, and to enable her once more to hold her former rank among nations. But the star of Russia was still predominant, while that of Sweden was not only obscured for the present, but afforded too much room for apprehension, that it was upon the point of setting to rise no more.

Those machinations and intrigues, of which the king complained so much in his manifesto, had taken much deeper root, and their effect was much more widely diffused, than he was yet aware of. A counter revolution, by which the antient forms of government would be preserved,

served, the ambition and venality of the nobility gratified, while the nation was in fact governed, as Courland long has been, by a foreign minister resident in its capital, was the grand and determined object of Russia; and her measures were so laid, that she probably calculated to a certainty upon the event. For she was seconded in the open and avowed part of her views (which went no farther than the restoration of the former government) by much the greater part of the patient nobility, with all the influence which so numerous and eminent a body necessarily possessed; to which were to be added the infinite number of others, who, from various causes, were inimical to the late revolution, and consequently to the system of government founded upon it.

It was said, and seems probable, that a counter-revolution was only part of the object, that no modification would be admitted, and that nothing less than absolute dethronement could afford satisfaction. That the king's crossing, at so critical a period, his favourite views of his great adversary, the contemplation of which had long afforded the most sublime gratification, had created a personal animosity beyond all bound and measure, and which the most signal vengeance could scarcely be sufficient to allay. It was even rumoured (and rumour is not always unfounded, particularly in despotic governments) that, in the height of resentment, an idea was once entertained of reviving the title of the grand duke to the crown of Sweden, as successor to the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third, who had, unhappily for himself, relinquished that quiet and secure inheritance, for

the delusive prospect of succeeding to the unstable and bloody throne of a vast, but disjointed and disordered empire.

However that was, the excellently constituted, disciplined, and well-appointed army, which the king commanded in Finland, rendered still more formidable, by the native unconquered courage of the troops, and the singular intrepidity of their royal leader, would have been able, if nothing sinister intervened, and that no internal unsoundness vitiated its composition, to carry dismay and terror to the gates of Petersburg; nor could the wisest foresee what revolution in public affairs such an event might not have occasioned. But, instead of the gratification of these flattering ideas, the king soon discovered that he could place no confidence in his army; that a general disaffection was spread among his officers, especially those in high commands, and of the most noble families; that they were not only determined to counteract all his designs in the field, but that several of them carried on a traitorous correspondence directly with the enemy, while a greater number (and undoubtedly the honestest part) declared openly, that they could not, without a violation of their conscience, and the oaths they had taken to their country, draw their swords in a war, undertaken without the consent of the states of the kingdom, and of course contrary to the constitution.

This unexpected disgrace and misfortune, Gustavus was doomed to encounter at the siege of Fredericsham, where the officers, refusing to lead on the troops to the attack, and he appealing to the latter, on whom

he still relied, to his utter astonishment and dismay, they generally laid down their arms. While the king seemed inextricably involved in these difficulties and dangers (for even the safety of his person, in his own army, appeared to be sufficiently problematical) and that the seeds of dissention and disaffection were equally shooting up in the capital and other places, the violent irruption of the Danes from the side of Norway, into the richest provinces of Sweden, seemed destined to overwhelm him entirely. Under this additional pressure, he was obliged

to abandon the army in Finland, in its present uncertain and disjointed state, to the care of his second brother the duke of Ostrogothia, while he undertook himself a perilous voyage by sea, exposed to the greatest of all dangers, that of being captured by a most cruel and implacable foe, from whom deliverance could scarcely be hoped; and, after a severe circuitous journey by land, proceeded to the southern extremity of his dominions, to oppose, without troops or means, a new and very formidable enemy.



## C H A P. IV.

*Causes of the early meeting of parliament declared in the king's speech; disputes in the United Provinces; intended interference of France; declaration of the court of Great Britain; treaty with Hesse Cassel; success of the Prussian forces; final accommodation; speech of lord Fielking upon the works of Cherburgh; of Mr. Fox upon continental alliances; upon the dispositions of the French court; upon the subsidiary treaty; the increase of the army; and the appointment of admiral Pigot. Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Fox on these subjects. Speeches in the house of lords; of the bishop of Llandaff, upon our right of interference in Holland, and upon the balance of power; of lord Stormont, upon the same subject, and the negligence of ministers. Addresses in both houses, nem. con. State papers laid before parliament. Mr. Fox complains of the retention of the French notification; answered by Mr. Pitt; motion for an address for that paper negatived. Debate on the subsidiary treaty; objections of Mr. Fox; Mr. Pitt's defence. Opinion of Mr. Burke upon foreign alliances, and upon the merits of the treaty. Debate on the augmentation of the land forces; objected to by Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox; defended by Mr. Pitt. Debate on the ordnance estimates; on the plan of fortifying the West India islands; on the government manufacture of gunpowder; on the new corps of artificers. Account of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey in the seventh chapter.*

Nov. 27th, 1787. **T**HE interval between the prorogation of parliament, on the 30th of May 1787, and its subsequent meeting on the 27th of November following, was not distinguished by any remarkable domestic occurrences. The speech from the throne contained a very full and explicit declaration of the reasons which induced the king to assemble the two houses at so early a period. He informed them, that the disputes which subsisted in the republic of the United Provinces had become so critical as to endanger their constitution and independence, and thereby likely in their consequences to affect the interests of his dominions—That, upon this account, he had endeavoured by his good offices to maintain the *lawful* government in those countries, and had thought it necessary to explain his intention of coun-

teracting all forcible interference on the part of France—That, in conformity to this principle, when his most Christian majesty, in consequence of an application for assistance against the king of Prussia, made by the party which had usurped the government of Holland, had notified to him his intention of granting their request, he had declared that he should not remain a quiet spectator, and had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land—and that, in the course of these transactions, he had thought proper to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel—That the rapid success of the Prussian troops having soon after enabled the provinces to re-establish their *lawful* government, and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an

amicable

amicable explanation took place between him and the most Christian king, and both parties had engaged to disarm, and to place their naval establishments on the same footing as at the beginning of the year. His majesty next acquainted them with the friendly assurances he continued to receive from all foreign powers, and with the war that had unfortunately broken out between Russia and the Porte. He further informed them of a convention, explanatory of the thirteenth article of the last peace, which had been agreed upon between him and the French king; and that he had ordered copies of the several treaties and declarations, before referred to, to be laid before them.

He then proceeded to inform the house of commons, that the usual estimates, together with an account of the extraordinary expences lately incurred, would be laid before them; and told them, that though he was always desirous of confining the public expences within the narrowest limits, which a prudent regard to the public safety would permit, yet he must at the same time recommend to their particular attention to consider of proper means for maintaining his distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence. The speech concluded with some general reflections upon the flourishing state of commerce and revenues, the advantages to be expected from the continuation of public tranquillity, and the strong tendency which, he was persuaded, the zeal and unanimity shewn on the late occasion would have to secure it.

An address in the usual form was moved in the house of commons, by the honourable Mr. Ryder, and seconded by Mr. Brooke, member for

Newton, Lancashire. The substance of the address met with the general concurrence of the house; but a short debate took place upon a few topics arising out of it. Lord Fielding, after expressing the strongest approbation of what had been done by his majesty's ministers upon the late occasion, suggested a doubt, which had arisen in his own mind, whether or not they had fully availed themselves of the favourable opportunity that had presented itself, and whether they might not, and ought not, to have gone farther, and done more for the future security of this country against the ambition of France. The object, he said, which he had particularly in his view, was the demolition of the stupendous works that were projected and carrying on at Cherburgh.—He stated at large his opinion of their vast importance, not only as rendering our rival more formidable in herself, but as being evidently in their design hostile to this kingdom. He conceived, that as the manifest superiority of this country had put it within our power to enforce, so the great expence, which we had been obliged to incur, would justify the demand of some compensation from the French court. The object he alluded to had been shamefully overlooked, or corruptly relinquished, in the last treaty of peace; and he therefore desired to enter his protest against any construction of his vote, that should pledge him to approve of the minister's conduct, if it hereafter appeared that he had again neglected this important object.

Mr. Fox followed lord Fielding in expressing the fullest approbation of the measures that had been lately pursued, and took credit to himself, as one of those who had been invariably

riably of opinion that this country was at all times deeply interested in the situation of affairs upon the continent, and ought, whenever the occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. This system had been ridiculed by his adversaries, upon former occasions, as wild and romantic, and he had therefore a peculiar satisfaction in finding it recognized in the speech from the throne, and pursued at a time when the heavy burdens, which had been laid upon the people, made it so extremely desirable to avoid every unnecessary occasion of expence. Perhaps, he said, it might have been better, and the whole of the expence lately incurred avoided, if these principles had been earlier adopted and acted upon.

Having expressed his approbation of the substance of the speech and address, he begged leave to make a few remarks upon particular passages in them. He observed, that it was asserted, that the French king had notified his intention of assisting the usurping faction in the province of Holland; but, upon looking into the counter-declaration, he found it roundly asserted that the court of France never had such intention—This matter, he conceived, wanted explanation; not that he had any doubt of the real designs and intentions of the French, or that he should have trusted to their declarations, had they been positively made, but on account of the apparent contradiction which the two assertions implied. He then reminded the house, how frequently he had warned them of the perfidy and treacherousness of France, when the commercial treaty was under discussion in the last session, and that one of

the principal arguments in support of that treaty was drawn from the friendly disposition of that nation, and the probability of its being confirmed and perpetuated by a free commercial intercourse. He had been thought too severe and uncandid in the distrust he had expressed of those friendly professions; but the event had fully justified him. Within one year from the conclusion of that treaty, our new friend, our faithful commercial ally, had engaged to support a party, usurpers too of the lawful government of their country, who were well known to be hostile to the essential interests of this nation.

With respect to the subsidiary treaty with Hesse Cassel, he thought it necessary to defer the discussion of it till the house was in possession of fuller information. He approved in general of the principle of such treaties, so far as they enabled us to reduce our military establishments at home, and to apply the public treasure to the increase of our naval strength, the natural force of Great Britain. It remained to be seen whether this was designed to be the effect of the present treaty, as likewise whether it was merely intended to answer the temporary purpose of present necessity, or was a part of some general plan founded upon a permanent basis, and which, though it added somewhat to the national expence, was convertible to the national service whenever occasion should require. Such a plan he should expect from his majesty's ministers, as one of the beneficial effects of the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces.

The agreement that had been entered into for mutually disarming, required also further explanation.—

The propriety of such an engagement would greatly depend upon the real and effective state of the naval establishments of the two countries at the beginning of the year mentioned, and upon the construction that was put upon it with respect to any future occasions for increasing it. One thing he remarked, that the speech stated that the forces of this country had been augmented both by sea and land; whereas in the agreement it appeared that the naval establishment only was to be reduced. He concluded therefore from that circumstance, and more particularly from that part of the speech where the attention of the house was called to the proper means for maintaining our distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence, that it was the intention of government to increase the land force of the nation. If any circumstances had arisen which demonstrated the necessity of such a measure, they would doubtless be laid before the house, which would then judge, whether the present peace establishment, which, having obtained the sanction of parliament, ought to be presumed to have been, at least originally, adequate, was in fact now adequate to its purpose or not.

Mr. Fox concluded with complimenting the minister, who had the direction of our naval affairs, for the choice he had made of an officer to command the grand fleet upon the late occasion. This, he trusted, would be a full answer to the calumnies of those, who had objected to the nomination of admiral Pigot to the command of the West India fleet in 1782, since it proved that the persons, who were now at the head of the admiralty, entertained

as high an opinion of that officer's character and professional abilities, as he and those connected with him had done.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Fox; and, after expressing his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the house, gave a short reply to the observations made by the latter gentleman. With respect to continental alliances, he said, that he perfectly agreed with him in the general principles he had laid down; that the right honourable member, by claiming them as exclusively his own, had bound himself by the strongest tie to maintain and support them; and that he should not, therefore, endeavour to weaken that tie, nor attempt to make him less in love with them, than he appeared to be at present, by assuming to himself an equal honour in having long since adopted them. He also assured the house, that all proper steps had been, and would continue to be taken, for the purpose of securing, by a strict alliance with the United Provinces, all the advantages which could be derived from the late successful exertions.

With regard to subsidiary treaties, he did not entirely agree in the doctrine that had been laid down, that they were only to be justified upon a supposition of their enabling this country to reduce our own military establishment, or to increase our naval force. He shewed that the latter measure might, under many circumstances, be neither safe nor expedient; and yet at the same time it might be highly advantageous to have recourse to the former. The treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, he said, had been entered into merely on the spur of the occasion, but it had since been enlarged, and



and put upon such a footing as would make it useful upon any further emergency; and he did not doubt, when it should come to be discussed, but that it would meet with the perfect approbation of the house.

Upon the proposed increase of the military establishment, he observed, that the right honourable member had suggested a ground of discussion, which he should be extremely unwilling to enter upon; and that he should always be averse from the practice of considering how far measures proposed to be adopted, might have a tendency to justify or condemn such as had already been pursued. Such a practice would set up a dangerous influence over ministers, and might be a temptation to them to persevere in errors of their own, lest they should appear to acknowledge them, and to abandon the most prudent institutions of their predecessors, lest they should bear testimony to their wisdom. He therefore did not conceive it necessary to enquire whether the present establishment had been too small originally, or whether a change of circumstances had made it so: all that would be necessary for their consideration was, what degree of force was actually necessary for our defence. Measures of this nature were unavoidably adopted by parliament, in a great measure, upon the credit of the executive government. They were therefore to be considered as the measures of ministers; and, whether he had himself made the original arrangement, or had found it, as in the present case, made to his hands by a preceding administration, he should never, to avoid the acknowledgment or detection of an error, incur the guilt and danger of continuing it, after he had found it to be so. He did not hesitate to ac-

knowledge, that the late important crisis had led him to look more carefully and minutely into the state of our several establishments, than he before had occasion to do; the consequence of which was a firm persuasion, that, in the present situation of the country, they were not adequate to their object, that is, to the keeping our possessions in such a state of security, as to leave no reasonable room for anxiety on their account, without appropriating to their defence that force, which, in case hostilities should at any future period become unavoidable, the immediate object of the war might demand.

In the house of lords the address was moved by the earl of Harrington, and seconded by lord Bulkeley. After which the bishop of Llandaff rose to express the satisfaction he had felt in seeing the republic of the United Provinces again united in their views, as he had always considered them to be inseparably united in one common interest with Great Britain. One difficulty, which he conceived to be of some importance, had occurred to him in weighing the subject, and he begged leave to state it to their lordships. It was, on what principles of the law of nature and nations had Great Britain and Prussia a right to interfere by force in settling the internal disputes of an independent state? Was it a right which every individual possesses, of assisting those whom he sees oppressed by unjust force? No: that would be to take the question for granted, since the opponents of the stadtholder will not allow that he was oppressed by unjust force. Was it the right of assisting the majority of a country to recover their ancient civil constitution from the incroachments and usurpation of a faction? He hoped the fact would bear out such a justification; but he was not well enough

enough acquainted with the wishes of the majority of the Dutch nation upon that head. Upon what other ground did he approve of our late interference? It was on the ground of self-preservation; for if France had gained Holland, we had been undone. When it is said that Holland and the other states of Europe are independant states, the proposition is true only on a certain consideration: for they all depend one upon another, like the links of a chain; and it is the business of each to watch every other, lest any one become so weighty and powerful as to endanger the security or political importance of every other.

The bishop of Llandaff was followed by lord viscount Stormont, who, after joining in the general approbation of the late measures, reminded the members of administration of their credulity and blindness, in trusting to the friendly disposition of the court of France; and of the ill-humour with which they had borne the warnings and cautions that had been given them, when the commercial treaty was under discussion. It now remained no longer a secret, that the cabinet of Versailles was at that very period exerting every engine of intrigue to ruin our interests in Holland, and to possess itself of an absolute control over the United Provinces. To judge from the language of the speech, one would be led to suppose that the disturbances in Holland had originated within a short time preceding the late revolution: whereas in fact, administration had, with an unpardonable supineness and indifference, suffered the stadtholder to be driven from the Hague, to be divested of his most essential rights, and his authority to

be nearly extirpated, before they took any steps to relieve him; and, if this country had now recovered her ancient influence and connexion with the United States, it was rather to be attributed to singular and unforeseen occurrences, than to the wisdom and foresight of ministers. —The addresses were finally agreed to, in both houses, *nem. con.*

On the twenty-ninth, Nov. 29th. the chancellor of the exchequer, by his majesty's command, presented the following papers to the house\*:—A copy of the declaration and counter-declaration signed at Versailles on the 27th of October, 1787:—A copy of the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, signed on the 28th of September, 1787:—A copy of the convention between his Britannic majesty and the most Christian king, signed at Versailles on the 31st of August, 1787:—and, An account of the expences incurred by the late armament, amounting, for the land forces, to £. 59,878; for the naval department to £. 175,407; for the ordnance to £. 18,300; for secret services £. 83,166: in all to £. 336,751.

Upon the production of these papers Mr. Fox remarked, that two papers were omitted, which he conceived to be very material for the information of the house upon the subject appointed for their discussion, namely, the notification made on the 16th of September by the French minister, announcing that succours would be given in Holland; and the resolutions imparted by the king of Prussia, and alluded to in the counter-declaration. Mr. Pitt said, in reply, that the notification in question was mixed with other matter, in an official dispatch received

\* See State Papers.

by the French minister in London from the court of France, and read by him to the ministers of this country; they had afterwards indeed procured a copy of this paper, but that no further information, respecting the object to be discussed, could be obtained from it, than what was contained in the speech from the throne, and that the other parts of the dispatch were of a nature that made them extremely unfit to be laid upon the table of the house. With respect to the resolutions notified by the king of Prussia to the court of Versailles, he should be ready to state them to the house when called upon, but he did not conceive there were any reasons that could make it necessary that they should be laid upon the table. This account not appearing satisfactory to the members in opposition, Mr. Fox moved the house, on the Monday following, for an address to his majesty, "that he would direct copies or extracts from any notification made by the court of France, of the intention of the most Christian king to interfere by force in the affairs of Holland, to be laid before the house." He contended, that, parliamentarily speaking, the house had not any proof before them, that the court of France had ever had any intention of interfering in the affairs of the Dutch provinces; that, on the contrary, such intention was expressly disavowed in the counter-declaration; and, consequently, that the house could not with propriety pronounce their approbation of the late armaments, or provide for the expences thereby incurred, while there appeared, on the face of the evidence laid before them, a broad and gross declaration that there never had existed a reason for those pre-

parations, and that declaration solemnly made in a public instrument. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, insisted, that the intimation of the fact conveyed in the speech from the throne, was sufficient for the house to ground their proceedings upon, since no person, he believed, would venture to suggest a doubt of its reality; and that, with respect to the apparent contradiction so often alluded to, it doubtless would admit of explanation. In the paper moved for, the king of France had not expressly declared, that he would interfere in the internal concerns of the United Provinces by force; but that the states of Holland having, on the approach of the Prussian army, applied to him for assistance against that armament, he had determined to afford them assistance; a measure, which though not implying in terms a direct intention of using force, appeared to his majesty's servants sufficient to justify the preparations that had been made. After a short debate, Mr. Fox's motion was negatived without a division.

On the 5th of December, the day appointed for taking into consideration the subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Mr. Pitt rose and moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £.36,093, be granted for the subsidy to the prince of Hesse Cassel, for the year 1788." Mr. Fox observed, that before the house concurred in this vote, it was necessary they should receive some farther information, than they had hitherto been favoured with, respecting the general plan of foreign alliance which government intended to pursue. It was from its reference to and connexion with such a plan, that the

the merits of the treaty in question could alone be fairly decided upon; and, though he was ready to vote the subsidy required, as a part of that plan, yet if, for reasons which he allowed might exist, no further communication could at present be made, he hoped that he should not be considered as pledging himself, by such a vote, to support any future measure that might be proposed as a consequence of the Hessian treaty. He then proceeded to make a few remarks upon particular parts of the treaty. He objected to the limitation, by which the Hessian troops were to be employed in no part of the British dominions, except Great Britain and Ireland; the reverse of this arrangement he should have thought more adviseable, because he conceived there was little probability of those troops being required to serve in those islands, but they might be of great service in Gibraltar, America, or the West Indies.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, repeated what he had said on a former day, that the Hessian treaty formed but a part of a general system, which it would doubtless be improper for him at that time to detail, but which, he was confident, would be entitled to the approbation of the house. In defence of the stipulation of not employing the subsidiary troops beyond sea, he intimated, that the services most probably to be expected from them would be upon the continent, where the part we had lately taken, and the connexions we had formed, might, in case of a rupture with any foreign power, afford us an opportunity of employing them with singular advantage. The only question therefore, which he conceived to be before the house, was, whether it was adviseable for this nation to

give the landgrave of Hesse Cassel £.36,000 a year by way of a retaining fee, to hold him in our interests, and for an assistance, in case of need, of 12,000 troops, without any designation of the place or manner in which those troops were eventually to be employed.

Mr. Burke followed Mr. Pitt, and expressed his entire approbation of the system of measures that had lately been pursued, with respect to Holland, and the renewal of continental connexions. Subsidiary treaties, as applicable to and a necessary branch of such a system, he considered as measures generally adviseable, and peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of this country. But, in proportion as such a system was in itself prudent and adviseable, it ought to be constructed and put together with the most wary caution, so that all its parts should fit and adhere closely together, and by its strength and stability insure the good effects that were to be expected from it. The utmost care ought to be taken to prevent such excellent systems from being disgraced and discredited by imperfections and mischievous consequences resulting from the want of foresight in their original construction. It was these mischievous consequences that had put many great and good men out of humour with continental alliances; and therefore, in proportion to the real policy of the measure itself, a provident regard ought to be had to the prejudices of mankind, in order, at least, not to make them less fond of them.

With regard to the present treaty, the whole effect of it was not, as had been stated, merely the giving the landgrave of Hesse Cassel a retaining fee of 36,000*l.* per annum. The landgrave



landgrave was too wise a prince to engage to furnish Great Britain with 12,000 men for such a consideration. The quantum of banco crowns was not the only, nor, in fact, the most considerable advantage to be eventually derived from the treaty by him. By the treaty this country stipulated to guaranty the dominions of the landgrave, and might therefore be involved in a war, in consequence of that stipulation. Should that event happen, instead of receiving the aid of 12,000 troops, we might have to aid that prince with 100,000. It required therefore more consideration, to form a judgment upon the balance of advantage and disadvantage likely to result from the treaty, than might at first be imagined. He took it for granted, that ministers had taken the necessary measures to guard against the landgrave's being involved in a war on account of the present treaty, or to provide for his support in case of an attack. If this system of our continental connexions (of which he took the present treaty to be only a small part) was not formed with a provision for that event, the system was an inadequate and bad system, and of consequence the treaty a disadvantageous treaty. Mr. Burke followed up these general remarks, with a view of the state of our alliances, and of the balance of power in Europe, and concluded with making a few observations upon the introduction of foreign troops into this island. He reminded the house of the jealousy that had always manifested itself in this country upon that subject; and particularly in the year 1755, when Hessians were last employed in England. At that period, the popular alarm had increased to

such an height, that the dread of the danger that threatened at the time, an invasion, was much less than the dread of the means that were resorted to for its prevention. Mr. Burke begged to be considered, in the mention of these facts, rather as the narrator of jealousies which had prevailed, and at the same time were certainly to be considered as characteristic feelings of the nation, than as the foreteller of their revival, in consequence of the present treaty. The motion was agreed to, nem. con.

On the 10th of the same month, the secretary at war brought forward the augmentation of the land forces, which he said was proposed to be effected by re-establishing the third and fourth battalions of the sixtieth regiment, and increasing the number of men in the regiments on the West India service; the augmentation amounting in the whole to 3,064 men. At the same time he informed the house, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to declare, that, as his household troops were not, in proportion to their expences, so materially conducive to the strength and security of the kingdom as the other forces; and, as the augmentation proposed would be the cause of laying additional burthens upon his subjects; he was willing to contribute his share, by sacrificing ornament to service, in such a reduction of his household troops, as should be deemed necessary and proper.

These propositions gave rise to a long and interesting debate. It was argued by colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox, that the peace establishment of the army, as settled by the administration of 1780, had been adopted

adopted upon a view of the comparative state of our foreign possessions, at the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, and at the peace of 1762, and of the establishments that were thought necessary at those two periods. It had been held in the year 1763, when the whole of North America was in our hands, that the establishment ought to be larger than it was in 1749, when a great part of Louisiana, part of Nova Scotia, and all Canada, were in the hands of the French. In the establishment, therefore, of 1783, when we had lost thirteen entire colonies, and also the island of Minorca, a medium had been taken between the establishments of 1749 and 1762; and this establishment, allowing the force of the argument upon which it was founded, might certainly have been objected to (and in fact it had actually been objected to by a confidential friend of the present ministers) as too large and expensive for the reduced state of the empire. On what grounds therefore were they now called upon to vote it too small and contracted? Ministers had declared, that, upon a minute inquiry into the state of defence of our western possessions, they had found them *subjects rather of anxiety than comfort*: and that this opinion had been confirmed by the reports of the officers commanding in the West Indies, who had been severally consulted upon the force which each thought requisite for the security of the island he commanded.

Upon the first of these points, it was urged, that, unless parliament meant to resign, in compliment to the present administration, all pretensions to investigation, check, and controul, they were bound to proceed up-

on more solid ground than the mere words of ministers, before they authorized an innovation so burthensome in the expence, and odious to the sentiments of their constituents. Many cases there undoubtedly were, in which it was both wise and necessary to place a full confidence in ministers. Such a proof of their confidence they had lately given, in voting 80,000*l.* for the secret service money expended during the late transactions on the continent. Even in the present case, had the augmentation proposed been temporary, and the minister had declared, that he had reasons sufficiently cogent, but which he could not at present safely explain, for demanding it, they might have been induced, without betraying their trust, to have given him credit for the validity of those reasons. But in a measure so important, in every point of view, as the present, and which was meant to be permanent and unalterable, they were bound in duty to call for the reasons upon which it was grounded, and to examine them with the utmost care and attention.

With respect to the second point, the opinions of our commanders abroad, it was contended, that they by no means afforded a satisfactory ground for increasing our present establishment. It was obvious that each commander of an island would demand as large a force as he thought adequate to his defence on his own particular situation, and would govern himself, in such requisition, merely by a regard to his own responsibility; whereas, in judging of an adequate peace establishment for all the possessions of Great Britain, the whole would depend upon a general view of all its parts, and their relative exigencies.

And,

And, as the house was thus left without any solid foundation upon which they could ground the vote proposed, so neither was there any rational speculation upon it could be supported. The late transactions upon the continent, upon which so much applause had been deservedly bestowed, were chiefly entitled to it upon the account, that by creating a diversion for France nearer home, we thereby weakened her power of hostile attack abroad. It would naturally be expected that such a circumstance would enable the house to save the money of their constituents, and to lessen their peace establishment, instead of inducing them to augment it. For whence arose our apprehensions? If for our new friends, if the necessity of increasing our army, and taking the last shilling out of the pockets of their constituents, arose from our late alliances, greatly and universally as such alliances and connexions had hitherto been applauded, they ought for ever to be abandoned and abjured. In short, if those transactions should be found to terminate in the disarming of our naval armament, as stipulated in the agreement with the French king, and in adopting the proposed augmentation of our land forces, France, and not we, would have cause to triumph in the event. She would obtain a great and a rational object: she had at no time been unwilling that we should augment our army; she knew that it was the increase of our navy only that she had to dread.

In the last place, much was said upon the policy of œconomy; and it was contended, that it was by a judicious saving of our resources alone, that we could enable ourselves to meet a war with probabi-

lity of success. The example of France was strongly urged. She had an effective army of 160,000 men, a powerful marine, and her frontier towns strongly fortified, and in complete repair. What then could have induced her to submit to the disgrace resulting from her late conduct, but her inability to go to war, in consequence of the miserable state of her finances, exhausted by the impolitic extent of her military establishments. Mr. Fox declared, that when, in opposition to many of his own most respectable friends, he supported last year the proposition of not calling out the militia so frequently as usual, he did it entirely from a consideration, that the œconomy of the measure would be a greater national advantage, than any benefit that could result from continuing to embody them so frequently as had been done before: but he did not therefore approve of supplying that force by the introduction of foreign troops into this country; and he thought it rather extraordinary, that the son of lord Chatham, who had been a strenuous advocate for the militia, and for a reduced land but a strong naval force, should countenance the introduction of mercenary troops in preference to calling out the militia, and consent to a stipulation with France, to reduce the naval armaments of the country, and then come forward with a proposition for an augmentation of the army.

The propriety of the augmentation proposed was principally defended by Mr. Pitt. With respect to the unlimited confidence which the house had been so zealously cautioned against reposing in ministers, he acknowledged, that the occasions for such confidence were always to be

be lamented, as well by those who were to grant it, as by those, who, in consequence of the grant, were obliged to take upon them a deep and extensive responsibility. That such occasions, however, might occur, he presumed, would not be denied; and he contended that the present was of that nature, since it was obvious, that it would be highly improper for him to enter into any detail respecting the defence of our distant possessions, or to proclaim in what particulars the islands were thought vulnerable, unless strengthened by an additional force.

The objections that had been made to the opinions of officers commanding in the West India islands, had proceeded upon a false supposition. Their opinion had never been asked upon the whole force necessary for the defence of all our foreign possessions, nor was it ever intended precisely to calculate the whole, by the mere addition of what was required for each part separately; but government, after having ascertained, through the knowledge and experience of those who had been on the spot, what might be considered as a force adequate to the defence of each individual island, would undoubtedly form a general plan for the protection of the whole, with a due regard to the relative circumstances of each, and to a variety of other considerations, which it would be necessary to take into the account. And surely it was ridiculous to suppose, that government should be able to form a comprehensive permanent establishment for this purpose, by mere instinct, and without any previous consultation with such persons as were most able to furnish them with the information that was necessary in the detail.

The arguments taken from the late events on the continent were, he contended, inapplicable to the matter in question; since, whatever conclusion was drawn from them, the necessity of having our distant possessions at all times in a posture of defence, and secure against surprise, would remain the same. It had indeed been insinuated, that he had shewn a predilection for defending them by a land, rather than a naval force. This was an argument adapted to the prejudices, he was ready to admit, the laudable prejudices, of that house; but he was convinced, that, upon examination, it would appear merely calculated to serve a popular turn. He should take it for granted, that the West India islands were objects of such importance to this country, as to make their security a matter of the first consideration. There were but three ways by which this could be attempted: either by keeping a large stationary fleet in the West Indies; by sending out succours on the prospect of any rupture; or by keeping a military force upon the islands, equal to their defence against sudden surprise. Experience had proved that a naval force alone could not protect them, since, with a large fleet in the West Indies last war, sometimes superior to that of the enemy, the French had wrested several of the islands from us. With regard to the second expedient, to say nothing of an attack without a previous declaration of war, it might happen to be inconvenient or unsafe to detach any part of our force from Europe; and if it were not, our succours, from a variety of causes, might not arrive in time to prevent the mischief. The last therefore appeared clearly to him the most eligible



gible mode of accomplishing this object, and the more so, when it was considered, that, from the dispersion and distance of the islands, and the peculiarities of that climate, with respect to winds and currents, it would sometimes be absolutely impossible for a fleet to afford that speedy relief which the occasion might require, unless there was a sufficient military force upon the island to secure it from surprize.

Upon the subject of œconomy he observed, that his opinions were well known upon that article, and that, from the situation he held in his majesty's service, no one could be more anxiously interested in it than he was. But, he contended, that every moderate expence, by which the continuance of peace could be more firmly insured, was true œconomy, and the best œconomy this country could pursue. It was upon this principle, and after a due consideration of the present state of our finances, that it appeared to him well worth our while to lay out 80,000 l. annually, the sum which the proposed augmentation would cost, for the purpose of keeping our distant possessions in such a constant posture of defence, as might deter any hostile power from attempting to wrest them by surprize from us: to act otherwise, to tempt an attack by leaving them exposed and defenceless, would be to be sparing of our wealth, and lavish of the prosperity of the British empire.

It having been remarked, in the course of the debate, by general Burgoyne, that the plan of augmenting the forces in the West Indies, seemed necessarily to imply a correspondent system of fortification in that quarter, and that some explanation of the intentions of govern-

ment upon that point was requisite for the information of the house; Mr. Pitt avowed that some additional fortifications, upon a moderate scale, and with a view to render the military force more efficient, was intended, and was so connected with the plan of augmenting the land force to be stationed there, that it might be considered as an indispensable part of it. For the propriety of this measure, they had not only the sanction of a board of English general officers, but that of the most eminent French engineers; since not only every island belonging to that nation was fortified, but they also had begun to fortify those they took from us in the last war, as soon as they came into their hands.

This avowal of Mr. Pitt's, called up Mr. Fox again, who urged, in the most earnest manner, the necessity of a more full and accurate investigation of the subject, before they proceeded to authorize a measure, of the extent and expences of which they were left in total ignorance. Mr. Pitt assured the house, in reply, that the whole of the expence of the intended fortifications would not exceed 200,000 l.; that the works proposed would necessarily take some years in completing; and consequently, that the additional annual expence to the nation would be very trifling.

A division at length took place upon the motion, that 315,865 l. be granted for the forces for the plantations and Gibraltar, for the year 1788; when there appeared, ayes 242, noes 80.

The estimates for the ordnance were afterwards brought forward; and a motion being made, that the consideration of them should be adjourned to the next day, the same

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was rejected by a large majority; and a grant for the amount of the estimates was voted without debate.

The lateness of the 17th Dec. hour at which the ordnance estimates were voted, having prevented the discussion of them upon the 10th, Mr. Sheridan took occasion to introduce that subject again into the house upon Monday the 17th. The intention of government to fortify the West India islands had, he said, been candidly avowed, and the limits of the expence, in a loose way, ascertained. But, he conceived, that before parliament gave its final sanction, either to the proposed augmentation of the army, or to estimates of the ordnance, it was necessary they should understand more accurately the proposed extent of the system of fortification to be adopted for the West Indies. They had been represented as necessary to give efficiency to troops that were to be stationed there, and perhaps, the next year, the house might be called upon to vote more troops as necessary to give efficiency to the fortifications. In a report of the board of ordnance, laid upon the table of that house in the year 1783, by the present master-general, the duke of Richmond, his grace had suggested a system of fortification, both at home and abroad, which, so far as related to the former part, had been fully discussed in that house and rejected. The present proposal of fortifying the West Indies, was a part of that original plan, and not, as the minister had pretended, a new idea arising out of new circumstances. In order, therefore, to rouse the house to a due attention to the important subjects before them, he should move, "That there should be laid before the house, an estimate of the expence of compleat-

ing the fortifications intended in the West Indies, with an account of the number of troops necessary to garrison the whole."

Mr. Sheridan observed, that there were some other articles in the ordnance estimates which required animadversion. Amongst the rest, a charge of £. 10,000 for the purchase of powder-mills at Waltham Abbey, upon a project of government's manufacturing powder there for its own use; a project which, he thought, in every point of view, absurd and impolitic, as it tended to distress and perhaps destroy the gunpowder manufactures of the country, to substitute an unfair monopoly in the hands of government, and as the expence attending the establishment was so enormous, that every pound of powder cost four times the price at which it was sold by the manufacturers; a fact that had been already ascertained from the experience of the royal powder mills at Feverham.

Another most singular and extraordinary project was, that of raising a corps of artificers, to consist of 600 men, and dividing them into six companies. Mr. Sheridan ridiculed with great success the idea of putting artificers under martial law, and subjecting them to military discipline. — He did not conceive, he said, that men, capable of earning half a crown a day, would enlist as soldiers, and work in their respective occupations, at one-third of that sum, for the mere douceur of military discipline. With regard to the œconomy of the measure, he remarked, that in the report of 1783, before alluded to, the master-general had stated, that, by suffering some of the artificers at Woolwich, Sheerness, &c. to be put into companies, the artillery would never want artificers,

ficers, and a saving of £.15,000 would be made to government. Before, therefore, any new plan of raising a distinct corps of artificers was authorized, it would be proper to know what the saving made in consequence of the original plan had amounted to; because, if no great saving had been made, the plan now proposed would evidently be attended with additional expence to the public.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that he must necessarily resist the motion which had been made, because it was obvious, from the nature of things, that it could not at present be complied with. He had mentioned before what he thought nearly would be the gross amount of the expence, and so soon as the particulars could be estimated, they would, without doubt, be submitted to parliament.—He said, the rejection of the general system of fortification proposed by the master-general of the ordnance, upon which occasion he had the misfortune to differ in opinion from one half of the house, by no means involved all the parts of it in the same condemnation; since many of the principles admitted by those, who opposed the general system, would apply to the support of that at present in agitation, and there were besides others in its favour of sound policy and unquestionable wisdom.

With respect to the other topics that had been touched upon, they would, no doubt, be fully discussed on some future day. At present, he

should only remark, that the measure of taking additional powder-mills into the hands of government was highly expedient, as well for the purpose of trying experiments in the manufacture, and endeavouring to remove the cause of those complaints, which it was well known the gunpowder served last war had occasioned, as to guard against the consequence of finding themselves, on an emergency, wholly at the mercy of the manufacturers. The primary expence of the establishment would necessarily be great, but in future very inconsiderable when weighed against its utility and importance.

Mr. Sheridan, with the consent of the house, withdrew his motion.

Upon several days, which intervened in the course of these and the subsequent debates of the present session of parliament, the impeachment of Mr. Hastings continued, in various shapes, to occupy the attention of both houses of parliament.—Articles of impeachment against sir Elijah Impey were also brought into the house of commons by sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, and proceeded upon in part, at various times, during the course of the session. But as these form subjects distinct from the ordinary proceedings of parliament, we shall throw them into a chapter by themselves, and give our readers, at the end of our parliamentary history, as full an account of them as the nature and limits of this publication will admit.

## C H A P. V.

*Case of the late promotion of officers to the flag; motion relative thereto, by lord Rawdon; defended by lord Howe, as expedient and agreeable to precedents; the motion supported by lord Hawke; objected to by the earl of Sandwich, on the general ground of inexpediency. His account of the establishment of the superannuated list; answered by lord Rawdon; motion rejected. Mr. Bastard's motion on the same subject in the house of commons; opposed by Mr. Beaufoy and Mr. Pitt; different opinions of naval officers upon the subject; motion withdrawn. Second motion of Mr. Bastard, for a committee of enquiry; detail of the cases of the rejected captains; defence of the board of admiralty; the promotion defended by captain Berkeley; condemned by Mr. Fox; opinions of several military officers; of country gentlemen; charge of partiality against lord Howe; denied by his friends; motion rejected by a majority of only 16. Third motion, on the same subject, by Mr. Bastard; speakers in the debate; rejected by a majority of 49. Debates on the India declaratory bill; occasion of bringing in the bill; objected to, upon the general principles of declaratory bills, as unparliamentary, unjust, and as a dangerous precedent; motion for bringing in the bill defended by Mr. Pitt, on the plea of necessity; answered by Mr. Flood; India company heard by counsel on the second reading; bill opposed on two grounds; 1st, as not containing the true sense of the original act of 1784; 2dly, as vesting an arbitrary power in the board of controul, and authorizing a measure injurious to the company, and dangerous to the constitution; defence of the bill against these objections; Mr. Pitt's conduct censured by several of his friends; motion for committing the bill carried by a majority of 125 to 182; bill re-committed and amended; debate on the third reading; names of speakers; passed by a majority of 54. Bill debated in the house of lords; speech of the marquis of Lansdown; passes by a majority of 71 to 28; protest entered.*

**T**HE first object of importance, which engaged the attention of parliament after the recess, was the promotion of flag officers in the navy, which had taken place on the 15th of Sept. preceding.

In order to enable our readers to enter more accurately into the merits of the discussion, it may be necessary to state, that by an order of council, dated in the year 1718, and addressed to the lords commissioners of the board of admiralty, they are directed to proceed, in the promotion of officers to the rank of ad-

mirals in the navy, according to the seniority of such officers upon the list of captains, regard only had to their being duly qualified for the rank to which they shall be promoted. By a subsequent order of 1747, the lords of the admiralty are authorized to superannuate such captains of long and meritorious service as shall be disabled from serving as admirals, by age or infirmity, under the title of admirals upon the superannuated list, or, as it is commonly called, the list of yellow admirals.



In the promotion made by the board of admiralty at the time abovementioned, in which sixteen captains were promoted to the flag, upwards of forty captains had been passed over, the greatest part of whom had the offer made them of being put upon the superannuated list; but, conceiving themselves entitled, from their past, and their capacity for future service, to the rank of acting admirals, they refused the retreat that was offered them, and had endeavoured, but without success, to obtain their re-establishment from the board of admiralty.

This partial promotion had occasioned a great and general disgust, and especially amongst the officers of the navy, who were alarmed to find that the expectations of reward for the longest and most meritorious service, were to be dependent upon the caprice of the first lord of the admiralty; and it was therefore thought a proper subject for parliamentary animadversion. Accord-

ingly, on Monday the 20th of February the

business was brought forward by lord Rawdon, in the house of lords. He stated the circumstances of the late promotion, as we have just related them, and strongly insisted upon the acknowledged and indisputable merit of the officers who had been passed by. This neglect, he contended, was contrary to the established practice of the service, and was without a precedent. At the same time, he said it was not his intention to impute improper motives to any one, and he had therefore framed his motion in such a manner, as he hoped would appear perfectly inoffensive and unobjectionable. He conceived the subject

to be of the utmost importance to the naval service of this country, and had no doubt but that their lordships would become the protectors of the many brave and deserving officers, who could not but consider themselves as injured in their just expectations, and degraded in the eyes of their countrymen—He should therefore move, “That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the services of such captains of his majesty’s navy as were passed over in the last promotion of admirals.”

The motion being seconded, lord Howe immediately rose to justify his own conduct. After stating the several orders under which the board of admiralty acted, and the practice of the board at various periods, he said, that he supposed it would be admitted, that the board was not strictly bound to promote captains according to their seniority upon the list, but was entrusted with a discretionary power, for the use of which they were doubtless responsible. But at the same time, he was responsible for the good conduct and well-being of the service; and with the responsibility, he must necessarily be entitled to exercise his own judgment and discretion in every branch of the executive duty of the admiralty board; and therefore it was incumbent on every man, standing in a situation similar to his, to be careful in the promotion of officers, and more especially in the promotion of captains to flags. It was painful for him, undoubtedly, in the exercise of his discretion, to set officers aside; nor could he in a public assembly state the particular reasons which operated

operated on his judgment in the late promotion of captains to the rank of admirals. It would be invidious in him to explain them unnecessarily, as it would be cruel in the house to desire him to make such declaration. He had acted to the best of his judgment, and with the strictest impartiality.

With regard to the nature of the reasons which might direct the judgment of a first lord of the admiralty to pass over any number of captains in a promotion to flags, the house would have the goodness to recollect that there might be several. Those who were likely to be entrusted with the care of our fleets, ought to be men not only of firm minds, but possessed of bodily strength, to enable them to endure the fatigues of the hard service they might have to sustain. Officers who had served ably and meritoriously all their lives, might not appear, to the judgment of a first lord of the admiralty, to be fit to be entrusted with the care of a fleet. The noble lord who brought the motion forward knew that in the army the same observation applied. A serjeant of grenadiers, though an able and excellent soldier, might not be qualified to command a body of troops on a forlorn hope. These, and other considerations, had necessarily operated on his judgment in the late promotion. If the house thought proper to take upon themselves the promotion of military officers, he should feel himself eased of the greatest cause of anxiety in his situation, and of course escape from the painful responsibility of office.

Had the officers who were passed over succeeded their rank, as had been suggested, and not been called into service, as would probably have happened, they must have gone

through the superior degrees of promotion, that of vice-admiral, and of admiral, before the officers from whose service the country were to derive advantage; and thus the officers who did not serve, would have stood in the way of those who did serve. He appealed to the house whether such a circumstance would have been fair or warrantable.

He then stated to the house the nature of the establishment planned by the board of admiralty in 1747, for the maintenance and support of such officers as were passed by in a promotion of captains to flags. In order to make a suitable provision for them, and to enable them to spend the latter years of their existence in ease and retirement, that list of rear-admirals upon half pay (or as they were commonly called yellow admirals) was established, and all upon it received £.320 a year. If the superannuation pay appeared too small, it ought undoubtedly to be increased. He concluded with remarking, that the late promotion, if it stood in need of the countenance of a precedent, was not without that support; and he instanced a promotion of the same kind made by the late lord Hawke.

Lord Hawke rose to vindicate the conduct of his father, and denied that it was a precedent in point, because that promotion had taken place with the approbation and sanction of parliament. He reprobated that system of naval distinction which overlooked the veteran officers in order to get at the man who had the chance of being the longest liver. It was a system which every man, who had at heart the honour of the service, must view with indignation. He would, therefore, give the motion his most cordial support.

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The earl of Sandwich, in a long and able speech, gave his reasons for differing in opinion from the noble lord who had brought forward the motion. He thought it extremely improper for that house to interfere with the executive government. They had much better leave it to itself, and those noble lords who would advise the house to accede to the present proposition, he was persuaded, were not aware of the infinite mischiefs which might ensue. The parliament of Great Britain stood high in the opinion of all Europe; it had acquired abundant credit from the propriety of its proceedings, from confining itself to its proper province, and from not assuming offices and functions which did not belong to it, but leaving them where the constitution had wisely placed them, in the hands of the several departments of the executive government. Let their lordships for a moment consider the embarrassments which must be felt, if promotions of admirals were to be made by the two houses of parliament. The idea was revolting and monstrous in the extreme. A want of knowledge of the qualifications of the different candidates, would present itself in the first instance, and the influence used to obtain promotion would be at once most absurd, and most ridiculous. Let parliament place a due confidence in the first lord of the admiralty, and suffer him to exercise the discretion that belonged to his situation, unmolested by their interference. The responsibility lay with that officer and the board; and there the discretion ought to rest likewise. Whenever a complaint was formally made of breach of trust, or improper conduct, in any responsible member of

administration, the house had a right to institute an inquiry, and, upon sufficient proof of the facts alleged, to address his majesty to remove the minister so misconducting himself. *That* was the constitutional power of parliament, and one of its most important and salutary privileges; but, it was widely distinct from that or the other house taking upon themselves to exercise the functions of the executive government.

For his own part, he would not enter into any discussion of the late promotion of captains to flags, because he did not think that house the proper place for such a discussion; but, having himself had a share in forming the establishment which, in vulgar words, was termed the list of yellow admirals, but the true name of which was the superannuated list, he would state to the house the origin of the establishment. It had been found, at different periods, extremely inconvenient and detrimental to the service, that promotions to flags should be governed by seniority. In the year forty-seven, a promotion to flags was necessary, and those then at the board well knew that there were on the list of captains several officers in a superior degree qualified to command fleets; but the difficulty was how to come at them, without loading the public with an amazing and intolerable expense. In concert, therefore, with two noble lords, the late duke of Bedford, and the late lord Anson, he had taken his share in planning the superannuated list, and he had been the person in whose hands it had principally been brought to bear. The object of it was to provide an income for such captains as, in a promotion to flags, the board of admiralty did not appoint admirals,

not meaning to call them out into farther service. At the time of instituting the establishment, the object was to make eight admirals only, and in order to that, nineteen captains were passed over; and yet there was no complaint then, no motion before that house to address his majesty on the subject, nor any idea of injustice or partiality entertained. The establishment of the superannuated list had been originally received with universal applause, and generally considered as a humane and benevolent institution. Those captains who were put upon it were not stigmatised, as a noble lord had contended, nor in any degree disgraced; but it was an honourable retreat from service. The noble lord had also stated, that the late promotion had been altogether without a precedent. No such thing. There were a great number of precedents for it. In short, there was scarcely a precedent to the contrary.

Besides, what did the present motion mean? It desired his majesty to take the case of the officers, in whose behalf the motion was made, into his consideration. That had been done already. Was it his majesty's better consideration of the case of the officers that was desired by the motion? If so, let their lordships consider, for a moment, the gross impropriety of their interfering with the prerogative in a case of that nature. If they did it in one instance, they would be called on to do it in another, and what infinitely mischievous consequences might not such an unwise confusion of the distinct functions of the different branches of the legislature lead to? He concluded with remarking, that with regard to the noble viscount's rea-

sons for having passed over some captains, undoubtedly it must have been painful for him, as a professional man, to have considered it as his duty so to regulate the promotion; but, whatever had been the reasons by which either the noble viscount, or any former lord of the admiralty, had been governed, it would prove in the highest degree improper publicly to state them. It was not in human nature for any man to think himself insufficient; and, undoubtedly, one officer believed himself to be as fit for an admiral as another. Would it, therefore, be humane, or even justifiable, for a first lord of the admiralty to single out and characterise what he held to be such disqualifications, as rendered it incompatible with the good of the service for such and such captains to be promoted to flags?

Lord Rawdon contended, in reply, that the motion did not interfere with the prerogative, or assume the exercise of the function of military promotion. Had it been of that tendency, he was ready to admit it would be highly indecent and improper. It only desired his majesty to take the case of several meritorious and able officers into his royal consideration, upon the presumption, that, in the late promotion to flags, their merits had been overlooked. He then stated a case in the reign of queen Anne, when the captain of admiral sir George Rooke's ship, who was then at Portsmouth, just preparing to sail on an important expedition, was passed by; sir George Rooke, thereupon, wrote to prince George of Denmark, remonstrating against so gross an act of injustice to his captain, nor would he sail before justice was done him,



him, and he was restored to his rank. With regard to the nineteen captains that the noble earl had said were superannuated, to make eight admirals, the noble earl had not stated, whether they had withdrawn themselves from the service or not. He had, therefore, a right to conclude that they did withdraw; and it was on all hands admitted, that such officers as had withdrawn themselves from the service, had no claim to farther promotion. But, was that the case with the officers in whose behalf he had made the motion then upon the table? Directly the reverse. They were all officers lately in service, and ready and willing to be employed again. They were not men liable to be set aside upon so harsh an imputation as incapacity. The noble viscount had asked, if a serjeant of grenadiers, though a brave soldier, was fit to command on a dangerous enterprize? Were the cases in the smallest degree analogous? Surely not. The officers for whom he then contended had actually been in command often. They were looked up to by their whole profession as officers of the first ability, and as fit for command as any naval characters whatsoever. In the higher ranks of the army, officers always rose by seniority, colonels became major-generals, and so on; and, unless there was some stain in an officer's character, which rendered him unworthy of promotion and unfit for rank, he saw not the inconvenience that could arise from the same practice obtaining in the navy. The noble earl's argument went so far as to shut the door completely against inquiries into the conduct of a first lord of the admiralty, on any occasion; a principle which he hoped he should never see

the house adopt, since it was possible for a marine minister to act as detrimentally against the interest of his country, by abusing his authority, and pursuing improper measures, as the minister of any other department in the state.

After a short reply from lord Sandwich, in which he stated that the promotions in the army were not attended with any additional expence, whereas in the navy, where we had already near sixty admirals, the promotion by seniority would entail on the public an enormous expence—the motion passed in the negative without a division.

The fate of lord Rawdon's motion did not prevent the same question from being agitated in the house of commons. A motion was made on the day following, by Mr. Bastard, for an address to the king to confer some mark of his royal favour upon captain Balfour and captain Thompson, who had received the thanks of the house for their behaviour on the 12th April 1782. These officers, Mr. Bastard said, he had separated from the rest, merely on account of the peculiar circumstance alluded to in the motion; and that he meant to include all the other officers, who had been passed over in the late promotion, in another motion, which he should make for that purpose. Mr. Bastard, after urging the arguments that had been used on the same side in the house of lords, strongly contended that the house of commons was considered to be in a peculiar manner the guardians of the interests and honour of naval officers; and he quoted to this purpose a speech made there on a former occasion by the present first lord of the admiralty, in which he

asserted, that the protection of that house was what officers always look up to, and what contributed essentially to keep up a spirit of emulation amongst them. He remarked, that public opinion was the principal aim and object of every officer; that their exertions would always be proportionate to the interest which the nation took in their characters and welfare; and that, if the people should ever shew an indifference towards these, the ardour of the service would sink accordingly.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Beaufoy, and the chancellor of the exchequer, on the same ground as was taken in the other house. Amongst the naval officers, members of the house, who took a part in the debate, sir George Collyer and captain Macbride declared, that nothing short of ruin to the service must follow, if such a system of promotion, as the last, was to continue; and, on the other hand, lord Mulgrave and lord Hood were of opinion, that the interference of the house might in the end prove more detrimental to the service than advantageous. On all sides it seemed to be admitted, that several of the officers who were passed over, did not appear, to common judgments at least, in any respect disqualified for the rank to which, in the ordinary course of the service, they were entitled. Mr. Bastard finding, however, that the mode in which he had brought the subject forward, was not generally agreeable to the house, withdrew his motion, with a promise of bringing it before them in some other shape.

April 18th. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, he moved, "That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole

"house, to enquire into the conduct of the board of admiralty, touching the late promotion to the flag." As this motion went to a direct charge of ministerial misconduct against the first lord of the admiralty, and was free from the objection of interfering improperly in the functions of the executive government, it was necessary to meet it upon the distinct merits of the case.

In support of the presumption of misconduct, Mr. Bastard stated the cases of captains Balfour, Thompson, Uvedale, Shirley, Bray, and Laforey; and several others were mentioned in the course of the debate. The first of these officers had distinguished himself, in company with captain Laforey, in the war before the last, by an enterprize which required equal skill and bravery, the cutting out two French ships of the line in the harbour of Louisbourg. He had since continued to serve his country with credit in the late war, and was declared by several officers, members of the house, to be well qualified, so far as they could judge, for promotion to the flag. The same general testimony was borne to the character of the other officers. It was farther stated, that he had written to the board of admiralty to be informed of the reasons for which he was passed over in the promotion, but had been refused an answer. Admiral sir Edmund Affleck declared, that he had been acquainted with captain Thompson nearly forty years; that he knew him to be as honest a man, and as brave and skilful an officer, as any in the service; that he could not account for his having been passed by, and was as much surprised at it as he should have been to have been passed by himself.

himself. Captain Uvedale had also served with considerable reputation. In the late war he had been appointed by lord Rodney to the command of a part of the fleet, for the purpose of drawing out the squadron of Mons. de Grasse, and by that means affording an opportunity of bringing on a general action. This important service, which required the exertion of all the skill as well as bravery of a commander, he successfully performed. Captain Shirley had also commanded several sail of the line, and had received the approbation of the admiralty. He had also applied to the board, on the late occasion, to have his claims exhibited to the council; but the first lord refused to lay his case before them. The case of captain Bray was singular: he had been employed during the late war in the impress service, and, upon his application to the board for a flag, he had been advised by lord Howe, on account of his advanced age, to give up his claim to rank, and to apply for superannuation: this advice he had accordingly followed, but it was afterwards discovered that he was precluded from being put upon the yellow list by the order of council of the year 1747, which expressly excepts captains who had not been sent to sea during the war. Upon this case it was strongly argued by captain Macbride, that if the officers who are employed in this difficult and disagreeable, though essentially important service, were to be considered as thereby forfeiting their claim to rank, none but those of the lowest characters would undertake it in future. Captain Laforey had been set aside merely on account of his having, some time before, accepted the appointment of

naval commissioner at Antigua; although at the same time sir Charles Middleton, late one of the commissioners resident in London, had been promoted to the flag.

In order to obviate the unfavourable conclusion which these cases seemed strongly to support, it was argued by the chancellor of the exchequer, in defence of the admiralty, that none of the circumstances alledged amounted to more than a negative proof, that the officers in question were not disqualified for the rank for which they contended: but that, where a selection was to be made (and that a selection was expedient would appear, not only from the uniform practice of the navy, but from the great expence and fundry inconveniences which would unavoidably result from an overloaded list of flag officers) it was necessary that a discretionary power of making that selection should be lodged in the commissioners of the board of admiralty. He admitted that they were responsible to parliament for the use of that discretion, and that whenever a case was made out strong enough to warrant a suspicion of such abuses as deserved censure or punishment, it was the indispensable duty of the house to proceed to inquire. But he denied that such a case had been made out. It had not been alledged that there was any officer of incompetent merit amongst those who were promoted, on which a charge of partiality or corruption could be founded. It had not been asserted that the first lord was actuated by any malice or other sinister motive towards those who had been passed over, upon which he could be charged with injustice or oppression. The point to be decided by the house was, whether they

could

could infer, from the statement of cases they had heard, that the judgment of the noble viscount, upon professional merits, was not to be trusted, but ought to be corrected by theirs? Such a case might undoubtedly occur; but he warned the house of the mischiefs that would inevitably arise from opening their doors, without the most palpable and urgent necessity, to the discussion of professional qualifications, and the arrangement of military promotions. He then proceeded to make a variety of ingenious observations upon the several cases that had been stated, with a view to take off the impression which they seemed to have made upon the house.

The only naval officer who, upon this occasion, supported administration, was the honourable captain Berkeley; who lamented that such a question should have been brought before the house; but said, that as it was, he must declare his opinion to be, that the house ought not to interfere, but to leave the discretion unclogged where the responsibility was placed.

In reply to the arguments of Mr. Pitt, it was urged, by Mr. Fox, that the rank of admiral might be considered in two views; that the principal view undoubtedly was prospective, and to future services; and in this view a more strict selection was proper and justifiable: but it might be considered also retrospectively, as an honour and reward for past services. In the latter view, the late promotion could not be defended a moment, it was most scandalously partial and unjust. And, as a proof that the admiralty had considered it in this point of view, he mentioned the promotion of sir John Lindsay, who, though unquestiona-

bly an officer of the first reputation in the navy, was well known to be in so deplorable a state of health, as to leave no room for the expectation of future services. As a farther proof, he stated, that as there were twenty-four admirals on the old list fit for service, and no service very likely to be wanted soon, the late promotion could not be justified on the principle of state necessity, and must therefore come under the notion of honorary reward and emoluments; and under that construction, no one, he again repeated, could hesitate to pronounce it partial, capricious, and oppressive. But he also contended, that where, in addition to negative merit, signal and approved past services could be pleaded, there was a fair claim, even on the former ground, to the highest ranks in the service. At least, he said, a contrary determination would do infinite mischief, by checking the ardour and damping the spirit of enterprise amongst our officers.

In this argument he was joined by sir George Osborne and several other military officers. The house ought not, said that gentleman, to imagine, that men led by their genius, and qualified to follow the military profession in either service, looked to the number of paltry shillings they were to receive per day, as a compensation for their laborious life and perilous services. There was not a man, he would venture to say, that ever got a commission in the navy, who did not assure himself, that, by a continued series of honourable and meritorious conduct, he should obtain a flag. It could not, therefore, but prove a deep and cutting mortification for any man, conscious that he did not deserve it, to find that he was put aside in the



day of promotion. Military men, from the nature and danger of their profession, must be allowed to feel more poignantly, and with more nicety and quickness of animation, than those accustomed to the frigid rules of civil office. To such feelings he had ever been accustomed, and he trusted they were feelings neither misbecoming a gentleman nor an officer. The power of settling promotions and appointing to command had ever been lodged in the board of admiralty; but if either were wantonly and capriciously exercised, that house would act wisely and with becoming dignity to employ its constitutional functions of enquiry and controul.

Admiral sir Peter Parker remarked, that he saw no reason for selection at present in a promotion to the flag. Formerly, when we had only nine admirals, a selection was indispensably necessary; but now, when the list of admirals was fifty-seven, surely a sufficient number fit for any service might be found at all times. He spoke of the peril and fatigue of a marine life, and said, if neither honours nor emoluments were given to officers, who had behaved meritoriously, and gallantly distinguished themselves, he feared the thanks of the house would be considered only as an empty compliment.

Several of the country gentlemen supported Mr. Bastard's motion, and declared, that they did not think the paltry consideration of a few thousands a year, which they understood was all the saving that would be made, could at all justify the cruelty and hardship with which they thought many deserving officers had been treated. An attempt was also made to fix a charge

of partiality upon the first lord of the admiralty, by remarking that there was a marked neglect, in the late promotion, of the officers who had served their country so gallantly under the auspices of lord Rodney. This was warmly denied by Mr. Strachey, who appealed to the list of the late promotions. The question being put, the house divided, ayes 134, noes 150.

The smallness of the majority by which the minister defeated this enquiry, encouraged Mr. Bastard to make a third attempt. On Tuesday the 29th of April, after a short speech, in which he said, that the arbitrary powers claimed by the board of admiralty, having in some measure received the sanction of the house, he hoped that, in order to prevent the mischievous consequences that might ensue, they would at least adopt some permanent principle as a rule of service, to which officers might trust. He moved the following resolution, "That it is highly injurious to the service, and unjust, to set aside from promotion to flags, meritorious officers of approved service, who are not precluded by the orders of his majesty in council."—The motion was seconded by sir William Moleworth; and, after a debate of several hours, (which was supported on the one side by sir J. Miller, captain Bertie, general Norton, Mr. Martin, Mr. Loveden, Mr. Drake, &c. and on the other by Mr. Grenville, lord Apsley, and admiral Hood) the house divided upon the previous question, noes 220, ayes 169.

During the time that the conduct of the board of admiralty underwent these discussions in the house of commons, another subject was introduced

duced by the chancellor of the exchequer, which gave rise in both houses to several of the warmest and most interesting debates of the present sessions of parliament. The case was briefly this. During the apprehensions, which had existed in the course of last year, of a rupture with the court of France, government had taken a resolution of sending out four additional regiments to India, on board the company's ships, for the protection of our possessions in that quarter; and the proposition had been received with general approbation by the court of directors. But in the mean time the storm having blown over, and government still adhering to their resolution of sending out the four regiments, with a view to form a permanent establishment of his majesty's troops in India, a question had arisen respecting the expence of sending them out, and of their future payment. By an act, which passed in the year 1781, it was stipulated that the company should be bound to pay for such troops *only* as were sent to India upon their requisition, and upon this act the directors had refused to charge the company with the expence of the troops in question. But it was contended by the board of control, established in the act of 1784, that the commissioners of that board were invested with a power of directing, in case of a refusal of the company, such expence to be defrayed out of the revenues arising from their territorial possessions. Upon this case the court of directors had taken the advice of several eminent lawyers, who were of opinion that the board of control was not invested, by the act of 1784, with the power contended for; and the directors had accordingly re-

fused to take the troops on board the ships that were about this time to sail for India.

Upon this ground Mr. Pitt moved the house, on the 25th of February, for leave to bring in a bill for removing the doubts in question, by declaring the intention of the legislature; in the act of 1784, to have been agreeable to the construction put upon it by the board of control.

He stated to the house, that though the names of several respectable gentlemen of the profession were subscribed to the opinion which had been given to the court of directors, yet he was at a loss to imagine on what principle those doubts were entertained, since in his mind nothing could be more clear than that there was no one step that could have been taken, previous to the passing of the act of 1784, by the court of directors, touching the military and political concerns of India, and also the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial possessions, that the commissioners of the board of control, as it was commonly called, had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authorities vested in them by that act. In this opinion Mr. Dundas, chairman of the board, declared his concurrence; and added, that if it should appear to them necessary, for the security of our possessions in India, they had a power to apply the whole of the revenues of India to that purpose, without leaving the company a single rupee for their investments. As doubts, however, had been entertained, he thought the best way of meeting those doubts was by the authority of a special act of parliament.

The motion was strongly opposed in the outset, as being extremely unparliamentary.

parliamentary. It was argued that the opinions of counsel, taken perhaps upon a false or imperfect state of the case, was not a fit ground for the introduction of a declaratory bill: that if such a practice were to obtain, it was obvious that declaratory acts might be multiplied *ad infinitum*: that the legislature ought never to have recourse to such an expedient, except when either the wording of an act was evidently so ambiguous as to stand in need of explanation; or where, in consequence of the clashing judgments of courts, or doubts expressed by judges from the bench, it became necessary for the legislature to propound anew its own meaning:—in all other cases, parliament by interfering would quit its legislative and assume a judicial capacity, and, in the present instance, would decide in a cause, in which it is in some respects interested as a party, and was to be a gainer by its own decision. It is a dispute between the crown, or the public, and an individual, upon a pecuniary transaction—the king insists upon a certain sum of money from the company, upon certain pretences—the company admit a sum to be due, but not the amount demanded; here is a clear and simple question on which an issue might be tried in a court of law. If the minister, instead of submitting the claim of government to a legal decision, was resolved to supersede the question by an extraordinary declaration of parliament, what was it but to declare that he chose to remove the cause from the courts of law, where he knew he could have no undue influence, into the two houses of parliament, where he knew that he had:—such a proceeding was a manifest

and violent oppression of the subject.

It was further argued, that the measure proposed was liable to many serious political objections, and might be used as a precedent for the worst purposes. A minister, it was said, has nothing to do but to propose and bring in a bill for granting new powers, in doubtful and ambiguous words, under restraints indistinctly defined, and with clauses that had a double aspect. He had nothing to do but to introduce this bill with general declarations of the moderate principles upon which it is formed, and of sacred regard to the rights which it is intended to control. By this affected moderation, the consent of the parties concerned in the bill might be obtained; and the alarm and unpopularity of a violent and odious measure might be prevented; and when greater powers are assumed, than those, who are affected by them, supposed they were subject to, and resistance is made to the exercise of those powers, then the proposer sweeps away all objections and doubts by an high over-ruling stretch of parliamentary authority, and declares that what he contends for was and is the law of the land. It was evident that something of this sort had happened in the matter in question: that the company had been induced to consent to the act of 1784 upon pretences, which now proved to be delusive; and that the minister, having obtained that consent, was resolved to put his own construction upon it, contrary to the original intention of the party concerned.

In answer to these arguments it was urged, that, allowing the justice of the general reasoning upon declaratory

declaratory bills, the measure proposed was justified by the necessity of the case, which did not admit of having recourse to a judicial determination; that the delay of sending out the troops might possibly be dangerous; that the company's ships, in which it was intended to embark them, could not be detained much longer; and that the expence of providing transports specially for the purpose, upon whomsoever that expence should finally be adjudged to fall, would be enormous.

With respect to the argument drawn from the supposed consent of the company to the act of 1784, under a construction different from that which was now contended for, it was denied by Mr. Pitt, that the consent of the company had ever been formally given. They had indeed agreed to the general principles, upon which the bill was to be formed, but it was well known, that they had ultimately disapproved of it.

Mr. Flood, in reply to the former of these arguments, observed that the necessity of the case was by no means made out: that the regiments, which were said to be necessary for the defence of India, might be sent out, and it might be determined hereafter, by whom the expence of transporting and paying them ought to be defrayed. The house therefore ought not by its interference to intercept the question on its way to a tribunal, where it might be judicially determined; and it ought still less to interfere in the present case, because it was an interested party, and was about to give judgment in its own favour, to spare its own pocket. He considered parliament and the company in

the light of landlord and tenant; and the charter, modified by the acts of 1781 and 1784, as the lease; and consequently, that it was extremely unfit either party should be the judge on a question affecting that lease.

After a long debate, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried without a division; and on its second reading, upon the 3d of March, the East India company were heard by their counsel, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Rous, against the bill, at the bar of the house. Upon this occasion, and in the several debates which followed, the merits of the bill underwent a full and accurate discussion. Those who opposed it, founded their objections principally upon two grounds; 1st, That the construction attempted to be put upon the act of 1784, was not its true and just construction; and 2dly, That, allowing it to admit of such construction, the powers it vested in the board of control were injurious to the rights and interests of the company, and of a dangerous political nature, and therefore ought not to be confirmed.

In support of the former proposition, it was argued, in the first place, that the charter granted to the company having been purchased for a valuable consideration, every statute diminishing their rights and privileges ought to be construed, like penal laws, in their mildest sense, and so as to infringe in the least possible degree upon those privileges: that in ambiguous cases all acts of parliament ought, if possible, to be taken in that sense which makes them consistent with each other; and consequently, that whereas in the act of 1781, confirm-



ing their charters, it is expressly stipulated, that the company should defray the expence of no troops but such as were sent to India upon their own requisition, the act of 1784 ought to be construed in such a manner as to make it consistent with the preceding acts, which could not be considered as repealed in the act of 1784 by mere implication, a direct and express enacting bill or clause being necessary for that purpose.

Secondly, it was argued, that the best and safest mode of expounding a statute was, to explain and illustrate one part by others of the same statute; a mode of exposition which would evidently best explain and discover the meaning and intent of the makers. In the act of 1784 the board of commissioners "are authorized and empowered, from time to time, to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territorial possessions of the company, in the manner in the said act directed," and "the court of directors are required to pay obedience to, and to be governed and bound by, such orders and directions as the said court shall receive from the said board."—Upon these clauses the new powers claimed by the board of control rested; and, taken by themselves, they certainly admitted of the unlimited construction intended to be put upon them. But, by subsequent clauses, they appear evidently to be restricted to certain acts. In the eleventh section it is enacted, "that, in order that the said board may be duly informed of all the transactions of the said company, rela-

tive to the management of their concerns in India, the court of directors should deliver to the board copies of all minutes, &c. and of all dispatches which they shall receive from their servants in India, and also of all letters, orders, or instructions proposed to be sent to any of their servants."—It then follows, "that within fourteen days after the receipt of such letters, &c. the commissioners should return them to the directors, either with their approbation, or their reasons for disapproving and amending them, and the directors are bound to pay obedience to such orders so amended or altered: and if, within fourteen days after requisition made, the court of directors shall neglect so to do, it shall and may be lawful for the said commissioners to prepare and send to the directors any orders or instructions to any of their governments, concerning the civil or military government or revenues of the British territories in the East Indies; and the directors are in such cases required to transmit dispatches, in the usual form, pursuant to the tenor of such orders," &c. From these latter clauses it was argued, that if the commissioners were invested with the absolute and positive authority contended for, and if the directors were bound to pay implicit obedience to their orders in all cases, it was absurd to specify certain cases in which it might be lawful for them to send orders and instructions to the company's servants in India without the consent of the company; and consequently that it was evident, from the whole tenor of the clauses taken together, that the power vested in the commissioners

sioners was no other than a power of superintendency and control over the transactions of the company in their management of their affairs in India; a power of altering and amending their orders and instructions, and, in case of neglect in the directors, of carrying such orders so amended into execution; and not a power of originating measures, in opposition to the chartered and stipulated rights of the company.

Thirdly, it was strongly contended, that the language of the minister, when he brought in the bill in 1784, coincided in the most express manner with the construction here put upon it; and Mr. Pulteney and some other members, who usually voted with him, declared, that they supported him at the time from a persuasion that such was the intention and meaning of the act, and that otherwise nothing should have induced them to vote for it; that the construction attempted to be put upon it by the declaratory bill, made it equally obnoxious with the celebrated bill rejected by the lords in 1783, with only this difference, that what the one had for its professed object openly, and without disguise, the other was attempting to effect by fraud and dissimulation. Mr. Powis argued, from the various amendments which the act received in its passage through the house, that no such ideas of its extent, as were now endeavoured to be established, were then entertained of it, much less expressed, and that if they had, it must have been rejected. Mr. Baring, one of the directors, declared, that it was generally understood at the time, by that board, to be utterly incapable of the unlimited construction now put upon it. And colonel Barré declared, that, hav-

ing asked one of the directors, why they had suffered the bill to pass unresisted, and with the sanction of their concurrence, the director had admitted with him, that the bill darkly and tacitly conveyed powers to the board of control as hostile to the rights of the company as Mr. Fox's bill, but that they had a confidence in the administration which introduced it, and had no doubt of their exercising those powers with gentleness and moderation.

Upon this ground Mr. Fox and his friends took occasion to triumph upon the complete justification, which the measure he had formerly proposed, had now, they said, obtained by the tacit confession of his adversaries themselves. It is with great pleasure, said he, on the close of one day's debate, that I have heard (for I must have been gifted with extraordinary feelings indeed, if I had not been peculiarly gratified at hearing) a complete and able defence of almost every principle of my own bill from the mouth of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt); at hearing almost the whole of that measure maintained and supported with an irresistible eloquence, and in a flow of language peculiar to himself. It will now no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the usurper of the powers of the India company. Had the right honourable member acted in the same open and fair way in 1783, all that abuse which I have sustained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular phrensy which disgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked. He would then have said, "You take away the company's charter, there I am  
" with

“ with you; the flagrant abuses the  
“ company have made of it, could  
“ not have been put an end to, un-  
“ less you did so! You suspend all  
“ their rights; there again I am  
“ with you; the suspension is neces-  
“ sary for their salvation! You assume  
“ the complete management and con-  
“ trol of all the company’s affairs,  
“ civil and military, and the dispo-  
“ sition and application of all their  
“ revenues; in all this you do right;  
“ such an assumption is requisite to  
“ give effect to your system! But you  
“ put these powers into the hand of  
“ a board of commissioners ap-  
“ pointed by parliament; there you  
“ do wrong, and there I am not  
“ with you. I contend that a board  
“ of control, appointed by the  
“ crown, is the proper board to en-  
“ trust all these powers with.”  
Upon that single point ought to  
have rested the whole dispute, for  
that is the only essential difference  
between the two bills.

In the last place, it was contend-  
ed that the board of control itself  
did not understand the act as con-  
veying to them the unlimited powers  
they now claimed under it. The  
counsel for the company offered to  
produce evidence at the bar, to  
prove, that, for two years and more  
after the passing of the act of 1784,  
the commissioners of that board had  
acted upon the statute of 1781, and  
particularly in the year 1786, when  
they admitted that they had no  
power to send out any of his ma-  
jesty’s troops to India without the  
consent of the company; which  
shewed that they considered the sta-  
tute of 1781 to be unrepealed, and  
consequently the terms of the com-  
pact therein stipulated to be still in  
force.

In support of the second proposi-  
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tion, upon which the opposition to  
the bill was founded, it was argued,  
that the power contended for by the  
board of control went to the total  
annihilation of the court of direc-  
tors, and even of the property of  
the company: for that, the terri-  
torial revenues being in many in-  
stances unavoidably implicated in  
their commercial concerns, the ab-  
solute control over the former, as to  
their application and expenditure,  
would necessarily carry with it a  
control over the latter, and might  
be used to supersede the power of  
the directors over the only branch  
of the company’s affairs that was  
left to their management. And fur-  
ther, that, as the settlements abroad  
had a power of drawing upon the  
treasury at home to the amount of  
one million, the board of control  
would not only have their Indian  
treasuries, but the treasury in Lea-  
denhall-street at its disposal.

Secondly, it was said, that the  
measure itself, of sending the four  
regiments to India, was not less in-  
jurious to the rights and interests of  
the company, than the unlimited  
power under which it was to be  
executed. Colonel Barré, colonel  
Fullarton, Mr. Baring, Mr. Pulte-  
ney, and several other members,  
were decidedly of opinion, that it  
would have been both a more just  
and more æconomical measure, ei-  
ther to have suffered the company  
to raise four regiments, or to have  
sent over the 2,400 men which were  
wanting to complete the king’s re-  
giments already in India:—more  
æconomical, because in the one case  
the company’s troops are, and would  
be, maintained at infinitely less ex-  
pence than the king’s:—in the other,  
the company would be free from  
the additional burden of all the of-

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ficers of the four new regiments:—more just, because in the former case the company would have enjoyed the patronage of the troops they were to pay, and might provide for many of their own deserving officers, 600 of whom were living in very distressed situations in India, who had been reduced at the late peace. The measure was also condemned as being impolitic, and tending to produce confusion in the company's government in India, by putting the power of the sword into two hands, and by creating jealousy and disgust in the minds of the officers in the company's service.

As a corollary from these arguments, it was contended in the third place, that administration could have no other inducement to adopt the measure proposed, than a view to the extension of their own influence and patronage, at the expence of the India company. As a conclusive proof of this allegation, colonel Barré referred the house to a paper, stating the contest between the court of directors and the board of control, relative to the settlement of the peace establishment of the company's troops in India, which the former wished to have kept up to a certain number, whilst the latter contended for a greater reduction. Now that very board comes forward of itself, and proposes to send four king's regiments in addition to that very establishment, which they had contended, with the last degree of obstinacy, was too large, and ought to be reduced. But, he added, I have long seen, and I now see more distinctly, a system of patronage, a settled and regularly digested plan at the bottom of the whole business. It was, he too plainly perceived, a regular pro-

gressive plan to grasp all the patronage of the India company; and the declaratory bill then before them was only one step more towards its completion: he therefore conjured the house to be aware, and look about them; and declared, that if the present bill passed, a fatal stab would, in his opinion, be given to the constitution. It was also strongly urged by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, that the power of an absolute control over, and of a discretionary application of the territorial revenues of the India company, amounting to near nine millions sterling, as claimed by the board of control, was an object of so enormous a magnitude as to require no common degree of caution before it was sanctioned.

Lastly, doubts were started, whether the power claimed by the board of control, of keeping an army of the king's forces in India to any amount they chose, and appropriating the revenues of the company to their payment, was consistent with the principles of the constitution. It was stated, that the raising and keeping a standing army in time of peace, is declared by the bill of rights to be unlawful, but with the addition of these words, *within this kingdom*. This declaration was generally supposed not to extend to the keeping an army out of the kingdom, in any of the dominions of the crown; and accordingly, in the estimates for the plantations, the number of troops was not voted, but the money for their raising and maintaining was granted; parliament not being afraid of the crown's keeping a standing army there beyond the number which could be raised and subsisted by the money voted for that service; the crown having no revenue in the plantations.



tations. But in the 12th of William the Third, a jealousy having arisen respecting the army in Ireland, where the king had a revenue for its support, parliament limited the number which was to be kept there. There appeared the same ground of jealousy in the present case; there was a revenue at the disposal of the king's ministers, for raising and paying an army without consent of parliament, and consequently the power claimed by the board of control was a dangerous departure from the principles of the constitution.

Such were the principal arguments used by those who opposed the passing of the Declaratory Act. On the other side, it was contended, that with respect to the construction of the act of 1784, considered in the light of a penal law, the principle laid down could only be admitted so far as was consistent with the spirit and express objects of the act itself; that it would be absurd to put a sense upon an act that would defeat the main ends for which it was passed; and that, with regard to the act of 1781, such parts of it as were inconsistent with the provisions of the subsequent act, were, *ipso facto*, virtually, though not expressly, repealed.

In opposition to the second argument, drawn from the particular cases specified, in which a power of originating measures, and carrying them into execution, was vested in the board of control, the avowed and express design and intention of the act in general, and in all its parts, was strongly insisted upon. Its express object, it was said, was to take the entire management of the territorial possessions, and the political government of India, out of

the hands of the company, leaving them only the direction of their commercial concerns. The board of control was in future to be responsible to the public for the prosperity, defence, and security of our Indian possessions, and was therefore to be invested with all the powers and authority necessary for the due discharge of the important duties delivered over to it. These powers were given in general terms, and the mode of exercising them in particular cases was specified; in some, they had a negative upon the orders of the directors; in others, where a difference of opinion arose, it was enacted, that the board might enforce the execution of its own; and could any man be absurd enough to imagine, that if the directors were at any time to fold their arms across, and remain in a state of inactivity, that the board were not authorized and bound to issue such orders as the exigence of the case might require? In the instance then before the house, could it be supposed that parliament intended to leave to the company, who it might be expected, from the short duration of their charter, would attend chiefly to their own immediate pecuniary interests, the entire disposition of their revenues, without enabling the board of control, who were responsible for the defence and permanent security of the whole, to appropriate such part of them as should be thought necessary for those purposes?

With respect to the language said to have been held by administration, when the act of 1784 was brought into parliament, Mr. Pitt denied, in the most positive manner, that he had ever given, by any declarations of his, reason to suppose that the

act was intended to bear any other construction, than that which he now contended for. He particularly remembered an expression, which, tho' ridiculed at the time, would clearly explain the ideas he had formed upon the subject, when he termed the board of commissioners, as constituted in the bill, a board of *active control*. With respect to what might have been the intentions of other gentlemen in supporting that measure, or the expectations of the court of directors, he did not apprehend that the merits of the present question were at all concerned in them.

As to the opinion which the board of control itself was asserted to have entertained of the limits of their own authority, it was also argued to be foreign to the question. Mr. Dundas, however, denied, that any proofs existed of their having admitted their want of power, in the manner that had been stated; and the counsel for the company offering to produce certain papers as evidence of the fact, at the bar, a short debate ensued upon the propriety of producing such evidence, and the question being put, its production was negatived by a majority of 242 to 118. It was urged on the other hand, in support of the power claimed by the board of control, that they had in several instances exercised it to the extent now contended for. That particularly in the year 1785, when it was well known that the company's treasury in India was not only inadequate to the payment of the current demands, but scarcely contained a sufficient sum to pay the arrears of the army, the commissioners for India immediately sent an order for the payment of the troops in the first instance, and to postpone all other demands. It was

well known that the army was at this time ripe for a mutiny, and that in all probability such a misfortune might have happened, had not the board of control taken the step they did; a step which they could not have taken, had they not been vested with a power to apply the territorial revenues as they thought proper. In fact, such a power was indispensably necessary to be given to those who were to be responsible for the safety of India, and without it the board would have been a nugatory and inefficient body.

Upon the second head of arguments used in opposition to the bill, it was said in the first place, that the power given to the board of control over the revenues of the company, as explained by the declaratory act, was almost universally admitted by both sides of the house to be necessary for the purposes for which it was constituted, whether such power was actually given in the original bill or not; and that, with respect to the possible abuse of that power, it was sufficient to answer, that the board was responsible to, and under the controul of parliament. The inconsistency of those gentlemen who brought in and supported the rejected bill of 1783, who condemned the bill of 1784 as impotent and ineffectual, and now condemned the extension of it as an unjust violation of the company's rights, was strongly animadverted on.

With regard to the œconomy and policy of the measure of sending out the four regiments to India, it was admitted that the company's troops were raised and maintained at a less expence; but in the present case great expedition was required, and this could only be effected in the mode adopted. The impolicy of having

having two armies in India, in two distinct services, was also admitted, and Mr. Pitt avowed his opinion of the expediency of incorporating them into one; but that, he said, ought undoubtedly to be the king's; and he did not scruple to declare, that it was not without a distant view to that measure, that government were desirous of increasing the permanent establishment of the king's forces in India. As to the additional patronage which would thereby accrue to the crown, he protested in the most solemn manner that his conduct was in no degree influenced by that consideration; and said, that in order to lessen the hardships of the half-pay officers in the company's service, it was the intention of government to divide equally the new commissions with them; a proposition which he hoped would not be thought unreasonable, when it was considered, that there are upwards of 2,000 officers in the half-pay in the king's service, many of whom had even a claim upon the East India company from their services in that country in the last war.

Upon the great constitutional question of standing armies, Mr. Pitt remarked, that there were great inaccuracies in all the existing laws relative to that subject. The bill of rights, he said, was not very explicit: it hardly stated the illegality of a standing army within the kingdom, but was silent with respect to an army out of the kingdom. The mutiny act was drawn up still more loosely; and he hoped that one good effect attending the present dispute would be a revision and emendation of the law upon points so deeply affecting the constitution; and he promised his assistance and support

in so necessary an undertaking. In short, he declared his readiness and most earnest wishes, that every guard and check that could be devised should be adopted. If any danger was apprehended from the bill before the house, relative either to the augmentation of the army, or the patronage of India in general, he was ready to receive any clauses that might be offered, from whatever part of the house they might come, from whatever individual, or accompanied by what language they might, for guarding in the most effectual manner against it.

Notwithstanding the moderate and conciliating language used by the minister in defence of the declaratory bill, the unfavourable reception it met with in the house, and even from many of his own friends, was apparent through the whole progress of it. Some of these latter suggested their apprehensions, that he had been led into this measure by persons of whose principles they did not much approve, and with whom they were sorry to see him so intimately connected. One gentleman, speaking of him, said, that he was sure his *conscience had been surprised*; an expression which gave occasion to Mr. Sheridan to remark; "that, without doubt, his original crime had been, that he had connected himself with those from whom no good counsel could come; and that, lamenting as they all must do, the consequences of his want of vigilance, and the misfortunes of his connections, it was earnestly to be wished, either that his conscience would keep a better look out, or that he would keep better company." On the motion made on the 5th of March for committing the bill, there were

noes 125 to ayes 182. And on the 7th, when the report was to be brought up, though Mr. Pitt declared, that, for the purpose of having further checks, to prevent troops being sent to India without the approbation of parliament, and to prevent the improper application of the territorial revenues, he should move for its re-commitment, and that the committee should be instructed to receive clauses for the said purposes, the question for bringing it up was carried by a majority of only 67.

Upon its re-commitment, on the 10th, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the clauses before alluded to. The first was to limit the number of forces, for the payment of which the commissioners of the board of control were empowered to issue their orders, to 8,045 men of his majesty's troops; and 12,200 of the European forces in the company's service. The second was to prevent their increasing the established salary of any office in the service of the company, unless such increase should be proposed by the directors, and laid before both houses of parliament. The third was to prevent the commissioners from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person, on account of services performed in India, except as is excepted in the preceding clause. The fourth and last was to oblige the directors to lay annually before parliament an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of their disbursements. These clauses were agreed to without debate.

On the third reading of the bill, upon the 14th of March, it again underwent a long discussion, in which, in addition to the arguments before urged, Sir Grey Cooper contended,

that the bill had come out of the committee more unparliamentary in its form than it was before. He said, that no precedent had been adduced of enacting clauses being added and annexed to declaratory bills; and that he would venture to assert, that it was incongruous with the ground and principle of declaratory laws, to superadd to the declaration of *what was and is law*, explanatory clauses, qualifications, and restraints. What was it but to say, that the power declared to be in the commissioners was *first vested in them by law*, provided certain things be done, and certain conditions observed by them, which *were not law* before. The clauses proposed by the minister, to cover his rear, were *preposterous* in the correct sense of the word; they were in their nature antecedent to the declaratory bill, and ought to have made a part of the act to be explained, if the act intended to give the extraordinary powers which the declaration assumed, but which the omission of these clauses clearly prove that it did not.

Besides the gentlemen whose names have been already mentioned, the bill was opposed by Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Francis, Mr. Bastard, Mr. Martin, &c.; and defended by Mr. counsellor Scott, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Rolle, Mr. Thornton of the court of directors, Mr. Addington, and lord Mulgrave. The bill finally passed by a majority of 54, and was ordered to the lords.

On the 17th of March, the day appointed for its second reading, lord Portchester proposed, that, before they proceeded farther, the opinion of the judges should be taken upon the construction of the act

of



of 1784; and he moved a question for that purpose. This motion was opposed by lord Hawkesbury and the chancellor, as tending to produce unnecessary delay, at a moment when the company's ships were detained in port at the enormous expence of three or four hundred pounds a day, and might, if they waited the issue of the mode of proceeding now recommended, lose their voyage for the present year. It was urged in vain, on the other side, that declaratory bills, being of the nature of judicial acts, ought to be proceeded upon with more than ordinary delay and deliberation; and that in the present case especially, in which the private rights of individuals were materially affected, considerations that were merely political ought not to be allowed any weight. The motion was rejected by a majority of 76 to 30; as was also a motion made by the duke of Norfolk, for deferring the second reading to the Thursday following, agreeable to the prayer of a petition which he presented from certain of the proprietors of India stock.

In the debate upon the main question, the bill was attacked and defended upon the various grounds on which it was discussed in the house of commons. The debate was closed by the marquis of Lansdown, who took a large view of the bill with respect to its declaratory operation and its general political principles. He expressed the utmost astonishment, that any one, who recollected what had passed in that house in the years 1783 and 1784, could contend for a moment that the principles of the present bill were contained in that of 1784. Their lordships had refused to suffer the bill of 1783 to

be sent to a committee, because it was bad in its principle; and yet the act which they afterwards passed in 1784, as now intended to be explained, manifestly holds one and the same principle. The preference of the latter to the former could not have been given on account of its particular provisions. He, at least, should have preferred that which gave the government of India to parliamentary commissioners for four years. It would now have expired. But if the power proposed should once be given to the crown, what time and exertion would not be required to recover it, or to keep within due bounds the influence of the crown, when all the patronage of India was added to influence it already possessed? If it was capable of erecting a fourth state, and overturning the constitution in fourth hands, how much more capable of mischief would it be, when united in one of the three estates, and that the crown, there being eleven millions sterling per annum to administer? After fifteen years opposition, and a concurrence of many favourable circumstances, all that the virtue of parliament could effect, in reduction of the influence of the crown, had been the abolition of the board of green cloth; and since that reduction, the crown had got on faster than ever. To what then were they to look for the safety of the constitution, when the crown should acquire such an accession of influence as would control parliament itself?

As a proof that ministers had insidiously concealed their design, if they had ever really conceived an idea of construing the act of 1784 in its present extent, he quoted a pamphlet published by Mr.

Pulteney at the time, which administration avowedly dispersed all over the kingdom, as containing sentiments which they wished to be considered as the principles of their conduct. The part which Mr. Pulteney had taken upon a late occasion, clearly proved the sense he had of the construction of that act. In corroboration of this argument, his lordship also adverted to another transaction, which had taken place during the passing of the act, when a clause, expressly empowering the board of control to originate dispatches, was, upon the remonstrance of the directors, that such a clause amounted to a total assumption of their rights, given up and omitted.

With respect to the particular measure which the bill designed to enable government to carry into execution, he conceived it to be not only unjust to the company, by filching patronage at their expence, and to their military officers, by throwing them back in their promotion, but indefensible upon any military or economical principle. The latter he proved by a variety of calculations; and as to the former, he said the policy of having many officers and few men was exploded throughout Europe, and was only calculated for patronage.

His lordship concluded with objecting to the bill, as in some measure deciding a point purposely left suspended hitherto, the public right to the territorial possessions in India. He allowed that some decision upon the subject must soon be made, and a general system for the government of India adopted. He was ready to enter into a cool and dispassionate discussion of that most important measure, but he did not think that

they ought to place so implicit a confidence in the profound wisdom and great experience of his majesty's ministers, as blindly and precipitately to adopt all their projects. If it be necessary to send four regiments to India, a short act might pass for that purpose, and the rest be reserved for a more mature deliberation.

In the committee several amendments were proposed, but rejected; and on the 19th of March, upon its third reading, the bill was again debated by the lords Camden, Coventry, Hopeton, and the lord chancellor, on one side, and lord Loughborough, lord Grantley, lord Stormont, lord Carlisle, and lord Hawke, on the other. The argument principally insisted on by the former was, that the act of 1784 authorised the board of commissioners to *direct*, as well as to control, all acts, operations, &c. and they contended that the limiting words, "*in the manner hereinafter described*," had merely a reference to the subsequent clauses, but did not take away the general power of superintendence and direction in all cases not specified. It was also said by the chancellor, that the power given to *amend and alter* dispatches, admitted in terms a power to add new matter to them. With respect to the omission of the word *revenues*, in one of the general clauses, giving a power of superintendence and direction, it was said that it might either have been omitted by accident, or, waving that ground, was substantially included in the words *civil and military concerns*. The validity of these inferences was denied by opposition; and the example of our own constitution was brought in opposition to the

the last, in which, the right of appropriating the revenue is not a necessary consequence of the power in civil and military affairs. On the division, there appeared contents 71,

not contents 28. A strong protest, (which the reader will find amongst the state papers of this volume) was entered against the bill, and signed by sixteen of the dissentient peers.

## C H A P. VI.

*The clause in the mutiny bill, for incorporating in the army the new corps of military artificers, objected to in the house of commons, and carried upon a division. Debate upon the same in the house of lords. Duke of Richmond's account of the new-established corps; supported by lords Cathcart and Rawdon; opposed by the duke of Manchester, lords Portchester, and Carlisle. Debate on the bill for preventing the exportation of wool. Arguments adduced by the manufacturers in support of the bill; opposed by the country gentlemen. Speakers upon the question. Chancellor of the exchequer decides in favour of the bill; carried by a considerable majority. Budget opened. Flourishing state of the finances. Services voted; and the annual diminution of the national debt provided for without any additional tax. Progressive improvement of the revenues, and increase of commerce. State of the finances controverted by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. Further debate upon the report of the budget; remarks upon it by sir Grey Cooper. Bill for better regulating the trials of contested elections brought in by Mr. Grenville; objects of the bill; passed with general approbation. Motion by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the shop-tax. Additional arguments for the repeal; opposed by Mr. Pitt; rejected by a majority of 43. Particulars relating to the question of abolishing the slave-trade. Petitions presented against it. Committee of privy-council appointed to enquire into it. Motion by Mr. Pitt, that the house would take it into consideration early next session. Delay opposed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the reasons adduced by Mr. Pitt solemnly protested against. Bill proposed by sir W. Dolben, for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies; objects of the bill; opposed by the merchants of Liverpool and London. Counsel heard against the bill. Passes through both houses, and receives the royal assent. Compensation voted to the American loyalists; principles upon which it was to be apportioned, explained by Mr. Pitt. Case of Mr. Harford recommended by Mr. Fox; amendment acceded to by Mr. Pitt. Act passed for granting an annuity out of the Derwentwater estate to lord Newburgh.*

**H**AVING given our readers, in the two last chapters, an account of some of the principal debates which occurred in the present session of parliament, we shall now revert to several other subjects of

importance, which occasionally engaged the attention of both houses during the same period.

On the 12th of March 12th. March, the report of the committee on the mutiny bill was

was brought up, and, on reading the clause for incorporating in the army the newly-raised corps of military artificers, the same was strongly objected as a dangerous innovation, and as militating against the most favourite principles of the constitution. The same system, it was said, might next be extended to shipwrights, and so to every other description of persons in the service of the executive government; and therefore the house was called upon to repel so alarming an innovation *in limine*. In defence of the measure it was urged, that it would be attended with an annual saving of £. 2,000, upon an expenditure of £. 22,000; and that it was necessary to extend the military law to the corps in question, as the only means of keeping them together, and preventing their desertion of the public service in time of war.

This disposition to adopt a new principle of expediency and economy, upon a subject which went to the diminution of the liberties of the subject, instead of the old principle of actual necessity, was severely reprobated. Several country gentlemen declared, that if the house should agree to put 600 Englishmen under martial law, merely for the paltry consideration of saving £. 2,000 per annum, they would betray their constituents, and would be devoid of those feelings for the constitution, which ought to make their distinguishing character. It was denied, that any necessity for so extraordinary a surrender of the liberties of a part of the community was made out; it having never been asserted, nor being indeed true in fact, that there was any difficulty in procuring artificers for the ordnance service in

time of war. The sense of the house being taken on the clause, there appeared ayes 114, noes 67.

The same subject was again discussed on the third reading of the mutiny bill, when it was asked, whether any part of the corps was already enlisted and embodied? This question being answered in the affirmative, it was strongly contended, that the authors of the measure had been guilty of an illegal act, in raising a body of men without the consent of parliament; and that it was a violent and arbitrary measure to subject those men to military law, who, at the time of their enlisting, were evidently not included in the mutiny act. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt contended, that, by a liberal interpretation of the king's prerogative, government was authorised, on the late alarm of war, to raise the corps in question: and Sir Charles Gould, the advocate-general, maintained, that every soldier enlisted became, *ipso facto*, subject to be tried by martial law. The house again divided on the question, ayes 142, noes 70.

Upon the commitment of the bill in the upper house, the duke of Manchester rose, and declared his intention of opposing the novel clauses that it contained. He was an avowed enemy, he said, to the extension of military law, unless in cases of absolute necessity; and that the present bill went unnecessarily to extend that law, by making a number of artificers subject to its severe effects, who had hitherto enjoyed their liberty in common with their fellow subjects. Could it be proved necessary for the safety of the kingdom, he should not entertain the least objection to the en-  
crease



crease of the army; but in a time of profound peace, the adoption of a measure of so singular a nature as the present called for jealousy and caution.

The duke of Richmond entered into a full explanation of the plan of which he had been the author. It had occurred to him, he said, that the formation of a regular corps of artificers, who would, in future wars, be applicable to any service, when wanted, either at home or abroad, could not but be attended with very beneficial consequences. In all the armies abroad, such a corps made part of those armies, and, as their utility was unquestionable, he had concluded that there ought to be such a corps in our army, and therefore he had considered it as his duty to submit the proposition to his majesty, who had approved of it, and it had been since laid before the house of commons, and voted by that branch of the legislature. With regard to putting them in the mutiny bill, being a part of the army, enlisted regularly as soldiers, like other soldiers they ought undoubtedly to become subjected to the same law, as the policy of the state had considered it as right that all soldiers should continue in such a state of subordination. At the same time, it was not to be considered as any hardship, since no species of trial, however popular it might be, was, he believed, more fair and candid than trials by court martial. He added, that the corps of artificers proposed to be formed, was not only highly useful, but, at the same time, so far from being an additional expence, they would prove a saving, because the difference between getting such a number as heretofore, and having them formed into a re-

gular corps as intended, would render the usual expence less by two thousand pounds. Exclusive of the corps of artificers, the corps of engineers, and the gunners, and quarter gunners, were likewise inserted in the mutiny bill, which, undoubtedly, they ought to be, as they were a part of the army.

Lord Portchester objected principally to that part of the new establishment which subjected the artificers to the arbitrary punishment of the master-general of the ordnance. In one instance they might be reduced for want of skill, of which the master-general was made the sole judge, to the rank of labourers, and thereby be deprived of one-third of their pay; and in another, he was also the sole judge of the quantum to which their pay should be reduced in cases of idleness or misbehaviour.

Lord Carlisle ridiculed the strange reason given for adopting the new project, that it would be a saving of £.2,000 a year. If their lordships were to be governed by such arguments, they would be led into so absurd a matter as the calculation of what the surrender of the rights of the subject was worth per man; and, if the rights and liberties of 600 artificers were worth just £.2,000, they would see that the noble lord valued the rights of every individual exactly at £.3. 10s. each.

Lord Cathcart and lord Rawdon were of opinion, that the plan formed by the noble duke would be attended with many considerable military advantages; and the question being at length put, the clause was carried without a division.

A bill, which was brought into the house of commons about this time, at the request of the woollen manufacturers,

manufacturers, for amending and rendering more effectual the existing laws against the private exportation of wool, met with a warm opposition from a number of country gentlemen, who considered it as an unnecessary and unjust attack upon the landed interest. The principal fact, upon which the manufacturers rested their cause, was, that a quantity of long or combing wool, to the amount of 13,000 packs, was annually smuggled to France; and from this fact the following inferences were drawn: first, that the wool-growers were by this means enabled to keep up the price of wool in this country beyond its just standard, to the great detriment of our staple manufacture; secondly, that there ensued a loss to this country of the surplus of the value of the manufactured articles over the raw material, and of the increased population which the employment of an additional number of manufacturers would produce; and thirdly, that the smuggled wool being an article necessary to the French manufacturers, it enabled them to rival ours.

In reply to these arguments, it was contended, that sufficient evidence had not been produced of the quantity supposed to be smuggled. That from an accurate account of the entries made in the French ports, it did not appear that so much as 1,000 packs had been imported, on an average of six years past. That probably the whole quantity smuggled had not been entered, but that it was impossible to conceive that it could amount to any thing near the quantity stated by the manufacturers. That even admitting it amounted to 10,000, yet, as the whole produce of this country was

calculated at 600,000 packs, the quantity smuggled was not an object of such importance, as to make it necessary to subject the wool-growers to the hardships and vexatious restraints which the proposed bill would lay them under.

With respect to the first inference, it was denied that the price of wool was kept up beyond its just standard, and, as a proof that the manufacture was not injured by it, the increase of the value of woollen goods exported, from the year 1776 to the year 1787, was shewn to be in the proportion of nearly one-third. Upon the second inference it was said, that, admitting the quantity of wool stated to be smuggled into France, it did not follow that our manufacturers would work up that additional quantity above what they now do, merely by preventing its making its way thither. On the contrary, unless it be first proved, which had never been even asserted, that, in consequence of the exportation, the manufacturers are in want of materials to work upon, it was fair to conclude, that the quantity exported was a mere surplus, and that the British manufacturer would not work up a single pound more, though the whole should be kept at home. As to the third inference, it was argued, from the flourishing state of our manufactures, that we certainly had not suffered from the rivalry of the French. But waving that ground, it was said, that a mischief of another kind might arise from the total prevention of the exportation of our long wool to France; for, if the French manufacturer *must* have wool of that quality, and cannot get it from us, what should prevent them from getting our best sheep, and producing

producing it themselves? It could not be doubted but that, by appropriating ten thousand pounds a year for buying English sheep at a very high price, she might have the choice of the best sheep in England sent over the channel; and, as fine wool bore double the price in France to what it does in England, this might be well worth her while.

In addition to these arguments, it was urged, that it was equally illiberal and unjust in the manufacturers to expect to have a monopoly of the English wool, and at their own price too, which would undoubtedly happen, and leave the wool-growers entirely at their mercy, if all possibility of exportation was cut off. That this possibility was contended for, not from any material advantage that they derived from it, but as a check upon the avarice of the manufacturer; that they well knew they had a common interest with the British manufacturer, but that this avarice might defeat its object, since, in proportion as the price of wool should be reduced, the holder of land would have the less inducement to rear that kind of stock which produces it.

These replies were ingeniously combated by the supporters of the bill. It was said, that the restraints proposed to be laid upon the wool-growers would not materially affect their interests at all, and therefore could not be considered as injurious and oppressive; for that the value of the wool of a sheep bore so small a proportion to the value of the flesh of the animal, that it clearly proved that the culture of wools was by no means the first object with those who kept sheep. That this fact also obviated another difficulty that had been started, namely, that a decrease

in the price of wool might operate to the decrease of the quantity produced. On the other hand, that, from the fluctuating nature of trade and manufactures, great danger was always to be apprehended from any discouragement that was thrown upon them, and that any mischief that should happen to these, would, in the event, be doubly felt by the land-owner, since a decrease of the population of the country would necessarily lessen the consumption of the provisions, which he supplies, and consequently would lower the value of sheep, an effect which he would feel much more severely than any trifling reduction in the price of wool, which could be occasioned by enforcing the prohibitions against smuggling it out of the kingdom. The present bill, it was also contended, was consonant to the existing laws, and was only designed to carry into more effectual execution, those principles of policy, respecting the exportation of wool, by which this country had for so many years been governed, and under which both our manufacturers and our wool-growers had flourished and grown rich together.

The principal speakers in favour of the bill were, Mr. Duncomb, Mr. Hobart, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Hufsey, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Addington; and on the opposite side, sir John Thorold, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Honeywood, Mr. Marsham, Mr. Powis, Mr. Pulteney, and sir Peter Burrell. At length the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and, after a few observations upon the various arguments that had been used, declared, that as it was admitted on one hand, by the opposers of the bill, that the wool-growers had but little advantage to expect from its rejection, and it was contended on the other,

other, by the friends of the bill, that the manufacturers had much to fear, he thought it most wise, in such a case, to go with the fears that were real, than with the hopes that were avowedly little, and therefore he thought it right to let the bill go to a committee. On the division there appeared, ayes 112, noes 47. On the 19th of May, the bill was read a third time, and passed by a considerable majority.

May 5th. On the 5th of May, the house being resolved into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt opened the budget for the present year. He first stated the several articles of supply which had been voted for the service of the current year, and which amounted in the whole to 5,779,365 l.

In this account, it was to be observed, that, in the navy, there was an increase, beyond what would be the necessary peace establishment, of 446,000 l.; in the army there was an increase of 233,000 l.; and in the ordnance there was an increase of 61,000 l. These increased demands were occasioned by the circumstance of our putting the distant possessions of the country into a state of more complete defence, and were not then to be considered as the permanent necessary expences of the country—and to these there were several sums to be added which could not occur again, or at least could not make a part of our settled yearly expence. Such was the sum for the relief of the loyalists, the expence of the late armament, and the vote for the payment of the debts of his royal highness the prince of Wales. These sums, added together, amounted to 1,282,000 l. which was to be considered as extraordinary, and was consequently to be

deducted from the settled regular peace establishment of the country. It had been considered as wise to put every part of the British dominions into such a posture of defence as to ascertain to the country the blessings of peace, and he had the happiness to say, that though they had thus incurred an extraordinary expence of more than 1,200,000 l. the receipts of the country had fully answered it, and that without abating from the plan, which the house, in its wisdom, had established for the diminution of the national debt.

Mr. Pitt then stated the ways and means that had been voted for defraying these expences, from which it appeared that there was a clear surplus of 27,000 l. The extraordinary expence would, he feared, endure for two years more—it would take so long before they could be certain of coming to the permanent peace establishment. Perhaps he might state the farther extraordinary expence that the nation was likely to incur, for excess of navy, excess of army, excess of ordnance, and indeed for every other article, except one, of a material nature, at a million, or a million and a half; and for this, he thought, there were ample resources in the revenue, as there had been proved to be for the large excess in the present year.

The other article of extraordinary expence which he meant was the satisfaction to be made to the American loyalists. The commissioners had now nearly wound up the whole of the claims, and it appeared that there was property lost, which the commissioners had ascertained, and agreed to liquidate at 1,860,000 l. There might yet remain 2 or 300,000 l. to be ascertained. This was



was to be considered as loss of property. There were also claims of loss of office, which the house would take into their consideration, and act upon as their generosity might incline them—But, stating the whole at 2,000,000*l.* or 2,100,000*l.* the house would see that 500,000*l.* had been paid them, and there was still 1,500,000*l.* or 1,600,000*l.* to be paid. He was authorised to say, that they would be well pleased to have this sum paid them by installments, and that the payment should commence next year; and he meant to propose that the profits of a lottery, to be established annually, until their claims were fully liquidated, should be applied to their relief. A lottery for seven or eight years would fully answer this exigency, provided that the bargain should every year be rendered as profitable as it had for the last year, and for the present. He had made the bargain on a competition among different bidders, and the profit would be about 260,000*l.* a year. Gentlemen might be astonished at this circumstance, but such was the rage and madness for this species of gambling, and such was the bargain that he had made.

The probable state of our revenue, and the certain amount of our expence, were matters which came next in order, as, undoubtedly, it would be requisite to prove that we ought to have confidence in our situation. That we should invariably proceed in applying the million to the diminution of our debt, was a proposition which he would not detain the house for a moment in discussing, as it had already so forcibly demonstrated its utility. The million was, therefore, added to the permanent establishment of

the country; and, as the house had, in its wisdom, established a more extensive system of defence than was in contemplation two years ago, he would state the permanent peace establishment of the country, instead of 15,478,000*l.* as calculated by the committee, at 15,500,000*l.* The produce of the last year's revenue, up to the period ending the 5th of April, was 15,792,000*l.* which was 168,000*l.* more than was necessary, even by the increased establishment which the house had thought it wise to adopt, and which political circumstances had rendered requisite.

Arguing, therefore, from the experience of last year, we had the fairest ground for confidence, that we should not only enjoy ample funds for the liquidation of every expence, but also for carrying on the great purpose of the late arrangement, the extinction of the capital of our debt. But perhaps it might be argued, that it was not a fair mode of stating our situation, nor a rational ground of confidence, to argue from the evidence of one year only. He begged leave to remind the committee, that the last year had many unfriendly circumstances in it, particularly the interruption which our commerce naturally received in the late alarm of war: but, even in looking back to the average of the last three years, they found the calculation strongly confirmed, though certainly the surplus was not so favourable. Yet we had other very essential grounds of confidence—Various branches of revenue were improving, and many more were susceptible of improvement. The farming of the post-horse duty brought an accession of £. 30,000 to the funds. Another,

and

and probably very considerable, accession would arise from some regulations which he had it in his view to propose for preventing the frauds committed on the revenue in the tobacco duties.

The progressive improvement of a country in peace, and particularly of such a country as England, was a material object, and this was not a subject of mere speculation. From the experience of four years we were able to form some estimate. The receipt of the permanent taxes in the year 1787, exclusive of the land and malt tax, had been £. 13,000,000. The receipt of the taxes in the year 1783 had been £. 10,184,000. Thus there was an increased revenue of three millions, of which not more than one million and a half accrued from new taxes. In the trade, the navigation, and the fisheries, the progressive improvement bore an exact proportion to the increased revenue.

In the year 1772

our imports were £. 14,500,000

Our exports - - - 16,000,000

In 1787,

The imports were a-

bout - - - 15,800,000

But the exports were - 16,600,000

Perhaps it might be said, that in this comparative statement the balance was against us in the latter year; but the increase of the imports arose from the increase of the home consumption of luxuries—It proceeded from the beneficial import of raw materials used in our manufactures; and it might be considered as a very pleasing circumstance attending the increased imports, that they chiefly came from a part of our own empire—they came from Ireland.

In like manner our navigation had increased.

The Newfoundland fish-	Quintals.
ery, in 1773, produced - - - -	516,000

In 1786 it produced - - -	732,000
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In 1773 the tonnage in the Greenland fishery

was - - - - -	27,000
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In 1786 it was - - -	53,000
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The southern whale-fishery, a new and very valuable branch of trade, which he only took up at the beginning of the last war, had also equally prospered.

In this fishery, in 1785, there were employed 18 ships, producing £. 29,000.

In 1787 there were employed 38 ships, producing £. 107,000.

He concluded with observing, that he mentioned these circumstances to prove that our improved condition came from no forced revenues, but was the fair and actual result of increased commerce. We had thus ascertained a surplus after having appropriated a million to the payment of our debt. We had given great additional strength to our foreign possessions, and, in doing this, we had not overlooked that which was the favourite service at home. No less than seven millions had, in the course of four years, been expended in the improvement of the navy; and he took upon him to say, that it had been applied with as much fidelity as it had been voted with judgment. There were, he would pledge himself to prove, 30 ships of the line, and 35 frigates, built or repaired, more than there were in the first four years after the peace of 1763. In addition to this, we had absolutely and for ever extinguished

anguished two millions and a half of our debt.

Mr. Sheridan followed Mr. Pitt, and remarked, that, however invidious it might seem to start objections to so flattering a statement of the revenue and increasing resources of the country, as had been just given by the right honourable gentleman, it was necessary to dispel the delusion under which this country had been acting for some time, and to detect the fallacies by which it was still attempted to impose on the public, and continue that delusion.

The real question before the committee was to consider, whether our receipt was equal to our expenditure. The annual expenditure for the peace establishment, as now stated by the right honourable gentleman, was to be in future £.15,500,000. This might, therefore, be considered as ground to argue from, since, however much it might exceed that sum, it could not reasonably be expected to fall short of it. In order to make up an income equal to this expenditure, by taking the receipts, not on an average of several years but one year only, and making up the accounts from April 1787 to April 1788, instead of from January to January, a revenue was produced on paper of £.15,792,000. Mr. Sheridan contended against the accuracy of this statement, and said, that taking, as he ought to have done, the average of 1786 and 1787, the produce of all the taxes would have appeared to be no more than £.15,250,000, which would have fallen short of the expenditure, as now stated; £.250,000. This was as near the truth as could reasonably be presumed, from the circumstances of the country and of the revenue, since the peace; and this was the situation which the committee

was bound in duty to meet and to provide for, instead of endeavouring to impose on themselves and the public, and delaying to apply the remedy till it might be too late.

Another circumstance he felt himself obliged to controvert was, the means by which the right honourable gentleman made up his estimates of the expenditure. While he added to the estimates of the army, he allowed no addition to the estimate of the navy. Was it really his opinion, that the expence of the navy, in 1790, would not exceed £.1,800,000? For the ordnance indeed he allowed £.10,000, but took no notice of the expence of fortifications, which, in the West Indies alone, he had formerly stated would amount to between two and three hundred thousand pounds, and, taking fortifications, as it was most reasonable to do, at the largest estimate (for they seldom fell short in point of expence, whatever they might do in point of utility) there would be wanted £.300,000 for the West Indies alone, and on the whole from £.700,000 to £.800,000. He objected also, to the estimate for miscellaneous services, which he contended must exceed £.74,224, the sum to which it was made out.

Mr. Fox begged leave to remind the chancellor of the exchequer, that when the ways and means were agitated last year, he then declared, that it was not upon any account fair to estimate our permanent resources from the produce of any one year. But in the present instance he had taken but one year, and that ending the 5th of April last, because it was found to be more productive, and, consequently, more adapted to his purpose, than to take it, as he had

done the former year, ending the 5th of January. For his own part, he had no scruple to say, whatever odium might attend the assertion, and however unpopular it might be to hold out an unpleasing picture of our situation, that our revenues and resources had been placed in a point of view as much too sanguine, as our expences had been estimated too low. He warned the committee of the mischievous consequences of such fallacy, and remarked, that this was, precisely, the delusion that had reduced the finances of France to the low state in which they now were.

After a short conversation respecting £.500,000, stated by Mr. Pitt, as a part of his resources, to be due to the public from the East India company, the usual resolutions were moved and carried.

On the following day, the report of the resolutions being brought up, sir Grey Cooper entered into a minute examination of the estimates of the national expenditure and income, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer. The former was taken from the estimate of the peace establishment, made by the committee of accounts in 1786, and to this was added the expence of the augmentation lately voted in the military establishments. The fact, however, was, that the expenditure exceeded the estimate of the committee near two millions; but the right honourable gentleman had asserted, with apparent confidence, that, notwithstanding the extraordinary and particular excess of this year, there was a reasonable ground of hope, that the services of the navy, army, and ordnance, and the miscellaneous account, would, at the close of the year 1790, be reduced to the limits proposed by the committee, in their report of 1786. Sir

Grey endeavoured to prove, from several circumstances in the accounts of each service, from the gradual increase of their expence, and particularly from the enormous navy debt remaining behind, that these hopes of reduction were vain and delusive, and that there was the strongest probability that our actual expenditure would continue to exceed the expenditure estimated in the report, by a sum of not less than £.900,000.

With respect to the public income, sir Grey contended, that an average of several years ought to have been taken, and that the produce of a single year was not to be depended upon. That, particularly in the excise, the articles which compose that immense revenue were variable in their produce, and subject to diminution or increase from accidental causes, which could not be foreseen nor calculated. He instanced the duty on malt, which in the year 1782, on account of a bad crop of barley, fell short of the duty in 1783 upwards of £:900,000. From these, and several other circumstances of a similar nature, he concluded, that a considerable deficiency of ways and means would be found on the 5th of April 1789, independently of the probable failure of the £.500,000, stated to be due from the East India company. These arguments were controverted by Mr. Steele and the chancellor of the exchequer; and the resolutions were agreed to without a division.

Early in the sessions Mr. Grenville gave notice to the house, that he should beg leave to propose for their consideration certain amendments and additions to the bill brought into parliament by his father, for the better regulation of the trials of controverted elections. He thought the present season the most proper



proper for discussing and deciding upon such a subject, when there was no petition complaining of an undue election before the house, and when the minds of the members were therefore perfectly cool, and open to impartial deliberation. According-

ly, on the 6th of May, May 6th. he moved the house for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above-mentioned. He explained, in a short speech, the objects which his bill had in view, and the means he proposed for obtaining them. He observed, that when the existing act had passed, the house well knew that the great aim of it had been, to take the trial of petitions on controverted elections out of their hands, and to place them in a committee so constituted as to be most likely to do strict and impartial justice to the parties: that end, it would be agreed on all hands, had been fully answered; but the operation of the act had been attended with certain well-known inconveniences, to guard against which, sufficient care had not been taken when the bill was in agitation, so much had the attention of the author of it been bent on achieving his main purpose. He had revolved in his mind the most practicable means of removing these inconveniences, and two modes had suggested themselves; but then, as these could not be effected without very materially altering the most essential forms prescribed by the act, he believed the house would be inclined to join with him in opinion, that it would not be prudent to attempt to meddle with the frame of a law, from the execution of which so many and such essentially advantageous consequences had been derived. Upon

mature reflection, therefore, he had determined to let the forms prescribed by the act remain undisturbed; but there were other inconveniences, to which the act had given occasion, which might, in his opinion, be touched without alarm, and removed without danger of any sort of injury whatever to the general operation and effect of the act. Ever since the bill had passed into a law, it was observable, that an infinite number of petitions, complaining of undue elections, had been presented in the first session of every parliament. Many of those petitions, after having taken up much of the time of the house, had proved frivolous. He should propose, therefore, to empower the committee to adjudge, that the party presenting an election petition, that should turn out to be frivolous, should pay reasonable costs, and to empower them in like manner to oblige the party offering a frivolous defence or answer to a petition, to pay reasonable costs. This was merely an act of justice, and yet, he added, he believed such a regulation would save much expence to individuals, and much time and trouble to the house. Another very material inconvenience, in his mind, called equally for a remedy, and that was the want of a rule being laid down to establish the rights of election, to ascertain them, and to render them immutable in future. At present, it was no uncommon thing to have two gentlemen sitting in that house as representatives of the same borough, on different rights of election. In order to remedy this, he meant to annex certain provisions to his bill, which he flattered himself would answer the end proposed, and ascertain the rights of election for  
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the future.—The bill was immediately brought in, and read a first time, and ordered to be printed; and, after going through the usual forms in both houses, received the royal assent.

In our last volume we have given an account of the motion made by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the shop-tax, and of its rejection by no very considerable majority. Petitions against it were again presented early in the present session, by the cities of London and Westminster, and several other towns and corporations; and Mr. Fox was again requested to support their cause in the house of commons. Accordingly, on the 13th of March he renewed his motion for the repeal; and, after arguing upon the grounds which he had taken last year, he said, that additional circumstances had occurred, which supported him in his endeavour to obtain a repeal of it. There had been laid before that house a petition of a most extraordinary nature indeed—a petition from those commissioners who were appointed under the act to collect the tax; and who, struck with conviction, by the experience they must necessarily have acquired, of the cruelty and injustice, partiality and inefficacy, of the act, and witnessing the numberless instances of its ill effects, in the course of executing their office, had now thought it their duty to come forward, and decidedly to bear testimony against it. It was objectionable, as it included within its operation those who were never intended to be its objects; he meant the bankers, a class of men surely never before suspected of keeping retail shops. It was objectionable, because it was unequal in its operation, rating those in the same business not

equally according to their trade, but according to their houses, thus rendering it a mere house-tax, and not a shop-tax; and charging the man, who had only the shop, for that house which he did not occupy. These objections, he said, were not confined merely to London and Westminster; they extended to every city and town in England, and particularly Bath; in which place he instanced one poulterer, who paid but 19s. shop-tax; while another paid £.5. 4s.; also three silversmiths, one of whom paid £.8, another £.4, and the third only £.1. 5s. There were many other instances, he said, of the like nature; from which, as he did not mean to trouble the house more at large on the subject, he would draw these general facts—that though mere complaints were no ground for a repeal, as it was natural for those that paid any tax to wish to be freed from it; yet, as those who did not suffer by it, but, on the contrary, were gainers by its continuance, were ready to bear witness to its inefficacy, its partiality, and its oppression, it ought to be repealed as speedily as possible. He had, he said, spoken more fully on a former day respecting the injustice of this act; it was, therefore, sufficient barely to state now, that the evils then complained of still existed without diminution. He concluded with moving for a total repeal of the tax, as it originally stood, and also of the bill passed in explanation of it.

Mr. Pitt said, disagreeable as it was to him to oppose the withdrawing of any offensive measure, yet having, as a part of that system for supplying the exigencies of the state, which he had adopted on coming into office, tried this tax, and not

having

having heard any thing to induce him to alter his opinion (for he did not consider the evidence he had heard as conclusive, because, if inconveniences were a sufficient ground for repeal, not a single tax would be left unrepealed) he could not think of parting with it. He then briefly examined the objections that had been started; and insisted that the tax was paid by the consumer, as the shopkeeper certainly charged it, in common with all his other expences, upon the retail. As to the inequalities mentioned, they were but few in number, and by no means affected the general principle of the tax.

Upon a division, the motion for the repeal was negatived by a majority of 43. Ayes 98, noes 141.

The trade carried on by this country, and other European nations, upon the coast of Africa, for the purpose of purchasing negro slaves, to be employed in the cultivation of the West India islands, and certain parts of the continent of America, does not appear, till of late years, to have been considered with that general attention, which a practice so abhorrent in its nature to the mild principles of modern policy and manners might have been expected to excite. This may probably have been owing, partly to the distance of the object, which tended both to conceal the sufferings and to lessen the sympathy of the public for the unfortunate sufferers; partly to the connivance of politicians, unwilling to examine too severely into the necessity of the means, by which distant colonies were enabled to pour luxury and wealth into the mother countries. The first public attempt, we believe, that was made to put a stop to this traf-

fic, was by the Quakers of the southern provinces of America, who, soon after the establishment of their independence, not only presented for this purpose a strong and pathetic address to their several legislative assemblies, but actually proceeded, as is said, in many instances to emancipate the slaves that were in their possession. The measures taken by the American legislatures, in consequence of this application, are before the public. In Great Britain the same sect appears also to have taken the lead, and, after the example of their American brethren, presented last year a similar petition to the parliament of this kingdom. The cause soon after became extremely popular, and was taken up with great zeal and earnestness by various descriptions of people. A society was formed, and a considerable sum of money subscribed, for the purpose of collecting information and supporting the expence of an application to parliament. A great number of pamphlets were published upon the subject; several eminent divines recommended it from the pulpit and in printed discourses; and in the present session petitions were presented from the two universities, and from several of the most considerable towns and corporations in the kingdom.

In the mean time, his majesty's ministers thought it proper to institute an enquiry, before a committee of the privy council, into the facts and allegations contained in the representations of both parties upon the subject; and the gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) to whom the conduct of the business in the house of commons had been, by a sort of general consent, assigned, having been prevented, by the bad state of his health,

from bringing it before the house,

May 9th. Mr. Pitt rose in his place, on the 9th of May, and, after mentioning this circumstance, moved the following resolution, "That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade, complained of in the petitions presented to the house, and what may be fit to be done thereupon." He added, that, before that time, the enquiry instituted before the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity as to make it fit that the result of it should be laid before the house, to facilitate their investigation, and to enable them to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and sound policy.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke expressed their sorrow on account of the delay that had already taken place, and their extreme dissatisfaction with the reason last given for putting off the business to the next session. They both declared that they were willing and prepared to have undertaken the business themselves, and had given way to another honourable member, not only from a deference to his abilities and his known humanity, but on account of the weight and influence he was supposed to have with his majesty's ministers in that house. They lamented the cause of his absence, but thought that earlier notice might have been given, in order to have enabled the house to come to some decision, as well for the sake of the planters as the slaves, to both of whom the protraction of the business might be attended with infinite mischief. But what called for their more particular reprobation was, the other ar-

gument used as a ground for delay, namely, the expectation of a report from the privy council. Against this doctrine they desired to enter their most solemn protest. It was the duty, they said, of that house to advise the king, and not to ask his advice. This was one of the most essential principles of the constitution, and could never be departed from without establishing a precedent that might lead to the most fatal abuse. They therefore cautioned the house, as they wished to preserve their functions, their honour, and their dignity, to beware of committees of the privy council. They lamented that the privy council, who had received no petitions from the people, should have instituted an enquiry, and that the house of commons, whose table was loaded with petitions from every part of the kingdom, should not have instituted any enquiry at all. If they suffered the business of the house to be done by the privy council, they were abdicating their trust, and making way for an entire abolition of their functions, which, they could not help remarking, the house had of late, under the present administration, been too much in the habit of surrendering one after another. If the house neglected the petitions of their constituents, the consequence would be, that the house must be abolished, and the privy council substituted in its stead; and his majesty's ministers, instead of consulting that house, and giving them an opportunity of exercising their functions of deliberation, would determine all public measures elsewhere, and bring down the edicts of the privy council to the house to register.

A general conversation afterwards took place, in the course of which,



which, Sir William Dolben begged leave to say a word or two, on a matter that, in his mind, was a most crying evil, and called for an immediate remedy of some sort or other. He neither alluded to their sufferings at home from the hands of their cruel countrymen, nor to their sufferings from their unfeeling masters, the planters in the West India islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered in their transportation from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. He entered into a short detail of the horrors of that dreadful passage, which, he said, was scarcely less fatal in its effects upon the British sailors, than upon the wretched slaves themselves; and he declared himself ready to call evidence to the bar to prove the fact. This, he said, called aloud for a remedy, and that remedy ought to be applied immediately. If they did not apply some remedy without delay, between the present session and the beginning of the next, ten thousand lives would be lost. He wished, therefore, that this grievance were taken into consideration, independent of the general question; and that some regulation, such as restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, obliging them to let in fresh air, and provide better accommodation for the slaves during their passage, and such other regulations as should suggest themselves to the house, should be adopted.

This proposition meeting with the general approbation of the house, Sir William Dolben moved the house, May 21st. on the 21st of May, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the transportation of the

natives of Africa to the British colonies in the West Indies. The regulations of the bill, he said, would regard the number of Africans put on board each ship, limiting that number in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, in order to prevent their being crowded too close together; securing to them good and sufficient provisions, and other matters equally conducive to their health and their accommodation. He declared he should not have thought of bringing in the bill at that late period of the session, were he not convinced of the existence of the grievance to a considerable extent, and satisfied, that, by applying an immediate remedy, some thousands of the unhappy persons lives might be saved before the next session of parliament. There was besides, he said, undoubtedly a possibility (and a bare possibility was sufficient ground for the argument he meant to state) that, in consequence of the resolution lately come to by the house, those persons who carried on the branch of the slave trade to which the bill stated in the resolution referred, might, from the knowledge of the intention of the house to examine the subject of the slave trade fully next session, put the natives of Africa into a worse situation, during their transportation to the colonies, even than they were in before, by cramming additional numbers on board their vessels, in order to convey as many as possible to the West Indies, before parliament became ultimately to decide what was most fit to be done upon the general subject of the slave trade. Certainly, therefore, the possibility that such a consequence might grow out of their late resolutions, during the intervening months, be-

tween the end of the present and the commencement of the next session, was a good and sufficient parliamentary ground for them to provide immediate means to prevent the existence of such an evil, and preserve the natives of Africa from being made to suffer greater hardships in their passage to the West Indies, for the succeeding months, than they had felt before.

On the 26th of May, a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and port of Liverpool, stating, that the suppression of the slave trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under parliamentary faith, had embarked in the trade, and invested their whole property therein; would be highly injurious to the interest and public revenues of this country; and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and therefore praying, that they might be heard, by their counsel, against the abolition or restriction of this trade, before any resolutions, or a bill, be passed by the house, upon a subject of so much national importance, in which they are so peculiarly situated, and so greatly concerned.

June 2d. Accordingly, on the 2d of June, the house being in a committee upon the regulating bill, the counsel for the petitioners appeared at the bar, and examined several witnesses, for the purpose of shewing that the hardships, alleged by those who brought in the bill, did not exist, and that the reduction of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel, in proportion to its

tonnage, would go the length of ruining the trade altogether.—The evidence appears to have had no other effect upon the committee, than that of inducing them to allow, instead of one ton to each man, as was first intended, a small reduction proportionable to the different burthens and accommodations of the vessels.

The bill having gone through the house of commons, was carried up to the lords, where it also passed, after having received several amendments; some of which being thought to trench on the privileges of the lower house, a new bill was brought in, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

At the same time that the legislature was thus laudably employed in endeavouring to alleviate the miseries of this unfortunate description of their fellow-creatures, they were not inattentive to the situation of a class of sufferers nearer home. On the 8th of June 8th. June the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the compensation which was intended to be made to the American Loyalists, on account of losses sustained by them in consequence of their adherence to this country during the late American war. He was of opinion, that they could not call upon the house to make compensation for their losses as a matter of strict justice; but they, most undoubtedly, had strong claims on their generosity and compassion. In the mode, therefore, that he should propose for finally adjusting their claims, and the various quotas of compensation that should be made to the various classes of loyalists, he had adhered to this principle, rather than to any strict claim of right.

Having

Having premised this, Mr. Pitt stated the different descriptions of loyalists who had preferred their claims before the commissioners appointed to enquire into American claims; and divided them into four classes. In the first class he considered and ranked all those who had resided in America at the commencement of the war, and who, in pursuance of their principles of loyalty and adherence to this country, were obliged to abandon their estates and their property in America, which were, in consequence, seized and confiscated by the Americans. The mode he meant to adopt with respect to this class of loyalists, whom he considered as having the strongest claims of any description of loyalists, would be to pay those, whose claims were so small that any deduction from them would materially affect their means of existence with any sort of comfort, the full amount of their claims. He should propose, therefore, that all such loyalists shall receive the full amount of their losses, as far as the same do not exceed the sum of ten thousand pounds, and shall also receive, where the amount of such losses shall be above ten thousand pounds in the whole, and not above thirty-five thousand pounds in the whole, ninety pounds per centum of such part of the said losses as shall exceed ten thousand pounds; and where such losses shall be above thirty-five thousand pounds, and not above fifty thousand pounds, eighty-five pounds per centum of such part of the said losses as shall exceed ten thousand pounds; and where the same shall be above fifty thousand pounds, eighty pounds per centum of such part of the said losses as shall be above ten thousand pounds. He

assigned as a reason of proposing that the fifteen per centage should be deducted from the excess only of the loyalists claims over and above the first ten thousand pounds, that if such a rule were not laid down, and the fifteen per cent. were deducted from the first ten thousand pounds, it might happen that those claimants, whose claims amounted to a trifling sum above ten thousand pounds, would receive a less compensation than those whose claims, though they did not amount to quite ten thousand pounds, amounted to very near that sum.

The next class of claimants included those who, having resided in England during the war, had exhibited claims on the score of the loss of property in America. These certainly had not the merit of the former class, because they could not pretend that they had been driven from America, but had made their option; and it was natural to suppose, that they chose that, which, in point of advantage and satisfaction, was the best for themselves. At the same time, however, that this remark was necessary, he was far from thinking, that, because they chose to remain in England, and protect their property here, they were not entitled to expect some compensation from that house for the loss of their property in America. They undoubtedly were; and he should propose, in like manner as he had proposed with respect to the former class, that all the claimants of this second description, whose claims were under ten thousand pounds in amount, should be paid in full; but that, from all whose claims amounted from ten thousand pounds to thirty thousand, a deduction should be made of twenty per cent. and a farther additional

additional deduction of twenty per cent. in progression, upon every additional fifty thousand claimed. Applying this scale to the claim of Mr. Harford, which was, as it stood liquidated by the commissioners, two hundred and ten thousand pounds, the sum to be paid to him, after the several deductions, would be found to be fifty thousand pounds, which, considering all the circumstances of the case, was, he thought, a very handsome compensation for that house to make. But Mr. Harford, he understood, had two other claims upon America, for debts of ten thousand pounds each. He meant, therefore, that Mr. Harford should receive the full amounts of those sums.

The next class of claimants, were those loyalists who, having either enjoyed places, or exercised professions, in America, had, by being driven away in consequence of their loyalty to this country, lost their incomes. With regard to these, it was to be considered, that though they had been driven from America, they were able to obtain fresh incomes in this country, by exercising their talents and their industry in different ways; he should not, therefore, propose to give them equal incomes to those they had been deprived of, by way of pension, but was of opinion, that they ought to consider themselves as liberally dealt by, if all who had been deprived of incomes, not amounting to more than four hundred pounds a year, were put upon half-pay; and others, whose incomes in America had amounted higher, (and some, he said, amounted as high as fifteen hundred pounds a year, and one as high as three thousand) should be paid forty pounds per centum for every one hundred pounds of such income above four

hundred pounds, where the value does not exceed one thousand five hundred pounds per annum in the whole; and where the value does exceed one thousand five hundred pounds per annum in the whole, then in the proportion of thirty pounds per centum for every one hundred pounds exceeding four hundred pounds per annum.

With respect to the West-Florida claimants, he should propose to pay them the full amount of their claims, because they stood in a very different predicament from the American claimants, having, in consequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that house had agreed to, been obliged to quit their habitations and property in West Florida.

Having explained these several points, and stated that the total amount of claims was two millions odd hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of the four or five hundred thousand pounds that had been already advanced at different periods, he said he should move a general resolution for the amount of that sum to be issued in debentures, bearing three and a half per cent. interest, which would, he thought, be nearly equal to a ready-money payment; and he had, on a former occasion, hinted his idea of proposing, with the approbation of the committee, that the whole sum should be paid off by instalment, by means of a lottery, till the whole should be cleared. That, however, was matter for farther consideration; it was sufficient for the present to move,  
 “ That 1,228,239*l.* should be voted  
 “ to the several American claim-  
 “ ants for losses, &c. and 113,952*l.*  
 “ 14*s.*  $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* to the Florida claim-  
 “ ants.”

These



These propositions (that relating to Mr. Harford only excepted) met with the general approbation of the house. Sir Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, were of opinion, that the scale adopted for the second class, and which departed from the principle of the first, bore hard upon Mr. Harford; and that it would be more equitable to revert to the principle of the first scale, only doubling the proportions of the per centage to be deducted. Upon such a scale, the compensation to Mr. Harford would amount to 70,000 l.; and to this amendment Mr. Pitt readily assented.

About this time a bill was also brought into the house of commons, for granting to the earl of Newburgh, grandson of the late Charles Radcliffe, and the heirs male of his body, a clear rent-charge of 2,500 l. out of the estates forfeited by the earl of Derwentwater, and settled

upon Greenwich hospital. The hardship of lord Newburgh's case, whose father was an infant at the time that his family were engaged in the rebellion of 1715, had often induced parliament, from time to time, during the late and the present reign, to grant certain sums of money for his relief. In the act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the king, for restoring the forfeited estates, that of the Derwentwater family was not included, but an intention was then declared of making a special provision for the case. The only difficulty that occurred was the diminution which the grant would occasion in the hospital fund, and it was proposed by some member, that the public should make it good; but this proposition was overruled, as also another, to add 200 l. to the annuity, and the bill passed as originally framed.

## C H A P. VII.

*Proceedings upon the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. His answer delivered at the bar of the house of lords; sent to the commons; replication of the commons. Managers appointed. Debate upon the rejection of Mr. Francis. Trial commences Feb. 13th. Counsel for the defendant. Assistant counsel to the managers. First and second days consumed in reading the articles and answers. Third day, Mr. Burke begins his opening of the charge, and concludes on the sixth. Proposal from the managers to hear each article of charge and the defence, singly. Objected to by the defendant's counsel, and decided in the negative by the house of lords. Seventh day, observations by Mr. Fox on the decision of the peers. He opens the Benares charge. Eighth day, Mr. Grey states and applies the evidence to be adduced. Four following days taken up in reading evidence, and examining witnesses. Debate upon matters of evidence. Thirteenth day, Mr. Anstruther sums up the evidence on the Benares charge. Fourteenth day, Mr. Adam opens the second charge, relative to the princesses of Oude. Fifteenth day, Mr. Pelham states the evidence. Sixteen following days, evidence heard and examined. Thirty-second, thirty-third, and thirty-fourth days, Mr. Sheridan sums up the evidence. Trial adjourned to the next session. Debates in the house of commons upon the expences incurred in consequence of the impeachment. Account of the proceeding upon the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Six charges exhibited against him by Sir Gilbert Elliott. Sir Elijah heard at the bar in his defence upon the first charge, relative to the putting Nundcomar to death. Evidence produced. Mr. Francis's vindication of himself against insinuations of Sir Elijah Impey. Debates on the first charge. Rejected. Consideration of the other charges deferred.*

Dec. 5th. **A**T the close of the parliamentary history of our last volume, we brought down the impeachment of Mr. Hastings to the order with which he was served, by the house of lords, to put in his answers to the charges exhibited against him by the commons, on the first Tuesday after the next meeting of parliament. The same being accordingly delivered by him at the bar, a message was sent to the house of commons, on Wednesday the fifth of December, to inform them, "that Warren Hastings, esq; at their bar, had delivered in answers to the articles of impeachment charged against him by the honourable the house of commons, and that the lords had sent a true copy of the said an-

swers, for the use of that honourable house."

The answers being read short, pro forma, Mr. Burke moved, "that the said answers be referred to the consideration of a committee;" which having been agreed to, and Mr. Burke being named by the chancellor of the exchequer as the first member, Mr. Burke then named Philip Francis, esq; and, upon the question being put, the house divided, ayes 23, noes 97.

Mr. Burke, upon this, rose and declared, that of such material assistance had they deprived him, in rejecting Mr. Francis, that he scarcely knew how to proceed, and felt the cause to be in some degree *damned* by the recent act of the house. He reminded them of the seriousness and solemnity

solemnity of the whole proceeding, a proceeding which, after deep and frequent deliberation, had been brought step by step to its present advanced stage, and ought to be continued during the remaining part of its progress with equal steadiness and uniformity. He admonished the house, that their conduct in this very important and grave transaction was a matter most highly interesting to the national character, and that, consequently, they were amenable, for every one of their proceedings respecting it, at the high and awful tribunal of the public and the world at large. He pressed them to consider of the dangerous effect of their appearing in the smallest degree to prevaricate in the course of the prosecution, and urged the manifest injury and injustice of changing their committee, and rejecting any one of the members of the former committee without a reason previously assigned. The only presumable reasons for rejecting any one member of the former committee could be no other than two; either a general disqualification on general grounds, or a personal disqualification from inability or unfitness to assist in conducting the prosecution. Both these questions had been already decided, and the house would have acted wickedly and weakly in suffering his honourable friend to take so great a part in the proceeding hitherto, and to have adopted his ideas, if they had judged him to be disqualified to take a share in the business. The fact was, his honourable friend was most eminently qualified to assist in the prosecution; for through his superior knowledge of it had all the charge relative to the revenues been made out and established, and so greatly had he himself been aided and as-

sisted by the information which he had received from his honourable friend, that he in his honour and conscience declared, he felt himself disqualified from conducting the remainder of the prosecution safely and securely without him. It was, for this reason, essential to himself, and essential to the house, and their joint credit, that his honourable instructor and associate (for so he might justly term him) should continue a member of the committee. (Why the house had by their recent vote thought proper to reject the future assistance of his honourable friend, he was utterly at a loss to guess;—that those members who had uniformly expressed a disinclination to the prosecution, and in almost every stage of it endeavoured to put a stop to it, should have made a part of the majority on the late division was natural enough, because nothing could be more consistent than for those who had declared themselves adverse to any prosecution, to endeavour to take away the means of pursuing it, when once a prosecution was instituted; but for many of the gentlemen of another description, who had cordially co-operated and assisted in the investigation, previous to the matter's having assumed the regular shape and form of a criminal process, to concur in a vote which embarrassed and weakened the cause, and endangered its ultimate event, was to him a circumstance altogether unaccountable. The committee then naming, was not the committee of managers, and therefore not of equal importance; but so fully was he convinced of the great utility and importance of the assistance of his honourable friend, and that he should feel himself, who knew the subject as well as most men, so exceedingly crippled and enfeebled

bled without the advantage of his honourable friend's superior information, that when the day for naming the next committee should come, he would again appeal to the sense of the house, and try to have his honourable friend reinstated.

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Burke; and appealed seriously to the gentlemen on the other side, upon one particular resulting from their late vote, by which they had thrown so great a discountenance on the prosecution; and that was, the necessity of filling the chasm in the committee, which they had occasioned by rejecting the only member who, from every consideration, appeared to be the most proper to be upon it. Mr. Fox, therefore, submitted it to the consideration of the other side of the house, whether it would not be right and becoming in them to supply the vacancy, by naming from among themselves some person of acknowledged information upon the subject. He suggested the right honourable gentleman at the head of the India board; but said, that he would agree to the nomination of any other well-informed gentleman, whom the other side of the house might consider as a proper person for their acceptance. No notice being taken of this address, Mr. Burke proceeded to nominate the committee, which consisted of the same persons as the former, with the addition of Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. Burke then moved, "that the committee be armed with the usual powers," which was agreed to.

On the Friday following, Mr. Burke brought up from the committee a replication to the answers of Mr. Hastings, in which the commons, in the usual

form, aver their charges against the said Warren Hastings to be true; and, that they will be ready to prove the same against him, at such convenient time and place as shall be appointed for that purpose. The replication was ordered, the next day of sitting, to be carried by Mr. Burke up to the lords, who appointed Wednesday, the 13th of February, for proceeding upon the trial in Westminster-hall.

On the eleventh, the Dec. 11th. house proceeded to appoint the members of the committee above-mentioned to be managers of the impeachment; upon which occasion, Mr. Fox most earnestly implored the house to re-consider the vote of a former day, by which they had excluded from the committee of managers an honourable friend of his, whom they had approved of as a member of the committee to whom the drawing up of the articles was entrusted. Mr. Fox observed, that there must indeed be strong arguments adduced to prove the fitness of the honourable gentleman to sit as a member of the one committee, and his unfitness to sit as a member of the other. They were not now acting as the judges of Mr. Hastings; they were not even sitting in character of a grand jury to decide whether or not a bill of indictment was to be found against him; they were become his prosecutors; in that capacity they had committed themselves, and would act with the utmost inconsistency if they failed to avail themselves of every circumstance, and of every assistance that might give effect to their prosecution. Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Hastings, there could be no possible objection to his appearing as his accuser. To the character of



an accuser, innocence and integrity were indispensably necessary. It was requisite that he who preferred an accusation against another should himself be blameless, and his reputation unsuspected. That his honourable friend possessed this reputation was well known to all who heard him. All knew that he had been sent out to India, as one of the supreme council, on account of this reputation, and returned with the approbation and the confidence of his employers. But in such a case the testimony of his friends would be incomplete, unless corroborated and confirmed by the testimony of his enemies. This testimony his honourable friend had also obtained. By a steady and consistent hostility to the malversations and corruptions of others, he had provoked the most rigid scrutiny into his own conduct while in India, and since his return he had courted, not shunned, inquiry. Had any discoveries of misconduct on his part been to be made, they would long since have been before the public, since they must have come within the knowledge of those who were well disposed to bring them to light. It was, therefore, fair to conclude, that his character was unimpeachable, since it had not been impeached, and that he possessed that innocence and integrity of life and conduct which qualified him to come forward as the accuser of another. It was fit also that an accuser should possess talents. What the natural abilities of the honourable gentleman were, it was needless to state where they were so well known. What his acquired abilities on the subject of the prosecution were, must be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much

to have been acquainted with the evasions and tergiversations under which Mr. Hastings had been accustomed to screen his conduct. When Cicero came forward as the accuser of Verres, what were the arguments he advanced why the prosecution should be committed to him? "Because," said he, "I am acquainted with the evasions and sophistry of his advocate Hortensius. I am accustomed to combat and to overthrow them." Nor was it less requisite that an accuser should entertain no partiality in favour of the accused; and not only that he should entertain no partiality, but that he should not be indifferent as to the event of the prosecution; but that he should be animated with an honest indignation against the crimes and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to justice. In the case of a prosecution for murder, where the son of the person said to have been murdered was the prosecutor, he made his charge, and produced his proofs, with such seeming coldness and indifference, that the judges stopped him by asking, "Were the facts you alledge true? was this man really the murderer of your father? if you indeed believed him such, you could not possibly go on in this unaffected and impartial manner. While, therefore, you address us in this trim language, we can give no credit to what you say." Such had actually been the answer of Mr. Hastings to the remonstrance of the court of directors, "If you actually disapprove of my conduct, you could not possibly address me in such gentle terms." There was no such thing known as an impartial prosecution in this country; for, although all prosecutions were commenced in the king's name, it was always the party injured that came forward

forward in support of them. If they demanded impartial accusers, who were acquainted with the subject of the accusation, where were they to be found? Not in India, for it afforded not a man who could be said to be impartial in this cause. And by whom was Mr. Hastings to be accused, by those who had supported his measures, or those who had opposed them; by his friends, or his enemies? There were not many accusers from India. He knew but few from that quarter who could dare to assume the character, or whose own conduct would stand the test of enquiry. Under these circumstances, to exclude from the committee the person likely to be the most dangerous accuser, would have a very suspicious appearance. The house would appear to prevaricate, and must depart from a charge which they had already adopted. He had, with infinite application and ability, brought forward the charge of abuses in the administration of the revenues. By means of his local and personal knowledge, he had developed the whole mystery of corruption; he had enforced it on the conviction of the house; he had persuaded an unwilling audience, for no man is willing to become an accuser; and would the house, now that they had adopted the accusation, and made it their own, prevent the honourable gentleman from supporting it at the bar of the house of lords, when he alone could support it with effect?

The sole argument which he had ever heard against the appointment of his honourable friend was, that he had once had a personal quarrel with Mr. Hastings. Of what weight was this? He was not to be the judge, but the accuser, of Mr. Hastings; and not the only accuser, but

an accuser joined with others. Was he supposed of such authority as to influence the judges? Was the whole committee of such authority? The lords would sit to pass sentence on their honour, like a jury on their oath, and Heaven forbid that the united authority of the commons of England should influence their decision.

Mr. Fox then moved, "that the name of Mr. Francis be added to the committee."

Mr. Windham, after a short silence, followed Mr. Fox, and expressed his surprize that no argument had yet been offered to justify the rejection of his honourable friend. As gentlemen had been so sparing of their reasons, he would endeavour to state every possible ground on which an objection could be made, in order to prove to the house how impossible it was for them, if they were sincere in the prosecution, to refuse to give their managers the benefit of the abilities, the zeal, and the diligence of the honourable gentleman. There could not, as his right honourable friend had observed, and proved from recapitulating facts of the most public notoriety, be offered any objection of a personal nature against Mr. Francis, for his integrity was eminently conspicuous. Those, therefore, who had objections to make, must support them by proving, first, that private animosity was a proper disqualification; and, secondly, what he believed was nearly as difficult to be proved, that Mr. Francis entertained that sentiment of personal animosity towards Mr. Hastings. The idea of supposing that an accuser ought to be free from resentment, was, he conceived, on the principle that he ought to be impartial. This, he contended, was perfectly absurd, and could

could only be maintained by a perversion and confounding of the functions of an accuser with those of a judge, and requiring from both parties what was only to be expected in the latter, and what indeed was desirable in him only. The very essence of the character of an accuser was zeal for the proof of his accusation, and the conviction of the accused; and it was of no consequence to the trial whether that zeal proceeded from personal animosity, or any other motive. It was, perhaps, by confounding the functions of a witness and an accuser that gentlemen were induced to entertain so ill-founded an idea, that private resentment unfitted a man for the character of an accuser. An idea, which could only be supported by imagining that a judge would take for granted the bare assertions of the accuser; but no judge would give any credit whatsoever to the statement of the parties or their advocates, unless substantiated by proof. Even a witness was not disqualified on account of partiality; for, in fact, every witness was in some degree partial. If the judge perceived more than an ordinary degree of animosity on one side, or favour on another, in a witness, his business was to examine him with greater caution: but he could not, for that reason, reject him entirely. The next thing to consider, was, whether the honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) laboured under this impression or not? This, he declared, he could see no reason for imagining; for, unless the necessary consequence of a duel was a perpetual enmity, it was impossible, from any thing which had appeared to the house, to take it for granted that it subsisted in the present case. He stated, that the opposition of Mr.

Francis to Mr. Hastings had commenced long before the duel, even from the time of his arrival in India: he had been entrusted by the public with an important charge; he saw the public wronged by Mr. Hastings, and he determined to do justice to his masters, by bringing the delinquent to an account for his malversation: the delinquent quarrels with him, and they fight; and, for that reason, merely because a private injury is superadded to public offences, the public are to lose the means of bringing to punishment the person who has violated the trust they have reposed in him.—All this heap of absurdity must be maintained, before any reasonable ground could be laid for the rejection of Mr. Francis. Motives of delicacy had been suggested—and no man, indeed, could impute any blame to those who indulged themselves in the nicest feelings of delicacy, or who carried the punctilio of honour to the highest pitch, provided that they did not suffer those minor virtues to get the better of higher duties; for then they became dangerous and vicious, instead of being meritorious. But, in this case, the house could not give way to any such feelings of delicacy, without abandoning the great and important business which they had undertaken, and which they were bound to bring to perfection; not from motives of pride, and feelings of delicacy, but from every tie of duty, and every obligation of wisdom and virtue, and true honour.

Mr. Pitt, in answer to Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, contended that the present was not a question of argument but a question of feeling. It was not necessary to scrutinize what were the feelings of gentlemen on the other side: but, in return, they were entitled to the enjoyment of their

their own feelings undisturbed; and if gentlemen did feel that there was an impropriety in their chusing a certain gentleman to represent the house of commons in the prosecution of their impeachment, was it therefore to be imputed to them that they were slack in the prosecution, or that they were desirous to crush it? Might it not be fairly said, that, in their earnestness for the success of their impeachment, they chose to take from it every appearance of improper motives; and that, in order to prevent even the suspicion of any such existing, they had declined to appoint as their representative the only person in the house who had, upon a former occasion, been concerned in a personal contest with Mr. Hastings. The argument, that the prosecution would be injured by the absence of this honourable gentleman, could not be justly entertained for one moment. To look at the abilities of the gentlemen who were to manage the prosecution, was sufficient to give the house confidence in its management; and besides, the honourable gentleman was still at hand; and, in addition to all the materials with which he had already furnished them, could be consulted, or even examined at the bar. They had lost only his eloquence, of which, distinguished as it was, they were not in want.

Mr. Pitt was supported by Mr. Grenville, who observed, that the present question was not an investigation into the character of the honourable gentleman, but merely an inquiry whether, under the peculiar circumstance in which he stood, as having had a personal quarrel with Mr. Hastings, and as being the only individual in the house who was supposed to have a personal enmity to

him, it was right in the house to chuse him as one of their representatives for managing the impeachment. For his own part, he had no hesitation in saying, that in such circumstances, the house ought not to select him as a person peculiarly fit for such a trust.

Mr. Francis then rose, and expressed his satisfaction at what he had heard from the other side of the house, as it had relieved him from great anxiety. I now understand, he said, what the objection is, and what it is not:—It is a scruple that regards a point of honour:—It is not an imputation:—It is not a reproach. It has been formally and explicitly stated to you, by great authority, that the point in debate is not a question of argument, but of feeling. This is the avowed principle on which the motion is opposed. I do not mean to object to this state of the question, or to any other, on which any gentleman may choose to consider it. Allow me only to express my hopes, that gentlemen, who are so properly and honourably careful of their own feelings, will not confine their attention to themselves, but have some consideration and tenderness for the feelings of others.

It would be a poor and useless affectation in me to pretend, that I received the vote, which passed a few days ago, with indifference, or indeed without serious concern. I could not but be sensible of the turn that would be given to it, and of the impression it would probably make abroad to my disadvantage. I could not see myself excluded from sharing in the labours of my honourable friend, without looking back to the situation, in which I was forced to abandon him, with the deepest regret,



gret. His abilities are equal to the task he has undertaken, if any human abilities are equal to it. Of this heavy burden he must now support my share as well as his own. Setting aside the single consideration of the assistance I owe to my honourable friend, what can I desire better for myself than to be excluded, without disgrace, from any farther concern in this toilsome, invidious, and most unthankful office? My object, as far as I had any personal object in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, is accomplished. The house have approved and confirmed the principles of my opposition to him, and adopted my opinion of his conduct. In condemning *him* they have acquitted *me*. I am now discharged from the conduct of a cause, which, of my own accord, undoubtedly, I should never have abandoned. If it should fail hereafter, I shall have nothing to answer for.—Mr. Francis, waived entering into the arguments which ought to induce the house to reject or to agree to the motion; but at the same time, he said, though I have no manner of anxiety about the conclusion, I should be regardless of the truth, and careless of my honour, if I suffered the premises to be taken for granted. I deny that I am, or ever was, the enemy of Mr. Hastings, in that personal sense in which it is imputed to me. He then gave the house a short account of the public disputes that had subsisted between him and Mr. Hastings, and of the provocation that brought on the duel. He added, it is but justice to him to say, that he behaved himself perfectly well in the field. It was my lot to be dangerously wounded. As I conceived immediate death inevitable, I thought of nothing but to die in peace with

all men, particularly with Mr. Hastings. I called him to me, gave him my hand, and desired him to consider in what situation my death would leave him. By that action, and by those words, undoubtedly I meant to declare that I freely forgave him the insult he had offered me, and the fatal consequence which had attended it. I meant that we should stand in the same relation to each other, as if the duel and the cause of it had never happened. But did I tell him, that if I survived, I would renounce the whole plan and principle of my public life; that I would cease to oppose his measures; that I would desert the charges, which I had already brought against him, or not prosecute him by public impeachment if I could? On my return to England, I found that a parliamentary inquiry into the late transactions in India was already begun, and I was almost immediately ordered to attend one of the committees employed upon that enquiry. Of those gentlemen, who think that I ought not to appear against Mr. Hastings; I beg leave to ask, in what manner I ought to have acted? Could I, without treachery to the public, refuse to give evidence or information necessary for the public service, when it was demanded of me by the authority of the house of commons? If not, the single question is, in what form and manner did it become me to appear and act as the accuser of Mr. Hastings? And am I thought to have acted dishonourably, because I declared myself a public responsible accuser of Mr. Hastings? because I stood forward in the charge, and hazarded all those consequences of obloquy, retaliation, and revenge, which a public prosecutor must encounter, but which a secret skul-

ing accuser may very easily avoid? I do not mean to say, that the circumstance of my having had a duel with Mr. Hastings, never occurred to me as an objection, which possibly might have weight with others, though it appeared to me of no consequence. It did certainly occur to me as a doubt, on which I ought not to trust entirely to my own judgment, and I therefore took the advice of persons upon whose judgment, in points of this nature, I could rely. But there is an authority to the same effect, which I am able to produce, and which, though negative in its form, I doubt not will be deemed equivalent to any positive opinion whatever. I have now been engaged above two years in constant intercourse and connection with twenty gentlemen of the first character in this kingdom, and in constant conversation with them on the subject of this impeachment; I mean particularly the gentlemen who compose the present committee, as well as many others. I appeal to their testimony. Did any of these gentlemen ever, directly or indirectly, signify to me a doubt about the propriety of my conduct? If they did, I call upon them now to declare it. Is it a thing to be believed, that if they had felt a scruple, in point of honour, on this subject, they would never have expressed it to me, or that they would have acted with me, if I had known and disregarded their opinion?

Thirteen years, he said, are now elapsed, since I first was connected in office with Mr. Hastings. Six of them were wasted in India in perpetual contest with him. Seven years ago I left him there, in possession of absolute power. In all that time no charges have been produced against

me. Yet, I think, it cannot be said that I have been particularly cautious not to provoke hostility, or that there is no disposition to accuse me. If now, or at any other period, I should be obliged to change place with Mr. Hastings; if hereafter it should be my lot to be accused, I shall assuredly never object to his being my prosecutor; for though, by removing a powerful, a well-informed, and, in the sense of the present argument, an inveterate accuser, I might provide for my safety, my honour would be lost. Let those gentlemen, who are trusted with the care of Mr. Hastings's honour, consider what they are doing.

Mr. Francis concluded, by declaring, that if the house should think fit to employ him, he should endeavour to execute their commands with industry and vigour; if not, he should receive with pleasure his dismissal from so vexatious, so laborious, so invidious, and so unprofitable a service as this has been: and immediately left the house.

The question being soon after put, there appeared, noes 122, ayes 60.

In the mean time, committees were appointed by both houses to search the records of parliament, for precedents relative to the mode of proceeding in trials by impeachment, and the necessary orders were made for their accommodation in Westminster-hall, for the admission of spectators, the attendance of witnesses, and other matters respecting the regularity of their proceeding. On the 13th Feb. 13th. of February, the trial commenced, with the usual formalities, an account of which, the reader will find in the Chronicle for the month. The counsel who appeared for the defendant were, Mess. Law, Plumer, and

and Dallas. The assistant counsel for the commons, Dr. Scott and Dr. Lawrence, Messrs. Mansfield, Pigott, Burke, and Douglas.

The two first days were consumed in reading the articles of impeachment, and the answers of Mr. Hastings. On the third,

Feb. 15th. the anxiety of the public to hear Mr. Burke was so great, that the galleries of the hall were full before nine o'clock. About twelve the peers were seated, to the number of 164; and, the managers being called upon by the chancellor to proceed, Mr. Burke rose, and said, that he stood forth by order of the commons of Great Britain, to support the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors, which they had exhibited against Warren Hastings, esq; and that he had a body of evidence to produce to substantiate the whole and every part of those charges.

That the gentlemen joined with him in that duty, had instructed him to open the cause with an account of the grounds upon which the house had proceeded, and with a general view of the nature of the crimes with which they charged him, together with an explanation of such concomitant circumstances, relative both to the crimes themselves and the manners of the people amongst whom they were committed, as were necessary to elucidate the charge.

After some general observations upon the quality of the cause, as leading to a decision not only upon facts, but upon principles; as involving the character and honour of British government, and, in an especial manner, the credit, and even the future existence of that high mode of parliamentary proceeding (of the spirit and effects

of which, in the British constitution, he gave a concise and pointed description) he adverted to the grounds upon which the commons had proceeded. The dreadful disorders of our Indian government were acknowledged. It was not, he said, till after every mode of legislative prevention had been tried without effect, till they found, during a course of fourteen years, that enquiries and resolutions, and laws were equally disregarded, that they had had recourse to a penal prosecution; and he trusted that it would be found they had made such a choice, with respect both to the crimes and the criminal, and the mode of proceeding, as would recommend that course of justice to posterity, even if it had not been sanctioned by the practice of our forefathers.

Mr. Burke then gave an account of the previous proceedings in the house of commons, in which, he said, every precedent that could be found, favourable to the party accused, and some measures even of an unusual kind, had been adopted; and that it was chiefly upon the facts admitted by the criminal in his defence, and the principles therein maintained by him, that they proceeded, and proceeded with confidence, to that bar. He then stated the quality of the crimes charged, which, he said, were neither the lapses of human frailty, nor had arisen from the exigencies of an overruling necessity. They were crimes originating in passions which it was criminal to harbour, and such as argued a total extinction of moral principle: crimes committed upon deliberation, against advice, supplication, and remonstrance, and against the direct commands of lawful authority. As to the criminal, he

said, that they had made choice of no puny offender, but the first in rank, authority, and station; under whom, as the head, all the peculation and tyranny of India was embodied, disciplined, and paid, and in striking at whom, therefore, they would strike at the whole corps.

Mr. Burke next proceeded to state the nature of the evidence which they had to produce in support of the charge. Of this, he said, that notwithstanding the enormous power possessed by the criminal, notwithstanding his industry in destroying recorded evidence, and the influence he had over living testimony, there remained sufficient to satisfy, in almost every instance, even the precision which prevailed in the inferior courts of law; but he contended, at the same time, that they were not to be bound by the confined rules and maxims of evidence which prevailed in those courts, nor by any other than those of natural, immutable, and substantial justice. He claimed this as the right of the commons of Great Britain, and the law of parliament: as indispensable from the nature of the cause, and due to those suffering nations who, separated from us by nature, and differing in language, manners, and opinions, had no interest or concern in the technical distinctions of our municipal law, but as they might be abused to the denial of substantial justice; and lastly, as highly necessary to prevent the disgraceful imputation which might fall either upon that high court, as if corrupted by the wealth of India, or upon the laws of England, as if impotent in the means of punishing successful fraud and oppression; or upon the character of the whole British

nation, as if availing itself of peculiar scholastic distinctions, abhorrent to the common sense, and unpropitious to the common rights of mankind, in order to cover our participation in guilt, and our common interest in the plunder of the East.

Having gone through these preliminary points, Mr. Burke proceeded to open the matter of the charge.—He stated, that the powers delegated to Mr. Hastings by the India company, and which he was charged with having abused, were derived from two sources; the charter granted by the crown under the authority of parliament, and the grant from the Mogul emperor of the Dewannè, or high stewardship of Bengal, in the year 1766. He here combated an opinion that had been industriously circulated, that the acts of the servants of the company in India, were not cognizable here. He proved, that in the first case they were responsible to the parliament of Great Britain directly; that under the second they were responsible for the good government of the country immediately to the Mogul emperor, by the condition of their grant; and that, upon the annihilation of his power, the duty still remained, and their responsibility was thrown back upon the country from which their original power flowed; Great Britain, when it assented to that grant of office, and afterwards took advantage of it, becoming virtually a guarantee for the performance of its duties. The people of India, therefore, came in the name of the commons of Great Britain, but in their own right, to the seat of the imperial justice of this kingdom, from whence originally all the powers, under which they have suffered, were derived.

Having



Having settled the point of responsibility, Mr. Burke briefly stated the several powers granted to the company, from its first establishment in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and the means by which it rose to the exalted situation of dominion and empire in which it now stands. In its external arrangements and constitution it however still remained upon a mercantile plan. In this system he first took notice of the regulation, by which all their servants are obliged to go through a regular gradation of offices, from the lowest to the highest; stated the advantages arising therefrom, and the mischievous effects of the total disregard which Mr. Hastings paid to the spirit of this order, whenever it suited his own views.

The other circumstances arising out of the constitution of the company's government in India, upon which he remarked, were principally these—The *esprit du corps*, which necessarily prevailed in a body of men, who were all possessed of office, without check or control upon the spot, having one common interest, and that interest separated from the interest both of the country which sent them out, and of the country in which they acted:—the high and important trusts, which were held by them under insignificant names, and the inadequacy of their salaries to the real dignity of their employments, circumstances, which made it next to impossible, for men, whose object was an early enjoyment of their fortunes at home, to remain incorrupt in that service:—lastly, the youth of the persons sent out to India, and their immediate accession to employments of boundless power, and particularly to high judicial powers, which, under the new regulations

planned by sir Elijah Impey, were expressly directed to be conferred on the junior servants of the company. Of these several circumstances, Mr. Burke shewed that Mr. Hastings had criminally availed himself; and that he had been thereby enabled, as it were, to embody abuse, and to put himself at the head of a regular system of corruption. To these he added, the covenants entered into with the company by their servants, and shewed in what manner they had also been perverted, by Mr. Hastings, into a means of supporting the same corrupt confederacy.

The last instrument of fraud and oppression taken notice of by Mr. Burke, was the *Banyan*; of the nature of whose office, as it was calculated both for the practice and concealment of every species of tyranny and peculation, he gave a detailed description. He then adverted to one institution, taken from the mercantile constitution of the company, of consummate wisdom, and which might have proved a powerful corrective of all the other abuses to which their service was in its own nature disposed: this was the obligation which their servants were under, by express covenant, to keep a journal of all their transactions, public and private; a letter-book, in which all their letters were to be entered; and lastly, to keep a written record, not only of all the proceedings, resolutions, and orders, made in their councils, but also of the arguments used and the opinions delivered by each separate member. Mr. Burke, after stating the importance of this great instrument of correction and control, charged Mr. Hastings with having endeavoured to destroy or render it of no effect, by introducing

a distinction between public and private correspondence; by dispensing with the orders of the company, in boards appointed by his own authority; and lastly, by the actual spoliation and destruction of part of the company's records.

Having gone through the constitution of the company, and marked the abuses of the powers which Mr. Hastings derived under it, he proceeded to the powers with which the company were invested by the charter of the Mogul emperor, and which were also delegated to him.

The inhabitants of India, who, in consequence of that charter, became virtually subjects of the British empire, are, he said, of two descriptions; the first were, the Hindoos or Gentoos, the original inhabitants of Hindostan. Of this people, their peculiar customs, manners, and religion, and of the beneficial moral and civil effects arising therefrom, as they appeared in the first period of their history, he gave a concise account; adverting, as he proceeded, to the just policy which these circumstances should have dictated to our government, and pointing out the new sources of tyranny and oppression with which they had furnished Mr. Hastings. Having stated the happy and flourishing condition of India under the original native government, he continued their history through the several revolutions that took place, from the irruption of the Arabians, soon after the time of Mahomet, to the usurpation of Verdi Ali Khân, and the establishment of the English power in 1756: and he proved, in opposition to the argument urged by Mr. Hastings, in his defence, viz. "that the native princes held their dominions as mere vassals under their conquerors," that neither under

the government of the Arabian nor Tartarian invaders, nor of the usurping soubahs and nabobs, were the native princes and zemindars dispossessed of their estates, and the jurisdictions annexed to them; but that, up to the last unfortunate period, they preserved their independent rank and dignity, their forts, their seignories, and always the right, sometimes also the means of protecting the people under them. Here Mr. Burke closed his first day's speech, which lasted upwards of three hours.

Mr. Burke began his second speech with an animated description of the blessings which it was just to expect that India would derive from the increasing power and influence of the British settlements in that part of the world. These expectations, he said, had proved delusive, and it becomes us therefore seriously to think how the mischief was to be repaired. To obtain empire, had been a common thing; to govern it well, had been more rare; but to chastise, by its justice, the guilt of those who had abused the power of their country, was, he hoped, a glory reserved to this nation, this time; and that high court.

He then resumed the history of Bengal from the usurpation of Verdi Ali Khân; whose successor, Serajah Dowlah, by attacking the English settlement at Calcutta, brought upon himself the resentment of this country, and was dethroned by lord Clive. Meer Jassier, a treacherous servant of Serajah's, was placed upon the throne, and for this service Meer Jassier engaged to pay a million to the company, and upwards of another million to individuals in their employment. This dangerous example discovered the facility with which revolutions

revolutions might be effected in India, and a certain source of enormous emolument to those who had the direction of them. Accordingly, lord Clive had no sooner quitted India, than his successors projected another revolution, by which Meer Jaffier was to be deposed, and Cossim Ali Khan, his son-in-law, a man of an intriguing and ferocious character, was to be placed in his room. In this drama, Mr. Hastings, who was then resident at the subah's court, and whose co-operation, in betraying that prince, was absolutely necessary, made his first public appearance.

Whilst this project was ripening for execution, an under-plot was brought upon the stage, in which Meer Jaffier proposes a plan to the English commander in chief, and through him to the council, for getting possession of the person of the Shâh Zaddah, or eldest son of the Mogul, and putting him to death. This proposition was, ostensibly only as was afterwards alleged, acceded to; an instrument was drawn up, in which the reward to be given to the assassin was specified, and the seals of the nabob, of his son, and of the company affixed; from which circumstance, it obtained the name of the story of the three seals. In an enquiry which was afterward made into this transaction, at Calcutta, by order of the court of directors, (but which Mr. Burke endeavoured, by a variety of proofs, to shew was clearly collusive) the English party was honourably acquitted. This whole business, in which Mr. Hastings appears sometimes as an accomplice, and finally as a judge, is recorded in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 10, to the first report of the Indian committee, which sate in

1773; and Mr. Burke called the attention of the court particularly to it, as exhibiting a striking instance, not only of the horrible condition of the company's government in India, at that period, but of the collusive practices and dangerous combinations by which every attempt to correct it was frustrated.

Mr. Burke then proceeded in his account of the main revolution, related the story of the extraordinary death of the subah's eldest son, by which a material obstacle was removed, and finally, of the deposition of Meer Jaffier, the advancement of Cossim Ali, and the rewards paid to the company, and their servants, for their services in this complicated act of treachery, violence, and injustice. He then adverted to the consequences of this revolution upon the miserable natives, who were harrassed and oppressed in the most cruel and outrageous manner, by the tyrant we had set up, in order to make them contribute to compensate him for the revenues of the provinces he had ceded, and the money he had given to the company. He concluded this part of his speech with reminding the court, that the acts of this nefarious tyrant were amongst the examples and precedents by which Mr. Hastings, in his defence, had chosen to justify his own conduct.

The history of a third revolution followed, in which Cossim Ali Khân, who soon after made war upon the English, with circumstances of the most shocking cruelty, was worsted, and Meer Jaffier restored to a nominal authority, but not without the usual ceremony of further concessions to the company, and rewards to individuals.

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From the sale of kingdoms and princes, which began to grow too rank and notorious, they proceeded to the sale of prime ministers and official departments. There were at this time, at the court of the soubah, two persons of great consideration, the most eminent of their respective denominations, the one a Gentoo, called the great rajah Nundcomar, the other a Mahomedan, called Mahomet Reza Khân. The soubah, who had some jealous fears of the latter, on account of his high birth and authority, which, in case of any civil commotion, might possibly lead him to aspire to the office of soubahdar, attached himself strongly to Nundcomar, whose religion disqualified him from becoming his rival, and he appointed him to be his naib or deputy. Of this competition the English council, in whom all the efficient power resided, were resolved to profit. The office was put up to auction; both parties bid largely, bribe was opposed to bribe, and at length they took the money of Mahomet Reza Khân, which amounted to about 220,000*l.* deeming him more likely to keep the nabob in a fitter condition for future exactions. The nabob soon after died, a victim to this last and the other insults and oppressions he had suffered. His successor, from the same policy, manifesting the same attachment to Nundcomar, he was brought down to Calcutta, where, afterwards having the weakness to become the first informer against Mr. Hastings, he was made the first example, was charged with having been guilty of forgery, and was hanged.

Whilst these transactions were carrying on in India, the directors, foreseeing that unless a stop was speedily put to the mal-practices of their servants, they might end in the ut-

ter destruction of the company, sent out lord Clive with full authority to redress and to reform. To strike at the root of the evil, their servants were obliged to enter into new covenants not to receive any presents; and lord Clive, with admirable wisdom, put a bound to their aspiring spirit, limited the conquests of the company, gave peace to its enemies, provided generously for its allies, made an honourable settlement with the mogul, and finally left the company in possession of the dewanee or high-stewardship of Bengal, by which they obtained the intire disposition of the revenue: the forms of royalty, and the administration of criminal justice, were left to the soubah, with a revenue of 500,000*l.* and the collection of the revenue remained in the hands of the deputy soubah, Mahomet Reza Khân. Two commissions were afterwards appointed by the company for the purpose of carrying these regulations into further effect, neither of which reached India; and in 1773, a council was nominated by parliament, at the head of which Mr. Hastings was placed, as governor-general.

When this government was settled, Morshedabad still continued the seat of the native government, and of all the collections. The company had a resident at the durbar or court of the nabob, as a controul over the native collector, and this was the first step to our assuming the government in that country, which by degrees came afterwards to be established, and superseded that of the natives.—The next step that was made, was the appointment of supervisors in every province, to oversee the native collectors.—The third was to establish a general council of revenue at Morshedabad, to super-

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intend the great steward Mahomet Reza Khân; and in 1772 that council was suppressed by Mr. Hastings, and the whole controul brought to Calcutta; Mahomet Reza Khân was turned out of all his offices, for reasons, and upon principles, which in the course of the trial would appear; and at last the dewannee was entirely taken out of the natives hands in the first instance, and settled in the six provincial councils. There it remained until the year 1781, when Mr. Hastings made another revolution, took it out of their hands, and put it in a subordinate council, the authority of which entirely vested in himself.

Having stated these revolutions, and the abuses that grew out of them, and shewn in what manner the native government had almost totally vanished in Bengal, or was at least reduced to such a situation, as to be fit for nothing but to become a private perquisite to speculators, Mr. Burke proceeded to the English government, in which Mr. Hastings, first as president appointed by the company, and afterwards as governor-general nominated by parliament, had the principal share.—It was for crimes committed in these two stations that he now stood accused. Before he entered upon the consideration of the crimes themselves, he thought it necessary to make a few observations upon the test by which his conduct ought to be tried, and upon the principles on which Mr. Hastings had founded his defence.

The rule, he said, by which their lordships would try him, was this, What should a British governor, acting upon British principles, in such a situation, do or forbear? If he has done, and if he has forbore, in

the manner in which a British governor ought to do and to forbear, he has done his duty and is honourably acquitted.—But Mr. Hastings had recourse to other principles and other maxims. He asserts, in several of his letters to the East India company, and in a paper called his Defence, that actions in Asia do not bear the same moral qualities, as the same actions would do in Europe. After treating with some humour, and lastly solemnly protesting against this geographical morality, Mr. Burke entered into a large and serious discussion of the other ground on which Mr. Hastings rested his defence, namely, that the Asiatic governments were all despotic—that he did not make the people slaves, but found them such—that the sovereignty he was called to exercise was an arbitrary sovereignty, and that he had exercised it, and that no other power could be exercised in the country;—"that the whole history of Asia was nothing more than precedents to prove the invariable exercise of arbitrary power;—that sovereignty implied nothing else, from Cabool to Afham;—and that Verdi Ali Khân, and Cossim Ali Khân, fined all their zemindars, on every pretence either of court necessity or court extravagance,"

In opposition to this defence, Mr. Burke undertook, first, to shew that the claim of absolute power was utterly inconsistent with all legal government; that the legislature had it not to bestow; that the company could not receive, and had it not to give; that it could be acquired neither by conquest, succession, nor compact; and that they who give, and they who receive, it are equally criminal. That this idea of arbitrary

trary power had arisen from confounding it with the prerogative necessarily inherent to the supreme power of being unaccountable, i. e. not subject in any ordinary way to penal prosecution for its actions. That the intermediate arbitrary power claimed by Mr. Hastings, by which the people below were to be subject to him, and he irresponsible to the power above, was an insolent extravagance that could not be listened to with patience.

In the second place, Mr. Burke denied that the governments of Asia were in fact of the kind described by Mr. Hastings, "in which the power of the sovereign was every thing, and the rights of the subject nothing." Every Mahomedan government must be a government by law, by the laws of the Koran, which, so far from countenancing arbitrary power, are in many parts expressly directed against all oppressors. The interpreters and conservators of this law are made independent of, and secure from the resentments of the executive power. In the Turkish government, the grand signor is so far from possessing arbitrary power, that he cannot impose a tax, he cannot touch the life, property, or liberty of his subjects, he cannot declare war or peace, without what is called a *fetta*, or sentence of the law. With respect to the Indian Mahomedan governments, Mr. Hastings had asserted, that the institutes of Genghis Khân and of Tamerlane are formed on arbitrary principles. This assertion, so far as a judgment could be formed from the ten precepts of Genghis Khân, was totally unfounded; and as to the latter, Mr. Burke read several passages from the translation of his Institutes, which were of a spirit the very reverse. In

addition to these, Mr. Burke gave a short account of the civil jurisprudence of the Mahomedans, and cited two cases, in one of which, a governor, who had levied an arbitrary toll upon a market, was put to death with torture; and in the other, a minister was publicly disgraced, and stripped of all his offices, for the receipt of presents. Nor could Mr. Hastings, he said, find shelter in the Gentoo laws. He had himself been the means of furnishing us with considerable extracts from their written body of law, which appeared to prescribe every idea of arbitrary will in magistrates.

Mr. Hastings's next attempt was to justify himself by the examples and practice of others. But who were they? Tyrants and usurpers. He makes the corrupt practices of mankind the principles of his government; he collects together the vicious examples of all the robbers and plunderers of Asia, forms the mass of their abuses into a code, and calls it the duty of a British governor.—Mr. Burke then made a few observations upon the plea of his having left England early in life, uninstructed in juridical knowledge, and of his having acted in a situation where he could not have that assistance which ministers in other situations usually derived from the knowledge and information of others. This, Mr. Burke said, might have been some excuse for misconduct of another kind, for a lax timid exercise of duty; but that a bold, presuming, ferocious, active ignorance, like his, was in itself a crime. Besides, added Mr. Burke, there is not a boy, who has learned the first elements of Christianity in his catechism, who, if these articles of charge were to be read to him, would

would not know that such conduct was not to be justified.

Lastly, Mr. Hastings had urged, that after the commission of many of the facts with which he was charged, parliament had re-appointed him to the same trust, and thereby virtually acquitted him. If indeed, said Mr. Burke, they had re-appointed him after they had knowledge and proof of his misconduct, the public would have reason to reprobate their conduct, and there would be an *indecorum* in their prosecution. But they were guiltless of that charge; they were at the time almost universally ignorant of his crimes. Not that the plea would avail him, if it were as he alledged; since the greatest part of the enormities charged were committed since his last appointment. The thanks which he had also pleaded, of the East India company, were, Mr. Burke said, still of less avail, since, though they had given him their thanks for his services in the gross, there was scarce one act, in that whole body of charges, for which they had not distinctly censured him. Mr. Burke here concluded his second day's speech, which lasted upwards of four hours.

On the third day, Mr. Feb. 17th. Burke began his speech by remarking, that though the nature of the cause which he had to open, might require that he should proceed to class the several crimes with which the defendant was charged, to shew their several bearings, and how they mutually aided and grew out of each other; yet that a practical regard to time, to which it was necessary they should submit, would induce him to abridge that plan, and bring it within a narrower compass. The first thing,

therefore, that he proposed to shew, was, that all the crimes charged upon Mr. Hastings, had their origin in what was the root of all evil, avarice and rapacity. This base and corrupt motive pervaded so intirely the whole of his conduct, that there was not one article of the impeachment, in which tyranny, malice, cruelty, and oppression were charged, which did not at the same time carry evident marks of pecuniary corruption. He had not only governed arbitrarily, but corruptly; was a giver and receiver of bribes, not accidentally, but upon a regular system formed for the purpose of giving and receiving them. The principles upon which he acted, and upon which he had presumed to vindicate his conduct, (principles of arbitrary power) he knew and foresaw led to corrupt and abusive consequences; and these he appears to have thought himself bound to realize. The merits he had pleaded were not that he had corrected the abuses, or prevented the evils of an arbitrary government, but that he had squeezed more money out of the inhabitants of the country, than any other person could by any other means have done.

After some general observations upon the disgrace and infamy which such a system tended to bring upon the nation, he proceeded to state the sense that had been expressed, and the precautions that had been taken against it, both by the company and the legislature. He proved at large, that Mr. Hastings was bound by every obligation that can bind mankind; by the duties of his official situation, by the most strong and express particular covenants, and by the positive injunctions of the legislature, not to take presents, ei-  
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ther for himself or for the company, directly or indirectly: and that, as he was personally bound, so it was also his duty to keep a watchful eye over all the other servants of the company, and in general over all persons that acted under their authority or sanction: that he became doubly responsible, when he took upon himself to remove persons from their situations, and place others of his own recommendation in their stead; and still more highly, when those persons so substituted were of notorious evil character.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to exemplify these general heads of accusation. He first took notice of the general confiscation of the estates of all the ancient nobility and freeholders of Bengal, which took place in the year 1772, by which they were obliged to recognize themselves as mere farmers under government, and bid for their estates at a pretended public, but what in reality, he said, was a private corrupt auction, against all adventurers that came. The pretence for this dreadful act of tyranny was, the augmentation of the revenues of the company, which arose from a sort of quit-rent out of these estates, the real value of which it was therefore thought proper, by this mode of auction, to ascertain. The first consequence was, that these farms fell, for the most part, into the hands of the banyans of the company's servants, and their delegates; the banyan of Mr. Hastings himself, Cantoo Baboo, obtaining, contrary to an express regulation, farms which paid a revenue of £. 130,000 a year to government. The second consequence was, that at the end of five years, there was a defalcation of this exacted reve-

nue, amounting to £. 2,050,000.— This opened a new source of corruption, in the remission and compositions that were necessary to be made of that immense debt. The next scene of speculation, which followed close upon the former, was the sale of the whole Mahometan government of Bengal, the offices of justice, the successions of families, guardianships, and other sacred trusts, to a woman, called the Munny Begum.

Having gone through these several instances, which were in themselves strong presumptive proofs of corruption, he stated that Mr. Hastings had been positively charged, on the oaths of several natives, with having taken money corruptly, and contended that his conduct under those charges amounted to the strongest presumptive evidence of his guilt. He entered into a minute account of the means used by Mr. Hastings to defeat the enquiry which the directors had ordered to be instituted into the misconduct of their servants; and this led him to the story of Nundcomar, and the effects which his fate produced, in putting a stop to all further discoveries of Mr. Hastings's speculations. The other charges Mr. Hastings suffered to remain on the records of the company, without ever denying them, or taking a single step to detect them. Soon afterwards very serious enquiries having begun, in the house of commons, into the speculations of the company's servants, he changed his mode of proceeding, and attempted to conceal his bribes, first by depositing large sums of money in the public treasury under his own name, and then, upon the discovery of any particular bribe, alledging that he had received it for the company's



pany's use. Upon this conduct Mr. Burke observed, first, that supposing the allegation true, the thing was absolutely illegal; that it tended to the utter disgrace of government, by establishing the corruption of the first magistrate as a principle of resource for the necessities of the company, and to the ruin of the country, by licensing governors to extort from the people, by bribery and speculation, whatever sums they pleased above the taxes and public imposts levied upon them. But secondly, he observed, that through the folly and imprudence which usually attends guilt, he had given such false and contradictory accounts of those money transactions, as amounted to the strongest presumptive proof that they were in themselves fraudulent and corrupt. Having exposed several of these falsehoods and contradictions, he proceeded to the third great act of Mr. Hastings's corrupt government, the abolition of the provincial councils, and the measures taken in consequence thereof.

These councils, six in number, were invested with the ordinary administration of civil justice in the country, and with the whole of the collection of the revenues, accountable to the supreme council; and, during a period of nine years, had approved their utility. But no sooner did Mr. Hastings obtain, by the death of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, and the absence of Mr. Francis, the entire authority of the supreme council, which then consisted but of himself and Mr. Wheler, than, without charge or complaint, he abolished, at one stroke, the whole of that establishment, and vested all their powers in a new council of four persons, chosen

by himself, and rendered, as to any effectual purpose at least, independent of the supreme council.

The new council had given them by Mr. Hastings, for their dewan or secretary, a man, at the sound of whose name, said Mr. Burke, all India turns pale, Gunga Govind Sing; a man, of whom there was not a friend, there was not a foe of Mr. Hastings, that did not agree in pronouncing to be the most wicked, the boldest, and most dextrous villain that ever lived. The nature and importance of this office of secretary, Mr. Burke stated from the report of the council themselves, by which it appeared that the whole power (a power, as they state it, of the most alarming and terrible nature) would in effect center in him, and that they would be little more than mere tools in the hands of their dewan. In short, he shewed that the whole public administration of the country had been overturned, the company burdened with pensions for the persons dismissed, and with £. 62,000 per annum for the new appointed council, for the purpose of establishing Mr. Hastings's friend, Gunga Govind Sing, such as he was, and such as Mr. Hastings knew him to be, in the absolute and uncontrolled possession of the government of the country.

Mr. Burke then shewed, that in this situation Gunga Govind Sing maintained a close and secret correspondence with Mr. Hastings, and was in fact his bribe agent. This he proved from an official account of Mr. Larkin's, the company's treasurer at Calcutta; by which it appeared that a caboolat, or agreement to pay four lacks of rupees, £. 40,000, had been received from Dinagapore, through the hands of

Gunga

Gunga Govind Sing, £. 30,000 of which had been paid; and it appeared that Mr. Hastings had expressed his resentment against Govind Sing for keeping back the remaining £. 10,000. As this was not an ordinary article of revenue, but acknowledged to be a present, without any account of the person from whom, or the cause for which, it was given, the only way of coming to any conclusion on the subject, was to see what was the state of transactions at Dinagapore at that period; an enquiry which would develop the dreadful consequences of that system of bribery and corruption which had been established by Mr. Hastings.

The country of Dinagapore, with its dependent territories, Mr. Burke stated to be nearly equal to all the northern counties of England, Yorkshire included. A short time before the period at which the present appears to have been made, the succession to the government had been in litigation between the adopted son of the late rajah, an infant, and the rajah's half brother. The cause had been decided, by the governor general in council, in favour of the adopted son. If the present was supposed to have been given in consideration of that judgment, whether it was right or wrong, it was corruptly taken by Mr. Hastings, as a judge in a litigation of inheritance between two parties. And what, on such a supposition, rendered the case more flagrant, was that the present came through the hands of Gunga Govind Sing, whose son was registrar-general of the province, and had in his custody the documents upon which the legal merits of the cause might depend. The persons in employment under the rajah

at the same time were turned out of their offices, and the guardianship of the infant given to the brother of the wife of the late rajah. Soon after, without any proof, that appears, of mismanagement or neglect, the guardian was displaced by Gunga Govind Sing, and the rajah put into the hands of a perfect stranger, called Debi Sing. From the sequel of the history, Mr. Burke appeared to think it most probable, that the present was made by Debi Sing in consideration of this appointment. Not long after this, through the recommendation of the same Gunga Govind Sing, the revenues of all the rajah's provinces were given in farm to him.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to state, that this person, in the universal opinion of all Bengal, was second only to Govind Sing, and that Mr. Hastings was perfectly well acquainted with his character, and has since recorded, that he knew Debi Sing to be a man completely capable of the most atrocious iniquities that were ever charged upon one man. He then gave his history at large, of which the following were the principal traits:—He was a banyan, and early in life had been in the service of Mahomet Reza Khân, through whose interest he obtained the collection of the province of Purneah. The revenues of this province, under his management, fell in one year from 160,000*l.* to 90,000*l.*; and it was finally left so completely ruined and desolated, that a company of Indian merchants, who had taken it at a reduced rent, when they came to view it, fled in a fright out of the country, and gave 10,000*l.* to be released from their bargain. This was the first opportunity he had of shewing how deserving he was of greater

greater trusts. He was however discharged from his management by Mr. Hastings, with a stigma upon him for his misconduct. Thus stigmatized, he had still the influence to procure the office of Dewan to the council of Moorshedabad, the principal of the six provincial councils. Here he became the keeper of a legal brothel, and, by ministering to the pleasures and debaucheries of the young gentlemen who composed that council, and abusing their confidence in hours of dissipation, he obtained the superintendence of a great number of districts, all of which, as he had done before, he grievously oppressed and desolated, incurred large arrears of payments, and in one of those places, for his speculations he was publicly whipped by proxy. Having thus proved himself a kind protector of the people, a prudent farmer of revenue, and a sober guardian of the morals of youth, he was thought qualified to be appointed tutor to the young rajah, and to have the whole administration of his territories, and the collection of his revenues, committed into his hands.

The consequences were such as might inevitably be expected. Mr. Burke here opened such a scene of horror, of outrageous violence upon the property, and of unheard cruelties and nefarious barbarity upon the persons of the wretched inhabitants of those provinces, without regard to sex or condition, as overcame the sensibility of several of his audience. The facts were taken from the report of Mr. Patterson, who, when the provinces, in consequence of these cruelties and oppressions, burst out into a sort of wild uproar and rebellion, which caused some alarm at Calcutta, was sent up to make an enquiry into the state of transactions

there.—Mr. Burke was proceeding to state the conduct of the governor general, in consequence of this report, when he was taken ill, and obliged to put off the conclusion of his speech to the next day.

He then began, by recapitulating the objects Feb. 19th. he had in view in the several matters that he submitted to the court the day before; viz. that Mr. Hastings, by destroying the provincial councils, which formed the whole subordinate administration of the British government in Bengal; by delegating their powers nominally to a committee of four persons chosen by himself, but in fact to a secret agent of his own, their dewan or secretary; by making this board, which had the whole management of the revenues, independent of, and unaccountable to, the supreme council, and by concurring in the appointment of persons of infamous characters to offices of the highest trust, had made himself responsible for all the mischiefs that flowed from those acts: that the acts themselves had, from the circumstances attending them, the strongest presumptive proofs that they were in the first intention corrupt, and that this presumption was strongly confirmed by the subsequent conduct of Mr. Hastings, particularly in the case of Mr. Patterson, which he proceeded to relate:

The report, with an immense body of evidence, being transmitted to the committee, instead of giving that credit to Mr. Patterson, which persons acting in a public trust, and under the express orders of government, are entitled to, they received it with great coldness and visible disgust; instead of proceeding to act upon the report, by calling the delinquent to an account, Mr. Patterson

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was converted into a voluntary accuser of Debi Sing, and directed to make good the charges, which he had brought, by evidence upon oath; and finally he was himself accused by Debi Sing (whose boldness increased with the protection he obtained) of falsehood and forgery, and was put as a criminal upon his defence. Under such circumstances, Mr. Patterfon was sent back to that country, in which he had before been received as carrying the whole power of a beneficent government, to see whether, among a ruined, dejected, undone people, he could find constancy enough to stand to their former accusations against the known power of their former oppressor. In the mean time Debi Sing was sent in custody to Calcutta, not upon the charges contained in the report, but for other offences. Here he remained some time a prisoner at large, and at last, a new commission being appointed to proceed to Rumpore, and enquire into the charges against Patterfon, he was sent for by the commissioners, and actually sat with them, whilst Mr. Patterfon was excluded from all their deliberations. Four years had thus passed, during which Mr. Patterfon remained in a state of affliction and continual conflict. Debi Sing remained a prisoner at large, with every mark of protection and authority, and the people of Rumpore, which, said Mr. Burke, is a consideration of much greater importance than Debi Sing, or even than Mr. Patterfon himself, remained totally unredressed, remain so to this day, and will remain so for ever, if your lordships do not redress them.

After some further observations upon the responsibility of Mr. Hastings, as arising from the abolition of the provincial councils, and the

constitution of the new committee of revenue, by which he destroyed every check and controul, and delivered the whole into the hands of his bribe agent, Gunga Govind Sing, he adverted to the defence set up by Mr. Hastings, that these presents were never received for his private emolument, but for the use of the company, and that it was the best method of supplying the necessities of the company in the pressing exigencies of their affairs. With respect to this system of presents, by which bribery was to be made a supplement to exaction, Mr. Burke first observed, that however promising it might appear in theory, it had not answered in practice; and that he should prove, that wherever a bribe had been received, the revenue had always in some proportion, and often in a double proportion, fallen into arrears; and secondly, he called the attention of the court to all those dreadful consequences which attended this clandestine mode of supplying the company's necessities, as it was practised by Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Burke concluded this part of his speech with describing the last parting scene between Mr. Hastings and Gunga Govind Sing; a scene in which he appeared as an accomplice in the most cruel, perfidious, and iniquitous transaction, that, he said, was ever held forth to the indignation of mankind. When Mr. Hastings had quitted his office, and was now embarked upon the Ganges to sail for Europe, he writes a letter to the council, in which he says, "the concern I cannot but feel, in relinquishing the service of my honourable employers would be much embittered, were it accompanied by the reflection, that I have neglected the merits of a man

" who



“ who deserves no less of them than  
 “ of myself, Gunga Govind Sing.”

Upon this singular recommendation, Mr. Burke first observed, that with respect to the circumstances of the person whose merits Mr. Hastings was so fearful of leaving unrewarded, he was notoriously known to have amassed upwards of three millions sterling. With regard to his public services, Mr. Hastings states, that he had served the committee of revenue as dewan from its first institution to that time, with a very short intermission. Of this office, and of his services therein, Mr. Burke said he had already given some account: with respect to the intermission, Mr. Hastings had omitted a material circumstance, namely, that it was occasioned by his having been turned out of his office for a short time, upon proof of speculation and embezzlement of the public money. Other public services, Mr. Hastings had not mentioned any, and the records of the company were equally silent. What his secret services were, was a subject which, however it might leave room for conjectures, was involved in the same silence and obscurity.

From services, Mr. Burke proceeded to consider the reward proposed; and this was, that a grant of certain domains, the property of the young rajah of Dinagapore, from which country Mr. Hastings had received the present of 40,000*l.* should be confirmed to the son of Gunga Govind Sing, through whom that present had been conveyed. The circumstances of this case were briefly as follow. The son of Govind Sing had been appointed registrar of the provinces of Dinagapore, &c. by virtue of which office he had the guardianship of all the temporalities of the rajah,

and the execution of the laws belonging thereto. In this situation, he had obtained a fraudulent grant of a part of the rajah's zemindary to an immense amount, contrary to law, which makes the acts of all minors void, the rajah being at this time but nine years old, and contrary to the custom of the country, by which no zemindar can alienate any part of his territory without the consent of the government under which he holds. To cover this proceeding, the consent of one of the nearest relations of the rajah was procured. Such was the grant which Mr. Hastings, at his parting, recommended to the supreme council for confirmation. He was no sooner gone, than the other relations of the rajah took courage; and applied to the council to stop the grant. They proceed to enquire. The person who had consented for the rajah was brought down to Calcutta, and declared, that he had been induced so to do by the threats of Gunga Govind Sing. Being thus exposed, Gunga Govind gave up the points of custom and law, and appealed to the arbitrary authority of the council. In an address presented to them, he states, that their power in all such cases was unlimited; that they might act in it as they pleased; that they had frequently separated zemindaries from their lawful proprietors, and given them to others, *without right, title, or purchase*; he cites the example of a zemindary given in this way, by Mr. Hastings, to the son of Cantoo Baboo, his banyan, and prays that he may have the same favour shewn to him that had been shewn to others.

After some observations upon this address, in which he shewed, by other instances, that this practice had gone to a very great length indeed, Mr.

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Burke

Burke gave a short account of another transaction of Mr. Hastings, exactly similar in its principles, operation, and consequences, to that of Dinagepore—the settlement of the kingdom of Bahar. Here was the same selection of the most notorious wicked men, the same present taken, the like ruin of the country, and defalcation of the revenue. The pretence was also the same, viz. the increase of the public revenue; but, said Mr. Burke, I hope your lordships will consider this monstrous increase of rent, given by men of desperate fortunes and characters, to be one of the grievances, instead of one of the advantages of this system. For when the limits, which nature, justice, and reason prescribe to all revenue, are transgressed, the consequence, will be, that the worst man of the country will be chosen, as Mr. Hastings has actually chosen the worst, to effectuate this work, because it is impossible for any good men, by any honest means, to provide at once for the exigencies of a severe public exaction, and a private rapacious bribe given to the chief magistrate. He must have profit both upon the revenue to be paid, and the bribe to be given. Oppression, cruel exactions, rack and ruin on the tenant, must be the consequence of that system.—Therefore, says he, I charge Mr. Hastings with having destroyed the whole system of government, which he had no right to destroy, in the six provincial councils, for private purposes.—I charge him with having delegated away that power, which the act of parliament had directed him to preserve unalienably in himself.—I charge him with having formed a committee to be instruments and tools, at the enormous expence of 62,000*l.* per annum.

—I charge him with having appointed a person dewan, to whom these Englishmen were to be subservient tools, whose name, by his own knowledge, by the general voice of India, by recorded official transactions, by every thing that can make a man known, abhorred, and detested, was stamped with infamy; with giving him this whole power, which he had thus separated from the council general, and from the provincial councils.—I charge him with taking bribes of Gunga Govind Sing.—I charge him that he has not done that bribe duty which even fidelity in iniquity requires at the hands of the worst of men.—I charge him with having robbed those people of whom he took the bribes.—I charge him with having alienated the fortunes of widows.—I charge him with having, without right, title, or purchase, taken the lands of orphans, and given them to wicked persons under him.—I charge him with having committed to Debi Sing, whose wickedness was known to himself and all the world, three great provinces, and thereby with having wasted the country, destroyed the landed interest, cruelly harrassed the peasants, burnt their houses, destroyed their crops, tortured and dishonoured their persons, and destroyed the honour of the whole female race of that country.

Mr. Burke then concluded with a short peroration, in which he described the nature of the cause, the crimes, the criminal, the prosecutor, and the court, in all its constituent parts, in a strain of the grandest eloquence. He ended with words to this effect:—therefore it is with confidence ordered by the commons, that I impeach Warren Hastings, esq; of high crimes and misdemeanors;

I impeach

I impeach him in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

I impeach him in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonoured.

I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life.

As soon as the agitation which Mr. Burke's speech produced in the minds of his hearers had a little subsided, Mr. Fox rose, and stated, that he was directed by the committee to submit to their lordships, that it was their intention to proceed to a conclusion, on both sides, upon each article separately; before they opened another; that is, to open and adduce evidence to substantiate one charge at a time, to hear the prisoner's defence and evidence upon that charge, and afterwards to reply; and to proceed in the same manner in all the other articles.

The lord chancellor called upon Mr. Hastings's counsel to know whether this mode would be agreeable to them; and upon their answering in the negative, his lordship addressed himself to the committee, and said, that their lordships would be glad to know the reasons which induced the managers to call upon the court to adopt that mode. Mr. Fox immediately stated, that in a cause of such magnitude, variety, and complexity, the mode proposed appeared

absolutely necessary, and was calculated to prevent confusion and obscurity, to aid their lordships memory, and to enable them to form a more clear and distinct view of the merits of the charge and defence, upon each article, than could possibly be done by any other mode of proceeding. He mentioned the cases of the earls of Strafford and Middlesex, as precedents of the mode contended for by the managers.

The counsel for Mr. Hastings being called upon for their objections, stated, that the mode proposed was contrary to the practice of all courts of justice, and was inconsistent with all principles of equity, as it subjected the defendant to many obvious and most material disadvantages. With respect to the precedents adduced, they contended, that in both cases the proceedings were regulated by mutual consent of the parties.

Mr. Fox replied, and endeavoured to prove that the mode proposed did not subject the defendant to any unfair disadvantages; and, in short, that neither the prosecutors could obtain justice, nor the prisoner have a fair hearing, nor the court discharge its duty, unless the charges were separated, and both parties heard upon each singly. The lords then withdrew to their house, and an order was made that they should be summoned, to take the matter into their consideration, on the Thursday following. Upon that day the lord chancellor left the woolpack, and, after pronouncing a fine eulogium upon the speech made by Mr. Burke in opening the impeachment, declared, that if the crimes charged upon the defendant could be brought home to him by proof, no punishment their lordships could inflict would be adequate to his guilt. Their lordships

all knew the effect which the description of them had had upon his auditors, many of whom had not, to this moment, and perhaps never would, recover from the shock which they felt at the relation. But, in proportion as he was ready exemplarily to punish Mr. Hastings, if he really was guilty, he thought it right to pursue the most equitable methods of ascertaining his guilt, or of clearing his innocence. What the counsel of Mr. Hastings claimed, was no indulgence, but a right. His imagination could not go to any other possible mode of defending Mr. Hastings, than that which his counsel had proposed, namely, that the managers should complete the whole of their case, before Mr. Hastings said a word in his defence. If the articles were totally unconnected with one another, Mr. Hastings could not, with any regard to his own case, say a word till the prosecution was closed; but the fact undoubtedly was, that the articles were so intimately blended, that he defied any man living to separate them. They comprize the whole of Mr. Hastings's government for a long series of years, and the merits or demerits of particular parts might depend upon the various relations they bore to each other. The right honourable manager had very properly opened the charges upon this idea, and he could not see for what reason they now wished to abandon it. The defendant must necessarily wait until the criminal matter, so opened, was put into such shape, that he could fairly meet it, and reply to it. He concluded with declaring, that, as he was bound in conscience to protect Mr. Hastings if innocent, and to punish him

severely if guilty, he never could consent to a mode of procedure, unfair to the defendant in the highest degree, and contrary to the fundamental principles of justice.

The chancellor was supported by the duke of Richmond, who argued chiefly upon the practice of the courts below, which he contended were founded upon principles of equity, and upon the presumption adopted by our laws, of the innocence of the person accused before his conviction.

Lord Loughborough replied at great length to the chancellor. He denied that all the charges were so inseparably connected as to render it unsafe for the defendant to answer them in the mode proposed. He instanced that of Benares, which contained fundry criminal allegations, totally unconnected with the other articles, and contended that there could not be the smallest objection to their considering that article separately and distinctly from the others. Whether the same rule would apply to the other articles, might be a matter of future consideration. He declared that it was impossible for their lordships to adopt the mode wished for by Mr. Hastings, without absolutely disabling themselves from doing substantial justice. He contended, that the analogy between the present case, and that of indictments and informations, was not conclusive. He explained the grounds upon which the equity of the forms for regulating trials by jury rested, and proved that they were not applicable to the proceedings of the courts of parliament, which he contended were not to be shackled down by the rules of the courts below, but had a right to consult



consult their own convenience, so far as that was consulted with the view to the clearer comprehension of the case, and did not violate the substantial rules of justice.

He then moved, to agree with the proposition, as stated by the managers for the commons.

Lord Stormont, in reply to lord Loughborough, declared, that, after the fullest consideration he had been able to give the case, he had not a doubt left on his mind as to the impropriety of the mode proposed by the managers to that house. It was, in his opinion, overturning every precedent that house had before adopted, and depriving Mr. Hastings of a privilege he had a right to demand; depriving him of a right, which the immutable and eternal laws of justice gave him, to make choice of that mode of defence best calculated to the nature of the charges alledged against him, and the peculiar situation in which he stands. No rank, no character in that house, however eminent, or however innocent, but might be an object, at some future period, of an impeachment; might be placed in the critical situation in which Mr. Hastings then stood. He therefore warned them to be cautious in adopting a mode of proceeding, by which they not only bound themselves, but posterity. The decision of that night would be handed down as an invariable rule in future; and he therefore again warned their lordships to be cautious in that decision.

Lord Grantley followed lord Stormont, and supported the practice of the courts below, as applicable to the present case, against the objections of lord Loughborough. After which the chancellor again

left the woofsack, and declared that he had not heard any solid argument, to induce him to assent to the extraordinary proposition which had been made. It was the duty, he said, of a judge to do justice, without any consideration of convenience, and to do justice according to the laws of England. With respect to the law and usage of parliament, of which he had heard so much, the chancellor utterly disclaimed all knowledge of such law. It had no existence. In times of barbarism, indeed, when to impeach a man was ruin to him by the strong hand of power, by tumult, or by faction, the law and usage of parliament were quoted in order to justify the most iniquitous and atrocious acts. But in these enlightened days he hoped that no man would be tried but by the law of the land, which was admirably calculated to protect innocence and to punish guilt. But, if we talk of the law and usage of parliament, and are bound by it, what injustice shall we not commit? If we go back into our history, we find that counsel was not allowed in an impeachment for misdemeanors. There was not a single impeachment, during the last century, in which there were not the strongest marks of tyranny, injustice, and oppression; and even the impeachment of Sacheverel, in the present century, contained an instance of injustice, which he trusted never would happen again; when the house of lords determined upon a point of law contrary to the unanimous opinion of the judges. In the present impeachment, he trusted their lordships would not depart from the known, established laws of the land. The commons might impeach, their lordships were to try the

the cause; and the same rules of evidence, the same attention to the laws, which obtained in the courts below, would, he was confident, be preserved by their lordships.

The duke of Norfolk defended with great ability the proposition of the managers; and particularly insisted upon the argument, that, as the commons possessed the right of bringing up each article as a separate impeachment, or fresh articles arising out of the defence, if they thought proper, they had virtually the power of compelling the house to adopt the proposition they had made, and that it was therefore more decent and manly to accede to it in the first instance.

The house then divided, and there appeared, contents 33; not contents 88.

A protest was entered against this determination, which the reader will find amongst the State Papers.

Dec. 17th. On Friday the 17th, being the seventh day of the trial, as soon as the peers had taken their seats in the hall, the lord chancellor informed the managers, that they were to produce the whole of their charges, with the evidence in support of each, before the prisoner should be called upon for his defence. The managers hereupon retired for a short time, and being returned, Mr. Fox addressed the court, and said, that the managers, though they greatly regretted the decision which had just been communicated to them, were still determined to proceed, having too much confidence in the justice of their cause to shrink from any difficulty. He was however directed by the committee to assert, what the inaccuracy of their lordships order might leave room for doubting, the un-

doubted right of the commons to bring up new articles of impeachment at any time; whilst the prisoner was making his defence, or even when that defence was concluded; and that such articles should be allowed to form a part of the prosecution. He hoped that it was not intended in any manner to object to this privilege; and, after pausing here a short time for a reply, he proceeded to make some general observations, first, upon trials by impeachment, which he considered as a distinguishing feature of the British constitution, and upon the *law and usage of parliament*, which he warmly contended, in opposition to opinions held elsewhere, was one of the most important and valuable branches of the law of the land; and secondly, upon the peculiar circumstances of the impeachment they were then proceeding upon—an impeachment, which, he said, did not originate, as had usually happened, from the violence of power, from sudden resentment, nor from party interests, but had been the result of several years deliberation; was brought forward by persons weak in point of influence and authority in the house, and had finally united the most adverse parties, who forgot all former animosities in adverting to justice; who had nobly laid aside the contests for power, to attend to the cause of humanity, and had turned those arms, which they had wielded so ably to mutual annoyance, against the common enemy of truth, justice, and honour.

After an exordium to this purpose, Mr. Fox, in a speech which lasted five hours, opened the Benares charge, down to the expulsion of the rajah Cheit Sing; and the next day of sitting, Mr. Grey resumed  
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the subject, and enforced the remaining part of the charge. Evidence on the part of the commons was then produced at the bar, under the directions of Mr. Anstruther; and the four following days were taken up in reading papers and examining witnesses. Several objections, made by the counsel for the defendant, to certain parts of the evidence, were over-ruled by the court; but on the eleventh day, a Mr. Benn having answered a particular question in the negative, Mr. Anstruther asked him, Whether, when examined before the house of commons, he had not answered the same question in the affirmative? This question was objected to, and the lords immediately adjourned to their house, where a difference of opinion arising, their decision was not announced till the next day of sitting. The lord chancellor then informed the managers, that their lordships had determined, that it was not competent to the committee to put the question objected to. The managers immediately retired, and, upon their return, Mr. Fox addressed the court, and said, that he was directed to acquaint them, that the managers in acquiescing in the decision of the court (which they were induced to do, from a desire of preventing delay, and because the question was of no material consequence to the cause) had instructed him to express their direct and positive dissent from the principle upon which it was made. At the same time, they could not help expressing also their surprize, that their lordships, who in the outset had manifested a disposition to be governed and directed in their proceedings by the practice of the courts below, should in this particular instance think it necessary to de-

part from the known, constant, and uniform practice of every court of law in the kingdom.—The evidence being at length concluded, Mr. Anstruther concluded on the part of the commons; by summing up and observing upon the whole.

On the 15th of April, the fourteenth day of the trial, Mr. Adam opened the second charge, relative to the princesses of Oude; and on the fifteenth, Mr. Pelham resumed the same subject, in refutation of the defence delivered in by Mr. Hastings. The sixteen following days were taken up in reading and examining evidence; and on the thirty-second day of the trial (Tuesday, June the third) Mr. Sheridan began to sum up the evidence, and to apply it in proof of the charge. His speech, which was delivered to an uncommonly crowded audience, was continued the two following days; and on Friday, the fifteenth of June, being the thirty-fifth day of sitting, the court adjourned to the first Tuesday after the next meeting of parliament.

During the progress of the trial, a motion was made in the house of commons, "That an account of the monies issued from the Exchequer, for the discharge of the expences incurred in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, should be laid before the house." This motion was made by Mr. Burgess, member for Helstone, and was but slightly objected to by the managers, who said, that they considered it merely as an attempt made by the friends of Mr. Hastings, to vex and impede the committee in the prosecution of the laborious and important duty imposed upon them.

On the 9th of May, the account having previously been laid upon the

the table (which, exclusive of the building erected in Westminster Hall, amounted to 4,300*l*.) Mr. Burgess again rose, and observed, that the account delivered in from the treasury not affording the house the information he desired, respecting the manner in which the sums issued were expended, he should now move that the solicitors to the impeachment should lay before the house, a particular account of the expenditure of the sums advanced. This motion was supported by the chancellor of the exchequer, whose conduct on this occasion was resented with some warmth by the managers, as tending to discountenance, by invidious insinuations, a measure in which he had himself concurred. The motion passed without opposition, and the accounts were presented the next day to the house by Mr. Burke. No further notice was taken of this business till the 20th of May; but, various reports having been industriously spread out of doors, that exorbitant fees were given to the counsel of the prosecution; that expensive entertainments were provided for the managers at the public expence; and others of the like nature; Mr. Burgess was called upon by the managers to proceed in the enquiry he had instituted. He accordingly rose and observed, that the account produced was still too general for the purpose of affording the information he expected; and he should therefore move, "That the solicitors should give in an account, stating specifically to whom, and on what account, the several sums expended had been paid." He was seconded by sir William Dolben. The managers declared, that, as far as regarded themselves, they had not

the smallest objection to every minute item of the charges incurred by the prosecution being made as public as possible, but there were grounds of argument extremely forcible, and extremely obvious, that would prove the present motion to be in the highest degree improper and unwise. The house had solemnly determined, that Mr. Hastings should be impeached, they had appointed a committee of managers, and armed them with a variety of powers, above all, directing them to act as a secret committee; and now, in the progress of that very proceeding, was the house about to demand a public disclosure of all the private grounds of their conduct. Such a measure was unprecedented, and in no great public prosecution had ever been attempted or dreamt of. With regard to the charges already incurred, they asserted, that they were remarkably moderate; that the fees paid to their counsel were shamefully inadequate to the services performed; and that, so far from any unnecessary expence having been gone into, they were persuaded much use might have resulted from still greater expences, had the committee thought the circumstances, that characterised the prosecution, such as would have rendered it prudent in them to have incurred greater expences. They adverted to the particular temper and sentiments of the house in regard to the prosecution, and remarked, that it behoved them to act with extreme caution, and to take care so to conduct themselves, as not to give just cause of offence, or of solid objection, to any of the parties which it was well known subsisted in the house. This had been their rule, and had it not rigidly been adhered to, much larger expences



expences might have been incurred, and incurred usefully to the prosecution. Secret services, for instance, might have made a large head of expence; and, if gentlemen gave themselves time for reflection, they would see, that in a prosecution of the nature of that in question, there might be much occasion for secret services. After all, it was observed, the managers had in reality little to do with the object of the motion. For the services ordered, they were, undoubtedly, responsible; but not for the application of the money issued in consequence. To superintend that, belonged to the lords of the treasury, who alone were responsible for it. And they believed it would be impossible to find a precedent, where a committee of managers of a public prosecution, carried on by the orders of that house, were expected to execute the office of clerks, and examine and check their solicitors bills.

Mr. Sheridan humorously remarked, that if the house chose, they might resolve that no counsel should, in future, be allowed the managers; if so, it would be necessary for them to move, that the attorney and solicitor general, together with the master of the rolls, be added to the committee of managers. Or, if the house thought proper, they might resolve, that the managers should pay the expences of counsel themselves. In that case, he hoped the house would have the goodness to add Sir Sampson Gideon to the committee.

Mr. Pitt again supported the motion, and declared, he thought it right that the house should have the account moved for, because, if they should be of opinion that any of the

services ordered already were unnecessary, they would have it in their power to direct that no more such services should take place in future, and that power, the house would see, rested with themselves only; and could not be exercised by the board of treasury. With respect to the charges already incurred, he was far from meaning to suggest that any unnecessary services had been ordered, or that any expence could be too great, that was really likely to conduce to the object in question. The house then divided, ayes 60, noes 19; the managers having withdrawn without dividing.

The papers being accordingly laid upon the table, Mr. Burgess was again called upon, on the 30th of May, to state his objections to the house, if any still remained upon his mind. He answered, that, in his opinion, he had sufficiently done his duty in calling for the papers. They were now before the house, and an opportunity was open to every gentleman to form his sentiments upon the subject. What his doubts were, he imagined, must suggest themselves to every gentleman who read the accounts, and therefore he left to persons, who had more weight and authority in that house than he had, to take the matter up; but if no other person should, and the house should call upon him to bring the subject forward, he was ready to obey their commands.

Upon this it was observed, that the way, in which the matter had been treated, was a little extraordinary. The honourable gentleman had expressed doubts upon one of the heads of the general account; but had alledged he could not say whether those doubts were well founded

or not, before he saw a more particular statement of the items of the accounts; that particular statement had now been presented some days, and the honourable gentleman had now declared, he still entertained his doubts, but that he left it to other gentlemen to move the discussion. The honourable gentleman should either act upon his doubts, or get some other gentleman to take his doubts up for him, and act upon them. From what had already passed in that house upon the subject, the matter ought not to drop without a farther investigation.

Mr. Burgefs then gave notice, that he should make a motion on the subject the Friday following.

Upon that day he stated to the house the following doubts, which he entertained upon the subject; a doubt whether the house had authorized the managers to employ counsel; a doubt whether there was any precedent for their employing counsel; and, in case the house had not authorized them to employ counsel, and that there was no precedent for it, a doubt whether there was any peculiar circumstance of difficulty, in the nature of the present prosecution, that made the assistance of counsel necessary? After which he adverted to some inaccuracies in the account itself, and concluded with moving, that the solicitors should from time to time present an account of the expences incurred at the bar of the house.

The managers observed, in reply, that though no precedent should be found for employing counsel in an impeachment, on the part of the commons, yet that the present was a singular case, in which the managers were left without the advice and assistance of the great crown

officers of the law; and that, though they had the utmost confidence in the legal knowledge of several of their own committee, yet they did not chuse, in a cause of such magnitude and importance, for the proper management of which they were responsible, to proceed without the sanction of persons learned in the profession. And, Mr. Pitt having expressed a doubt respecting the necessity of employing two civilians, it was answered, that the nature of the cause rendered their assistance peculiarly necessary; and that one of the gentlemen employed was most eminently useful, not because he excelled the other in ability, assiduity, or professional skill, but for his deep and perfect knowledge of the subject. With respect to any supposed errors in the accounts, it was proposed that the solicitors should be called to the bar and examined respecting them; but, after a short conversation, the previous question was moved, and carried without a division:

The proceedings of the house of commons upon the impeachment of sir Elijah Impey, commenced early in the present session of parliament. On the 12th of December, sir Gilbert Elliot presented to the house six articles, containing charges of various high crimes and misdemeanors, upon which he had before signified his intention of moving for the impeachment of sir Elijah Impey. Upon this occasion, sir Gilbert Elliot addressed the house in a speech of considerable length, which in the style of persuasive eloquence was perhaps never exceeded in either house of parliament. He began by exculpating himself from the imputations which usually attach to the office of an accuser, that

he was actuated by a natural malevolence of temper, by personal resentments or interests, by the spirit and passions of party. With respect to the last, he stated, that sir Elijah Impey had been declared a public culprit by the voice of parliament itself, before the parties, into which that house was at present divided, had an existence; and that the proceedings in which this accusation originated, had been carried on by persons of all descriptions, and were countenanced by every one of the administrations which had succeeded each other in the course of the last six years: that accordingly he had the satisfaction to receive from all quarters, from persons of all persuasions and connections, the most direct approbation of the measure he was going to propose.

Having gone through these prefatory matters, and congratulated the house upon the proofs they had given, that the grievances of India were not only fit objects of their inquiries, but that their redress was the best object of their power, he adverted to certain principles, which, for obvious ends, had been industriously disseminated abroad, and had even been maintained in that house:—that *India was indeed oppressed, but that it was accustomed to oppression; and that it must be oppressed or abandoned.*” These scandalous positions sir Gilbert warmly controverted; and laid down, in opposition to them, what he thought nature and experience warranted him to affirm—*that India must be redressed or lost.* This topic led him to speak of the exertions that had been lately made in the house of commons, and particularly of the merits of Mr. Burke, in a style of the most elegant panegyric.

It is impossible, he said, to look back without exultation and joy on the variety, as well as the degree of ability, which this house has furnished to this great work, and which in some instances has so far outstripped all former examples of genius and of eloquence, so far surpassed the bounds, till that occasion, known or even imagined, of the human faculties and mind, that one could almost believe, some favouring and approving power were furnishing means proportioned, adequate to, worthy of, the noble purpose. The house will, I know, forgive me, for this tribute to the talents and the virtues of my country; but I can hardly think I should be forgiven, if, in the general admiration of so much excellence, I did not yet select from the rest, one singular individual, whom the few, qualified by nature for a general competition with his genius and his virtues, will yet, I know, be foremost to applaud me for placing, first, and alone, in this generous labour, the author, the founder, the animating spirit, the vital principle of this reform. I need not, Sir, name him, whom we have seen for years devote the noblest talents, genius more than human, the profoundest wisdom, the most exhaustless labour—Him, whom we have seen for years, sacrifice the charms of private life, the lures of fortune, the aims of ambition—whom we have seen provoking, nay, courting the dangerous and implacable enmities of wealth and greatness; enduring patiently the scoff of a corrupt and vulgar public; nay struggling with that which must have broken all other spirits, sustained by a weaker principle, or a meaner view, struggling with the dulness and the apathy even of the  
virtue

virtue of this age. Need I name him who has acted this great part under our eyes, in one uniform, one only, one simple, but grand pursuit, the happiness of mankind. Thanks then to him, thanks to this house which has not disdained to listen to his voice; which has received from him, and has at length put into the hands of Britain, the clue both of its duty and of its interests.

Sir Gilbert Elliot then laid down a second principle, viz. *that the only means left of reforming Indian abuse, was the punishment, in some great and signal instances, of Indian delinquency.* This proposition he endeavoured to establish with great ingenuity, by comparing the different force and efficacy of laws, as arising from their penal sanctions, when applied in our own internal administration, and in the government of distant possessions. At home, where government had in sight, and was in contact with the governed, their execution was easy and certain; but in our remote dominions, we had to labour with all the difficulties that absence, distance, ignorance could oppose. Against this evil no perfect remedy could be found, as experience had fully proved. Every resource of legislative regulation had been exhausted in vain: no device had been left untried, except the simple expedient of distributing reward to merit, and pains to guilt: the exemplary punishment of detected crimes was the only means left of convincing our distant subjects, that though distance might delay, it could not finally avert the cognizance and penalties of justice.

Having established this general principle, that the punishment of Indian delinquency was a necessary part of any system for the redress of that

country, sir Gilbert proceeded to the immediate objects of his charge. He began by stating the nature, the occasion, and the purposes of the commission under which sir Elijah Impey was sent out to India, as involving circumstances which were strong aggravations of his guilt, and added infinitely to the necessity of its punishment. He shewed, that in the two grand objects which were committed to his charge, the protection of the company from the frauds of its servants, and of the natives from the oppression of Europeans, he had, by corruptly changing sides, added his new powers to the very force they were intended to controul, and taken an active part in the oppressions which it was his duty to have avenged. Sir Gilbert here took occasion, in an animated address to the gentlemen of the law, to which body he had once belonged, to call upon them to reclaim the forfeited reputation of their profession, and to throw off from the nation and themselves the guilt of an individual, by bringing him to punishment for crimes which he had committed in their name.

After he had discussed these several topics, sir Gilbert acquainted the house, that he had prepared and reduced into writing the several distinct articles of accusation, which he should immediately present to the house, and move to have them read.

The first related to the trial and execution of the *Maha Rajah Nund-comar*.

The second, to the conduct of sir Elijah Impey in a cause commonly known by the name of the *Patna cause*.

The third is entitled, *Extension of jurisdiction*, and comprehends various instances, in which the jurisdiction



tion of the court was extended illegally and oppressively, both as to persons and subject matter, beyond the intention of the act and charter.

The fourth charge is entitled, *The Cossijurah cause*, and belongs also to the class of offence contained in the third charge, being another instance of illegal extensions of jurisdiction; but it was distinguished by such circumstances of peculiar violence, and led to consequences so important, as to become properly the subject of a separate article.

The fifth charge is for his acceptance of the office of *judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut*, which was contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the act and charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes.

The sixth and last charge relates to his conduct in the provinces of *Oude and Benares*, where the chief justice became the agent and tool of Mr. Hastings in the oppression and plunder of the Begums.

Such are the charges, said Sir Gilbert Elliot, which I have thought it my duty to present at this time to the house. I will venture to say, that there never was an accusation which became better recommended to your enquiry and investigation; and it is matter of the most substantial comfort to my mind, that in accusing a fellow-citizen of crimes so atrocious, I do not trust to my own vain imagination and opinion, but am prompted in every line by the previous judgment of this house of parliament, and of every authoritative body by whom the transactions were cognizable.

The conduct of the supreme court, and especially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint and accusation in India from

the first months of its institution. He was accused, by a majority of the supreme council, of one of the most atrocious offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the subject of the *first charge*. Parliament judged it proper, on the report, made by the select committee, of the *Patna cause*, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment, by delivering the defendants from its consequences, and ordering an indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained under it. Parliament has not only granted the indemnity desired by the members of council, for resisting the acts of the supreme court, but has expressly abridged that court of the extravagant and oppressive, as well as mischievous jurisdiction claimed in the instances comprised in my *third charge*; and these were similar, though somewhat inferior to the pretensions which produced the singular occurrences in the *Cossijurah cause*, detailed in the *fourth charge*. The house recalled sir Elijah Impey from his office of chief justice, expressly for having accepted that of judge of the *Sudder Dewannee Adaulut*, which is the subject of the *fifth charge*. And Mr. Hastings was at that moment under the prosecution of this house, by impeachment before the lords, for the very crime, in which the *sixth charge* accuses sir Elijah Impey as accessory.

Sir Gilbert Elliot concluded his speech with an animated recapitulation of the nature of the crimes which he brought in charge, of the duties of the body before whom he brought them, and of the peculiar circumstances of the persons suffering, and of the person by whom they were oppressed.

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The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk, in short, *pro forma*; after which, sir Gilbert moved that they should be referred to a committee. This was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who suggested that the charges ought in the first place to be printed, and then referred to a committee of the whole house. This mode of proceeding was afterwards adopted, and the 4th Feb. 4th. of February was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was presented from sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in answer to the charges which had been exhibited against him. He was accordingly called to the bar; and after he had been heard for a considerable time, in answer to the first article, the committee was adjourned to the Thursday following. —As the limits of this work do not admit of our entering into a detail of the facts and arguments that were urged either in the accusation or in the defence, we must be content with barely stating the proceedings of the house, together with such matters as were accidentally connected with them.

As soon as sir Elijah had withdrawn, a question arose relative to his delivering in a copy of his defence to be laid upon the table. Being again called in, he was asked if he had written minutes of what he had said, and whether he was desirous of delivering them to the house? His answer, which was in the negative, drew some observations from Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox; who remarked upon the want of fairness and candour in such a refusal, and upon the obvious inconvenience to which it would subject the house. The next day upon which

the committee sat, before sir Elijah Impey was called in, Mr. Francis rose to take notice of a serious charge, which sir Elijah had brought against him on the former day. He had declared, that he was in possession of a paper, purporting to be the petition of Nundcomar against the judges of the supreme court, which was presented to the council before his execution, and which Mr. Francis had concurred with the rest of the council, in declaring a false libel, and in ordering it to be burnt, the entries of it to be expunged, and the translations destroyed. Mr. Francis, in order to defend himself against this charge, moved, that sir Elijah Impey should be required to deliver the paper to the house. This motion was strongly objected to by the chancellor of the exchequer, the solicitor-general, the master of the rolls, and other gentlemen of the robe; and supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. At length it was thus amended; "that the speaker should ask sir Elijah Impey, if he had any objections to produce the paper in question." Sir Elijah being called in, answered, that he had no objection. Being then ordered to proceed in his defence, he begged leave to claim the protection of the house against a variety of libellous public prints, which were daily circulated to injure him. He was directed to produce those libels the day following; when, upon the motion of Mr. Grenville, they were declared to be "scandalous and seditious libels upon the house, and tending to prejudice the minds of the public against an accused individual;" and an address was presented to the king, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the publishers thereof. After

a short

a short debate, in which several members opposed the mode of prosecution, as tending to bring the privileges of the house before the courts below, and recommended it to the house to take the punishment into their own hands, the motion passed by a large majority.

Sir Elijah Impey then proceeded in his defence, and, having gone through the first article, he begged leave to submit to the house, that his mind had been so strongly affected, and even his health so much impaired, by the anxiety and horror he had felt at being charged with having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he feared he should be unequal to the exertion of entering into his defence against the other articles, before he was acquitted of the first. That the rest he considered as so light in comparison of this, that he had scarce any objection to their going, without further discussion, to the lords, if this were decided against him. To this request sir Gilbert Elliot expressed his consent.—On the 11th of February, and the two following days on which the committee sat, Mr. Farrer, a member of the house, and who acted as counsel to Nundcomar upon his trial at Calcutta, was examined in his place. Much debate arose in the course of his evidence, (which was not given in the way of question and answer, but in a continued narrative),

upon points of order; in which the gentlemen of the robe strenuously contended for the technical precision of legal forms, and were generally opposed with success by Mr. Fox, upon the ground of their being inapplicable to the kind of proceeding in which they were then engaged. On the 20th, Mr. Reus, another member, was also examined in his place.

On the 27th of February, Mr. Francis made his defence to the committee against the charge before mentioned, which sir Elijah Impey had brought against him. After acknowledging the fact, and explaining the motives upon which he at that time acted, he reminded the committee that this transaction had passed in the secret department of government; that the information possessed by sir Elijah was therefore a positive proof of collusion between him and Mr. Hastings, who had evidently betrayed his colleagues and his trust to the chief justice.

On the 28th of April, all the evidence being gone through, sir Gilbert Elliot began his reply \* to the answer of sir Elijah Impey. After a speech of considerable length the committee was adjourned to the 7th of May, when sir Gilbert resumed his reply, and finished it on the 9th, which was the next day of sitting.

The defence of sir Elijah was under-

\* Sir Gilbert Elliot, towards the conclusion of his speech, read the following account of the execution of Nundcomar, written by the sheriff who attended on the occasion.—“Hearing that some persons had supposed Mahrajah Nundcomar would make an address to the people at his execution, I have committed to writing the following minutes of what passed both on that occasion, and also upon my paying him a visit in prison the preceding evening, while both are fresh in my remembrance.

“Friday evening, the 4th of August, upon my entering his apartments in the jail, he arose and saluted me in his usual manner: after we were both seated, he

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undertaken by sir Richard Sutton, who was supported by Mr. D. Pul-teney, the solicitor and attorney general, and the chancellor of the ex-  
chequer. The motion was supported by Mr. Fox, colonel Fullerton, and Mr. Burke; and, upon a division, there appeared, ayes 55, noes 73.

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“ spoke with great ease, and such seeming unconcern, that I really doubted whether he was sensible of his approaching fate. I therefore bid the interpreter inform him, that I was come to shew him this last mark of respect, and to assure him that every attention should be given, the next morning, which could afford him comfort on so melancholy an occasion; that I was deeply concerned that the duties of my office made me of necessity a party in it; but that I would attend to the last, to see that every desire that he had should be gratified; that his own palanquin, and his own servants should attend him, and that such of his friends, who I understood were to be present, should be protected. He replied that he was obliged to me for this visit, that he thanked me for all my favours, and intreated me to continue it to his family; that fate was not to be resisted, and put his finger to his forehead—‘ God’s will must be done.’ He desired I would present his respects and compliments to the general, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, and pray for their protection of rajah Gourdas; that they would please to look upon him now as the head of the bramins. His composure was wonderful; not a sigh escaped him; nor the smallest alteration of voice or countenance, though I understood he had, not many hours before, taken a solemn leave of his son-in-law, Roy Radicum. I found myself so much second to him in firmness, that I could stay no longer. Going down stairs, the jailor informed me, that since the departure of his friends, he had been writing notes, and looking at accounts in his usual way. I began now to apprehend that he had taken his resolution, and fully expected that he would be found dead in the morning; but on Saturday the 5th, at seven, I was informed that every thing was in readiness at the jail for the execution. I came here about half an hour past seven. The howlings and lamentations of the poor wretched people who were taking their last leave of him are not to be described. I have hardly recovered the first shock, while I write this, above three hours afterwards. As soon as he heard I was arrived, he came down into the yard, and joined me in the jailor’s apartment. There was no lingering about him, no affected delay. He came cheerfully into the room, made the usual salaam, but would not sit till I took a chair near him. Seeing somebody look at a watch, he got up, and said he was ready; and immediately turning to three bramins, who were to attend, and take care of his body, he embraced them all closely; but without the least mark of melancholy or depression on his part, while they were in agonies of grief and despair. I then looked at my own watch, told him the hour I had mentioned was not arrived, that it wanted above a quarter of eight, but that I should wait his own time, and that I would not rise from my seat without a motion from him. Upon its being recommended to him, that at the place of execution he would give some signal when he had done with this world, he said he would speak. We sat about a quarter of an hour longer, during which he addressed himself more than once to me; mentioned rajah Gourdas, the general, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, but without any seeming anxiety: the rest of the time, I believe, he passed in prayer; his lips and tongue moving, and his beads hanging upon his hand. He then looked to me and arose, spoke to some of the servants of the jail, telling them that any thing he might have omitted, rajah Gourdas would take care of; then walked cheerfully to the gate, and seated himself in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern.

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On the 27th of May, the day appointed for the committee to sit again, upon the usual motion that the speaker do now leave the chair, the same was opposed by the attorney general, on the ground that the next article,

“ As the deputy sheriff and I followed, we could make no observation upon his deportment, till we all arrived at the place of execution: The crowd there was very great, but not the least appearance of a riot. The rajah sat in his palanquin upon the bearers shoulders, and looked around at first with some attention. I did not observe the smallest discomposure in his countenance or manner at the sight of the gallows, or any of the ceremonies passing about it. He asked for the bramins, who were not come, and shewed some earnestness, as if he apprehended the execution might take place before their arrival. I took that opportunity of assuring him, I would wait his own time, ‘ it was early in the day, and there was no hurry ;’ the bramins soon after appearing, I offered to remove the officers, thinking that he might have something to say in private, but he made a motion not to do it, and said, he had only a few words to remind them of what he had said concerning rajah Gourdas, and the care of his zenana. He spoke to me, and desired that the men might be taken care of, as they were to take charge of his body, which he desired repeatedly might not be touched by any of the by-standers ; but he seemed not in the least alarmed or discomposed at the crowd around him. There was some delay in the necessary preparations, and from the awkwardness of the people : he was no way desirous of protracting the business, but repeatedly told me he was ready. Upon my asking him if he had any more friends he wished to see, he answered he had many, but this was not a place nor an occasion to look for them. Did he apprehend there might be any present, who could not get up for the crowd ? He mentioned one, whose name was called ; but he immediately said, ‘ it was of no consequence, probably he had not come.’ He then desired me to remember him to general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, and looked with the greatest composure. When he was not engaged in conversation, he lay back in the palanquin, moving his lips and tongue as before. I then caused him to be asked about the signal he was to make, which could not be done by speaking, on account of the noise of the crowd. He said he would make a motion with his hand ; and when it was represented to him, that it would be necessary for his hands to be tied, in order to prevent any involuntary motion, and I recommended his making a motion with his foot, he said he would. Nothing now remained except the last painful ceremony. I ordered his palanquin to be brought close under the gallows, but he chose to walk, which he did more erect than I have generally seen him. At the foot of the steps which led to the stage, he put his hands behind him to be tied with a handkerchief, looking around at the same time, with the utmost unconcern ; some difficulties arising about the cloth which should be tied over his face, he told the people that it must not be done by one of us. I presented to him a subaltern sepoy officer, who is a bramin, and came forward with his handkerchief in his hand, but the rajah pointed to a servant of his own, who was laying prostrate at his feet, and beckoned him to do it. He had some weakness in his feet, which, added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the steps with difficulty. But he shewed not the least reluctance, scrambling rather forward to get up. He then stood erect on the stage, while I examined his countenance as steadfastly as I could, till the cloth covered it, to see if I could observe the smallest symptom of fear or alarm, but there was not a trace of it. My own spirits sunk, and I slept into my palanquin ; but before I was well seated, he

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article, of the Patna cause, was at that time depending, and likely to come speedily to a hearing before the privy council. After a short conversation, the motion was negatived, and the further consideration of the charges put off for three months.

“ had given the signal, and the stage was removed. I could observe, when I was a little recovered, that his arms lay back in the same position, in which I saw them first tied, nor could I perceive any contortion of that side of his mouth and face which was visible. In a word, his steadiness, composure, and resolution throughout the whole of this melancholy transaction, were equal to any examples of fortitude I have ever read or heard of. The body was taken down after hanging the usual time, and delivered to the bramins, for burning.”

While this tragedy, said sir Gilbert, was acting, the surrounding multitudes were agitated with grief, fear, and suspense. With a kind of superstitious incredulity, they could not believe that it was really intended to put the rajah to death; but when they saw him tied up, and the scaffold drop from under him, they set up an universal yell, and, with the most piercing cries of horror and dismay, betook themselves to flight, running many of them as far as the Ganges, and plunging into the water, as if to hide themselves from such tyranny as they had witnessed, or to wash away the pollution contracted from viewing such a spectacle.

## C H A P. VIII.

Some observations on the probable, as well as ostensible causes and motives; which induced Denmark to take part with Russia in the war against Sweden. Great attention paid by the King of Sweden, to remove all traces of the jealousy, which some acts at the commencement of his reign had excited on the side of Denmark; and to renew and cement the greatest friendship between both kingdoms. His unexpected visit at Copenhagen, near the close of the year 1787. Fails in his endeavours to render that court a convert to his political opinions, and a party in his designs. Farther applications of the King to Prince Charles of Hesse, and to the Prince Royal of Denmark, upon their arrival in Norway, prove equally inefficacious. Notice given by the court of Copenhagen to the foreign ministers (while the King of Sweden was conducting the campaign in Finland) of her determination to supply Russia with a considerable auxiliary force. Hasty return of the King from Finland. Critical and dangerous state of his affairs. Mutinous army in Finland send a deputation to Petersburg, after the King's departure, and without his consent, to conclude an armistice with the Empress. Sudden arrival of the King at Stockholm, prevents the measures pursued by the senate, for convening a diet, from taking effect. Enthusiasm of the citizens, upon the King's entrusting the defence of the capital, and the protection of the court, to their courage and loyalty. Memorial to the court of Copenhagen. Answer by Count Bernstorff. Fortunate event for the King, that the newly-allied Powers of England, Prussia, and Holland, were not disposed to suffer Sweden to be crushed by a combination of hostile power. King indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for resisting his new enemy. Proceeds to Dalecarlia, and obtains an aid of 3,000 volunteers from that brave people. Prince Charles of Hesse invades Sweden on the side of Norway, at the head of a body of 12,000 auxiliaries. Takes Stromstadt, Uddewalla, and other places. Surrounds a small body of Swedish forces under Col. Tranefield, who, after a slight engagement, are forced to surrender prisoners of war. Advances towards Gottenburgh. Governor of that place summons a meeting of the inhabitants, at which it is agreed upon to surrender. King arrives unexpectedly, displaces the Governor, and brings the inhabitants to a determination to defend the city, at all risks, to the last extremity. That place still in great danger, and the King's situation very critical, when the timely and happy intervention of the mediating Powers prevents the dreaded effects. Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Copenhagen, passes over to Sweden, as delegate from the allied Powers, and by his zeal and ability procures an armistice for eight days. Mr. Elliot is joined by the Baron de Borcke, minister from the King of Prussia. Second armistice passed for a month; and a third, after many difficulties, for six months. Danish army withdraws into Norway.

THESE seems no small reason for supposing, although it could not be ostensibly avowed, that,

notwithstanding the near ties of blood and affinity between the royal houses of the two northern kingdoms, yet,

yet, that the court of Copenhagen was little less disposed to wish for and to accelerate a revolution in the government of Sweden, than even that of Petersburg: although it was easily seen, (the king's temper and character considered) that such a measure could not be accomplished, without the most imminent danger to his person, and a great hazard of very ruinous consequences to his family.

This disposition, however, is not entirely, nor perhaps in any great degree, to be attributed to that inveterate animosity, which for several ages has been so deeply rooted between the Danes and the Swedes. The king of Sweden himself, most unadvisedly, as being totally inconsistent with that system of policy, which seems in other respects to have been the great object of his life, indicated, soon after the commencement of his reign, dispositions so inimical to Denmark, as seem fully to justify her in adopting such measures of security, and of forming such alliances and connections, as were best calculated to counteract the apparently dangerous ambition of so near a neighbour; who seemed watchful to take an unneighbourly and unfair advantage of any circumstance that might embarrass her affairs, or misfortune that might weaken the state.

It appears, if we credit the state of the matter given by the Danes, that the very year in which the king of Sweden accomplished the revolution in the government of his own country, he directed his views to the production of one of a different nature in Denmark, which, without meddling with its government, would, by a fatal separation of its parts, have reduced the power and consequence of that country in the system

of Europe to nothing, and rendered its future existence, in any degree, as an independent state, extremely precarious. This was by an attempt to separate the antient and extensive kingdom of Norway from that crown, to which it had for several centuries been so closely united, and which would have rendered the name of a kingdom scarcely appropriate to its remaining weak and disjointed dominion.

It has unfortunately, and by a strange perversion of reason and policy, been nearly the constant system pursued by the court of Copenhagen, through a course of ages, to rule Norway with a harsh and unfeeling hand, and to afford too much room for complaint to that people, on whom its strength and power so much depended; insomuch that they seem to have been generally treated and considered rather as aliens, than as subjects, and equal members of the same general dominion and government. How far these causes of disaffection continued to operate in the present instance, we cannot pretend to determine, but it is clear from the event that great discontents still prevailed in that kingdom; for the new Swedish sovereign is not only charged with fomenting them, with a view to exciting a general insurrection, but with marching an army, in the year 1772, to the frontiers of Norway, under the intention of absolute invasion, in support of the insurgents. The discovery of the plot, the taking of the cyphers under which the correspondence was conducted, along with the immediate measures which were pursued for placing that country in a proper state of defence and resistance, are alledged to be the causes which disconcerted this project, and prevented, at least, a hostile



tile attempt, for carrying the design into execution.

If this charge be well founded, as it seems to be, it could not be expected that the court of Copenhagen would afterwards place much confidence in the faith or friendship of a prince, who had afforded so early and so glaring a testimony of his being little bound by either; nor is it to be wondered at, that, so circumstanced, she should be less apprehensive of the distant power of Russia, formidable as it is, than of the restless spirit and watchful enterprize of a less potent power, whose vicinity enabled him to be at all times troublesome, and might, in certain situations, have afforded him opportunities of being highly dangerous. Russia was likewise the natural check upon his ambition, and, almost, the only one that could be effective in cases of sudden emergency. To these causes and motives for Denmark's throwing herself into the arms of Russia in preference to Sweden, is to be added, and particularly remembered, the signal obligation by which she had been recently bound to the empress, for the singular cession which she made of her son (the great duke's) patrimonial rights and inheritance in the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein; which may well be considered as a free-gift, the miserable county of Oldenburgh, though the original natal seat of the Danish sovereigns, not warranting the name of an exchange. Few acquisitions, if any, could be of equal importance to Denmark with this cession\*; for, besides the very considerable accession of power and revenue which it afforded, with the be-

nefit of thereby rounding and completing her German dominions, it was of still much greater advantage, in precluding those frequent litigations and wars, in which the strangely mixed sovereignty in these dutchies had so long involved the possessors; and which would in future have become every day more arduous and dangerous, as the sovereigns of Russia would have been the opposite parties in the contention.

A strict alliance between Russia and Denmark took place upon this occasion; and it is stated, that by some articles of the treaty then concluded, which do not appear to have been published, the latter was bound, in certain cases therein specified, to supply Russia with 12,000 auxiliary troops, together with a naval aid of six ships of the line. Undoubtedly the court of Peterburgh was equally bound, in opposite circumstances, to afford an aid to Denmark commensurate to her power. These transactions took place in 1773, the year immediately succeeding the alarm, occasioned by the alledged attempt or design upon Norway. These specific conditions, whether suppressed parts of the treaty then communicated to the public, or included in a separate one, were evidently kept secret, as the king of Sweden declares, in a public document, that he never heard of them, until the public notice given by Denmark of their intended fulfilment; while he seems, upon the whole, rather to doubt their existence.

Whatever political errors the Swedish sovereign might have committed in his early conduct with respect to Denmark, it seems probable that he

\* For the particulars of this transaction, see Annual Register for 1773, vol. xvi. Hist. Art. pp. 4, 5, and 31.

afterwards sincerely repented the hasty and unguarded loose which he then gave to his imagination or passions; and he has since endeavoured, by a course of the most friendly attentions, to conciliate matters, and to wear off all remembrance of them. It seems more than probable that his political system was not then formed, and that it was not absolutely decided until his return from the visit to Petersburg.

Upon the Ottoman war, the approach of the present state of affairs in the north, and his own determination to renew or confirm the ancient alliance with the Turks, he particularly laid himself out, with the utmost assiduity, not only to gain the friendship of Denmark, but to secure her effectually, by making her a convert to his own opinions and principles. The sudden and unexpected visit, which, towards the close of the year 1787, he paid at the court of Copenhagen, and which was so devoid of all etiquette and ceremonial, as to resemble the free intercourse between common neighbours, was a matter which excited, at least, the observation and curiosity of all the courts of Europe, and occasioned much general political surmise and speculation. The king of Sweden's object in this visit was to impress deeply on the court of Copenhagen the same apprehensions which he entertained himself, of the danger arising from the overgrown power, the insatiate ambition, the insidious intrigues, and the over-reaching conduct of Russia; that the danger was common to both the northern kingdoms; that nothing less than the closest union and friendship, which their interests required to be indis-

soluble, along with the most speedy and vigorous mutual exertions, could possibly avert, or even ward it off for any considerable time. He stated, that if Russia succeeded in her present ambitious design, of overthrowing and partitioning the Ottoman empire, her power would then become so vast, that all efforts on their side to controul or restrain it, would not only be futile, but acts of absolute lunacy; for they could afterwards only hope to subsist as miserable dependents on her clemency.

He endeavoured to shew, that this was the proper and fortunate season, while Russia was involved in the heavy war which her ambition had so long been seeking, and before her adversary was weakened by any heavy blow, to clip her wings in some moderate degree, to establish some secure boundary against her future rapacity, and to check that inordinately haughty and domineering spirit, with which, without regard to propriety, decency, or justice, she had so long insulted and annoyed her neighbours. The king concluded, that as the royal families of both kingdoms were now happily united in blood, that as the ancient causes of jealousy and animosity between their countries were so totally past away that they could scarcely ever again recur, that as even the asperities which former unhappy contests had left behind were worn away during sixty years of unremitted peace and friendship, and more especially, as the total change, which had taken place in the affairs of the north, now rendered the interests of both nations common, and their dangers as well their interests the same, so he could

could conceive no solid objection that could be made to that lasting union which he now proposed.

The king of Sweden supported these various topics with all those powers of elocution by which he is so eminently distinguished, and which have wrought such wonders in the popular assemblies of his own country. But here they failed entirely of their wonted effect; so much does that, in all things, depend upon time, place, and circumstance.

The court of Denmark could not perceive any of those dangers which so deeply affected the king's mind; and they accordingly treated, and seemed to consider them as entirely visionary, and mere creatures of the imagination. They lamented that he should suffer his tranquillity to be disturbed by such unfounded apprehensions; and still more, that he should entertain even an idea of involving himself in so unequal, and so inevitably ruinous a contest as a war with Russia. That, though all the world acknowledged the valour, which had in all ages distinguished his subjects; that though the excellent condition of his fleet and army at the present day were no less known; and that none would question the heroism of his own character; yet, that the disparity of power was too vast to admit of its being supplied by any exertion of virtue or heroism. That although it was possible that his arms might be successful in the beginning of the contest, before his great adversary had time to recollect herself, yet he must soon afterwards be so totally overwhelmed by the superiority of her power, and the extensiveness of its application, that his country would be exposed to absolute ruin,

and his person, from his spirit, valour, and the vexation arising from so grievous a prospect, to the most imminent danger. They requested the king to reflect on the present prosperous state of his country, flourishing in all the arts, and under all the blessings of peace; and to oppose to that the dreadful picture of cities smoking from their ruins, of provinces desolated by an unfeeling and cruel enemy, and of fertile and cultivated plains, deluged with blood, and spread with carnage; and they adjured him, by all the ties of blood and friendship, to spare them, as well as himself, from the mortification and grief of beholding such deplorable scenes of calamity.

To calm the king's mind, and entirely to remove his apprehensions, Denmark proposed to undertake the office of mediator, and offered to engage that she would reconcile all differences, and remove all jealousies, between him and Russia; and that the tranquillity of the north should be placed upon such solid foundations, as not to be shaken by any common occasion, or disturbed by any occurrence that could be foreseen and guarded against. The court of Copenhagen opened, and explained at the same time, the pacific rules she had adopted for her own conduct; and, while she declared her own wish and intention to preserve uninterruptedly the peace of the north, she offered to guarantee the same pacific intentions on the part of Russia.

These arguments, representations, and proposals, produced no effect; the king had already determined on the measures which he would pursue, and no conversion was made on either side.

We have had heretofore much satisfaction

satisfaction in announcing to the public, the early talents, endowments, and opening virtues of the prince royal of Denmark. This prince has since so fully justified our opinion, and answered the fondest hopes and warmest wishes of his country so effectually, that he ranks highly already among the most hopeful and illustrious characters of the age.—The king, his uncle, displayed his usual address, upon this and other occasions, in endeavouring to attach the prince to him in the closest ties of friendship and affection; and it would have been no wonder, in such circumstances, and at such a time of life, if political opinions, attachments, or even prejudices, had given way to those impulses of the heart, which are then so powerful. But though the prince is said to have regarded the eminent qualities of his uncle with the greatest admiration, and to have entertained the tenderest affection for his person, these impressions do not seem to have produced the smallest effect upon his public conduct.

It appears that France had originally furnished money for the equipment of the Swedish fleet, and, when this resource failed, that the military preparations by sea and land were still enlivened by larger remittances from Constantinople. During this process for war, the court of Copenhagen made frequent amicable remonstrances to the king, endeavouring, upon the grounds we have seen, to dissuade him from his design; but, if every thing else failed, to prevent, if possible, his striking the first blow. These official applications were supported by a letter from the prince royal, in which, as well as arguments, the most earnest and affectionate en-

treaties were used to engage the king to relinquish his design.

Prince Charles of Hesse, the viceroy of Norway, and brother-in-law to both kings, having arrived at his government in the beginning of May, was some time after joined by the prince royal, who had gone thither to review the troops. The king of Sweden, who was then upon the point of his departure to Finland, immediately dispatched General Duwal, with the usual compliments to the prince royal upon his arrival, together with an urgent letter upon the subject which had already been so much discussed: Duwal was accompanied by the king's aid-de-camp, M. Borgenstierna, who was charged with a similar commission and letter to the prince of Hesse. The following extract from the letter to prince Charles of Hesse, will afford some general idea of the tendency and object of both:—"I adjure you, Sir, not to lose a moment in uniting Sweden and Denmark for ever. No man is more equal to the task than you, nor sees better the necessity of it; and the more so, as this instant will decide either our entire union, or a lasting enmity. In this critical moment it is indispensably necessary to choose one of us for an ally. I should despair, if forced to wage war with the prince royal, whom I love, and with a nation, which, during my stay among them, has given me so many marks of its attachment. But I am not afraid of being taken unawares. My army is so constituted, that I can, within a month's time, replace in Sweden all the troops I have led to Finland, and then it will be stronger than any you can oppose." &c. &c.

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The prince stated, in his answer, that, not being in the king of Denmark's cabinet council, nor at all entrusted with the secrets of state, he was not only totally incompetent to the giving, but to the forming of any opinion upon public affairs. He likewise answered for the prince royal, that, with all the sentiments of the highest respect and attachment, which he entertained for his majesty, he could not permit himself to decide on an affair of such importance, especially during his absence; and that he must refer the whole to the council of state of the king his father. The prince of Hesse, however, assumed the privilege of a friend and relation, in endeavouring to persuade the king to relinquish his present design, stating in strong colours, and in the most pathetic language, the dreadful and fatal consequences which he apprehended from his perseverance.

It seems remarkable, that in this correspondence, the greatest dislike, and even horror, was expressed on both sides, at the idea of fighting against each other, while, from any thing we can yet see, there was no ground for any such apprehension; for it does not appear that Denmark, in any part of these transactions, gave the smallest notice of the conditions by which she was bound to assist Russia; and her observing a neutrality could afford no rational occasion for war to Sweden, so ill as she could afford to increase the number of her enemies. The prince of Denmark soon afforded a memorable instance of the little effect which the personal applications of the king of Sweden had been able to produce upon his political conduct; for,

upon his return to Copenhagen, he gave his decided, and probably decisive, suffrage in council, for maintaining the treaties with Russia, and fulfilling their conditions. This fact is communicated by prince Charles of Hesse, who, without any absolute avowal of his own sentiments, evidently held the same opinion and principle. This measure is said to have afforded an opportunity to the king of Sweden, of insinuating some ambiguity or obliquity to the conduct of the prince royal, in this business; an imputation which we should be sorry was founded, with respect to so young and so hopeful a prince, however the cause might seem warranted by example, or disguised under the insidious garb of policy. It is not, however, to be questioned, but that the Swedish sovereign was exceedingly disappointed, if not absolutely deceived, with respect to the conduct of Denmark; that though he failed in engaging her to support him in the war, he had not, at least until very latterly, totally foregone even that hope; but that he had placed, in the worst state of things that could happen, a firm reliance on her taking no part against him. If this opinion was at all, in any degree weakened, it was not until his measures were so far advanced, that it was too late to hesitate, whatever hazard or danger he might incur by proceeding farther.

While the king was deeply involved in all the trouble and danger, occasioned by the refractoriness, or rather the revolt of his army in Finland, the court of Copenhagen issued a public notice Aug. 19th. to the foreign ministers, and among the rest to the Swedish, who

who was most immediately concerned, of the conditions by which she was bound to Russia, to supply her with a considerable auxiliary force by sea and land, and of her own determination to fulfil those conditions. The plan of operation laid by the allies was, that prince Charles of Hesse should, on the 24th of September, invade Sweden on the side of Norway, with the stipulated number of auxiliary forces; and, as Denmark was very anxious, through her apprehension of other powers, to avoid being considered as the aggressor in a direct war against Sweden, and as the hostile invasion of a country carried more the appearance of a principal than of an auxiliary, and was in reality rather a novel mode of proceeding, so, to prevent the effect, the prince of Hesse was appointed a field-marshal in the Russian service, whereby he seemed to act under the immediate orders of the empress, and to be discharged from the controul of his own court.

This unexpected denunciation affected the king like a thunder-stroke, and indeed rendered his situation truly critical, and his affairs apparently desperate. Nothing could exceed the resentment which, upon this occasion, he conceived against his new adversaries, and he is said to have declared, that he considered the Danes as more insidious enemies, and as more implacable in their animosity to Sweden, than even the Russians. But, previous to his receiving the Danish notification, the unexpected and unfortunate turn which affairs had taken in Finland, induced the king to dispatch an express to Copenhagen, earnestly soliciting that court to become a mediator between him and Russia, and

leaving, in a great measure, to itself the terms upon which peace might be concluded. It is said, and seems probable, that this express had not arrived at Copenhagen, until the Danish public notification of its intentions had been already issued; but, as this fact did not immediately appear, it is no wonder that the supposed conduct of that court in the affair should serve highly to incense the king.

It could little be hoped, that the duke of Ostrogothia should be able to remedy those evils in the army, or to recover that authority, which the king himself could not prevent or retain. The mutinous officers, sent, without his consent, a deputation of their body to Peterburgh, to propose, directly to the empress, an armistice. It may be easily imagined how well, and with what satisfaction they were received; and how readily their proposal was complied with. It was playing her own game directly into her hands, and seemed nearly a consummation of all her intrigues and projects. The duke, with a view of concealing in some degree from foreigners, and perhaps from the people of his own country, the wretched state of disaffection and anarchy which prevailed in the army, signed the armistice as if it had been an act of his own liking or conclusion. General Platen, who commanded a body of troops on the side of Carelia, afforded an honourable instance, upon this occasion, of his integrity, and of his unalterable fidelity to his sovereign. Disdaining to submit to the epidemical disease of the time, he not only refused to sign or agree to the armistice, as an instrument executed without the king's approbation or leave, and to which he  
knew

knew the signature of his general, the duke, had been extorted; but he resolutely refused to deliver up or evacuate some Russian posts which he had taken, and which he accordingly preserved through the winter; the Russians, probably, not choosing to disturb the harmony established with the officers, or to provoke the national spirit of the troops, by any attempt to recover them.

Nothing could be more calamitous, or apparently hopeless, than the aspect of the king's affairs upon his return from Finland. Fortune had not only deserted, but seemed totally adverse to him in every thing, and ruin appeared opening on every side. The contagion from the army had spread through various parts of the kingdom, and infected even the capital; while the nobility seemed fast approaching to the recovery of that power and consequence in the kingdom which they formerly possessed. The senate, once the source of all power and government, and long so formidable to sovereigns, whom it ruled with a harsh and ungracious hand, instead of being ruled by them, although it had been found necessary to preserve its name and form under the new constitution of 1772, yet was so totally changed in its nature, as to be rendered a mere cypher in the state, and placed almost entirely under the king's direction. But by a strange oversight, which can only be attributed to the hurry of the occasion, the royal presence was necessary to render its controul operative, and no provision was made for a substitute to act as a check upon the proceedings of that body, in cases of the king's absence.

It would be little consistent with the nature of man, if the senate, feeling itself free from constraint, was not eagerly disposed to resume and to display its antient authority. All the circumstances of the time, the precarious and deplorable state of the king's affairs, who seemed more than tottering upon his throne, along with the prevalent disposition, which was mote particularly spread amongst the nobility, concurred in inspiring that body with confidence. They accordingly took measures, without consulting the king, to assemble, in diet, the states of the kingdom, under colour of the deranged and dangerous state of public affairs, and of the discontents and disorders which prevailed in the nation.

The sudden arrival of the king at Stockholm, Sept. 1st. totally overthrew this design, and disturbed the senate reluctantly from that short dream of power which they had so pleasingly enjoyed. The measure of calling a diet was, for the present, totally quashed; and the king, well knowing that the nobility (who were numerous and powerful in the capital, which was the great seat of their cabals) were generally inimical to his interests, he threw himself entirely into the hands of the burghers and people at large, over whom he had ever possessed a great ascendancy. As an indication of his entire reliance on their fidelity and affection, as well as a flattering testimonial to the confidence which he placed in their courage as well as loyalty, he immediately, without waiting for any fresh confirmation of his sentiments, or shewing any apprehension of the change which the untoward state of his affairs, and the intrigues of his enemies,

enemies, might have wrought on theirs during his absence, dispatched the few regular troops that were in Stockholm and its environs to the southern frontiers, to make head against the invasion of the Danes.

Having then summoned an assembly of the citizens, that eloquence which failed at the court of Copenhagen, here produced the happiest effects. He declared, that, reposing the most unlimited confidence in their affection, loyalty, and courage, he, in this season of danger, whilst he was himself called away to oppose his new enemy in a distant part of the kingdom, should entrust to their care all those things the most immediately dear to him, the defence and preservation of the capital, and the protection of the queen and royal family; he considering these sacred deposits as far better secured in the custody of their fidelity and affection, than under the protection of any military force whatever.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which this speech inspired the assembly, nor the eagerness with which the citizens armed and embodied themselves; manning the various batteries and works, and cheerfully executing all the service and duty hitherto performed by the garrison. This enthusiasm spread with the greatest rapidity through the lowest orders of the people, who, little restrained by discretion or prudence in the manifestation of their zeal, and conceiving the greatest enmity against the officers lately returned from the army in Finland, whom they indiscriminately considered as recreants and traitors, it became unsafe for military men to appear in public with any of the emblems of their profession.

The king returned at Sept. 11th. this time an answer to the notification which he had received from the court of Copenhagen. In this piece, after expressing his concern and astonishment at the unexpected part taken by the king his brother-in-law, and touching, as it were incidentally, but feelingly, the sacred nature of the ties by which they were personally united, he recurs to the long period of peace and friendship, which, without the smallest interruption, had for more than sixty years happily subsisted between their respective nations; a duration of tranquillity without example in their annals; declaring his own constant endeavours, not only to preserve the harmony between them undisturbed, but to cement it more closely, and render it perpetual.

After declaring his ignorance of the engagements subsisting between the Danish sovereign and Russia, and insinuating a breach of confidence in the former, after he had reposed in him the trust of prescribing the terms of a peace with the empress, he pressed him closely for a direct explanation of the measures which he now intended to pursue; whether he intended to become the aggressor, in a direct war against Sweden, or only to act as an auxiliary, in furnishing a stipulated number of ships and troops to serve in the fleets and armies of Russia? In this latter case he should only have to regret, that his brother-in-law should take so disagreeable and unfriendly a part. But if, on the other hand, he should depart from the rules adopted by all nations with respect to the furnishing of auxiliary troops, and render himself a direct aggressor, by sending his ships and



and troops, totally unconnected with, and at a great distance from the Russians, to attack and invade the Swedish territories, he must in every sense consider the peace between both nations violated, war actually commenced, and act in all things accordingly. The king did not fail to throw out a hint, with an appearance of confidence likely to give it effect, that there were other powers, who would not remain indifferent spectators to those flames of war which threatened to spread calamity and desolation through all the nations of the north.

Count Bernstorff, the Danish minister of state, and at least the ostensible agent in all public affairs, sufficiently shews, in his answer to this memorial, the anxiety of his court to avoid entering into a direct war with Sweden, and perhaps still more of incurring the imputation of being the aggressor. He vindicates his master from the charge or imputation of betraying the confidence reposed in him by the Swedish sovereign; shewing (which was probably the fact) that the overtures made by the latter towards peace, did not reach his hands until the notification of the 19th of August was issued. That his majesty was still ready to concur, with all possible zeal, in the views and measures of those friendly powers who wished for the restoration of peace.

The Danish minister stated, that it was not in the power of the king his master to alter the destination of those auxiliary succours, which, according to the stipulations of treaty, he had furnished to Russia. That they were already at the free disposal of that power; and that, as the theatre of war was not confined to Finland, the king was not at liberty

to adopt new explanations entirely opposite to the sense and words of his avowed engagements. M. Bernstorff labours much to shew, that the auxiliaries furnished to Russia afford no just or solid foundations for quarrel or war between Sweden and Denmark; they shall be strictly limited to the stipulated number; the king himself has no share in the contest; his only object is the restoration of peace; the other forces of his kingdom should take no share in it, unless he and they were compelled to that necessity by Sweden; but at all events he must fulfil the engagements with his ally.—It might be thought, upon the whole, that Denmark had a great inclination for a little bye fighting, as matter of peaceable amusement; but that she did not at all wish to be liable to the consequences which were likely to be incurred by the indulgence.

Happy it was for Sweden, or at least for the king, that at this moment of such imminent danger, there were other powers who were not indifferent to the consequences of that country being overwhelmed by Russia and Denmark, whereby every idea of any future balance of power in the north would be totally destroyed. It was the more fortunate at this season, as the affairs of France were getting into such a train, as rendered the expectation of her being able, in any degree, to support her ancient ally, every day more precarious. The new treaty of alliance concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, and the strict union already cemented between them and Holland, formed so powerful a counterpoise to the dangerous alliance between the two empires of Germany and Russia, as seemed capable

pable of being an insuperable bar to the progress of their ambitious designs. To render this balance the more completely effective, it was necessary, in the first instance, to prevent Sweden from being too much weakened, and, above all things, any revolution from taking place in its government; and, secondarily, to preserve the Ottoman empire from subversion or absolute ruin. We here see how, through a sudden turn of public affairs, these powers found it necessary to put themselves in the place of France, to supply her imbecillity by supporting her alliances, and to take up that system of policy which she had so long pursued. Such were the motives which induced England and Prussia, to become arbiters of the peace and protectors of the liberties of the north, so far as the preservation of some equipoise in the state of power there, might tend to produce that effect. Such likewise are the motives that must ever operate upon all states in taking such a part; for the Utopian ideas that nations will encounter the evils and dangers of war, upon the disinterested principle of preserving or restoring the liberties of others, must be considered by all sober politicians, as well as philosophers, as "the dreams of men awake."

The king of Sweden was indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for the defence of his kingdom; but the defection of his army, and the divisions among the people, rendered his means scanty indeed. In this paucity of resource, having first dispatched orders to Pomerania, to draw over, to Calmar, all the troops that could possibly be spared from that province, (which were not many in number, and must be

late in action) he determined to apply to the zeal and loyalty of the Dalecarlians for succour in his extremity. These people were highly celebrated for the brave, generous, and effective share which they took in that memorable revolution, by which Gustavus Vasa freed his country from the unequalled cruelty of the Danish despotism, which had already not only massacred the citizens of Stockholm, but nearly exterminated the whole race of the ancient nobility. The Dalecarlians are a fierce, rough, ignorant, and honest people. Buried in the bowels of their rocks and mountains, and secluded in a great measure by nature from any commerce with the rest of mankind, they scarcely know any thing of what passes in the world; but, holding the greatest veneration for royalty, they have ever been distinguished for the most inviolable loyalty and attachment to their sovereigns; while their native courage, operating upon this disposition, seems to convert it into a principle of heroic chivalry, from the readiness with which they abandon their mines and forests, upon any occasion which requires their assistance.

Gustavus having settled affairs in his capital, more to his satisfaction than the shortness of the time could well seem to admit, set Sept. 12th. out, with his usual celebrity, for the province of Dalecarlia. Here he followed the example, and perhaps traced the footsteps of his great predecessor and namesake; descending to the bottom of their deepest mines and caverns to visit the people. The second appearance of a king in these subterraneous regions, and he coming likewise to solicit their aid, recalling all the ideas

ideas of their traditional glory, was in the highest degree flattering to their minds; and the enthusiasm was so great, that the royal eloquence, which, however, was not spared, seemed totally unnecessary. Every man was eager to become one of the king's guards, hoping he should afford an eminent instance of his loyalty and affection, by dying in the defence of his sovereign. An explanation was therefore necessary, in which the king assured them, that he relied too firmly on the affections of his subjects, ever to use any guards for the protection of his person. That they would all be his guards in the day of battle; but that the service required, in which he and they should be equally competitors for glory, was to repel the daring invasion of the Danes; a nation to whom they bore the most incurable animosity. The king limited the aid which he received to 3,000 men; and these formed a grotesque appearance. Some, whose families had preserved the rusty, uncouth weapons of antiquity, gloried in the possession, and fancied themselves thoroughly equipped for war; but the greater number had no other resource than those rustic instruments of labour used in the mines or in husbandry, which seemed the best calculated for their purpose. They, however, felt in their own minds that undaunted courage, which disdained to cast away a thought upon any superiority of weapons.

The stipulated number of Norwegian troops being assembled on the borders, and the other necessary preparations made,  
Sept. 24th. prince Charles of Hesse invaded Sweden on the day fixed

and publicly notified. He was accompanied by the prince royal of Denmark, who, determined upon serving this campaign as a volunteer, and of acquiring the first rudiments of war under his uncle; had for some time been absent from Copenhagen, in order to evade the anxious solicitude of the court to dissuade him from his intention, if it had been known or suspected. It is but justice to the commander in chief to observe, and the prince his nephew in every instance merits likewise a full share of the praise, that no invading army perhaps ever entered any country under such strict regulations, and wise precautions, to prevent almost the possibility of any outrage, insult, or injury being offered to the inhabitants, as upon this occasion. The excellent discipline of the Norwegian troops, and still more the native honesty, few wants, and temperate habits of the hardy, laborious common soldiers, seemed in a great measure to preclude the necessity of this care; a more striking instance of which needs not to be given, than that when, hungry and tired after a long march, they entered houses that were abandoned by the inhabitants, their continence would not admit of their touching the victuals that lay before them, nor would they take so much as an egg until it was purchased and paid for. In the same laudable spirit, the prince of Hesse strictly forbade the Norwegian peasantry from marauding upon (according to the custom of former wars) the Swedish borders; nor were any vagrants, upon any pretence, allowed to attend or follow the army; nor did he levy any contributions from the inhabitants, but

all the supplies for the army were either paid for in ready money, or in bills equivalent to money.

The invasion of the Danes was along the sea-coast, from Frederickstadt; and the country was so covered with rocks and mountains, and so intersected by lakes, channels, and inlets from the sea, as well as defiles, scarcely practicable to any but the inhabitants of the country, or their neighbours the Norwegians, that the invaders seemed to have sufficient difficulties to surmount in their march, without any intervention of an enemy. In two days after the entrance of the prince of Hesse into Sweden, the port town of Stromstad fell without opposition into his hands, where he found a royal magazine of provisions, to him of great importance, and which afforded the army a plentiful supply of those ever-welcome articles, bread, beer, and brandy.

The state of defence on the side of Sweden, consisted of a body of between five and six thousand men, under the command of General Hierta, which lay a considerable distance inland, at a place called Wenersburg, the town taking its name from the lake on which it stands. From this exceedingly faulty position, that body was not only rendered useless, while the difficult passes and defiles on the coast were left open and unguarded, but a detachment of a few hundred men, and some field pieces, which were posted on that side under the conduct of Col. Tranefield, was necessarily destined to be sacrificed without use or purpose. To complete the absurdity, Tranefield was chained down like a machine to his post, which he was not to quit without fresh orders, under any change of

circumstance whatever, while the distance from Hierta was such, that it would cost four or five days to send for and receive them.

However inexplicable this conduct may be, the consequence is easily foreseen. The prince of Hesse having seized all the defiles in the rear of the Swedes, enclosed them on all sides in their strong post at Quistrum, the difficulty of the country, which would in other circumstances have constituted their security, now only serving to render their escape impossible. The vast superiority of the Danes soon obviated all the difficulties presented in the approach by rocks, mountains, and torrents, although the Swedes covered them as well as they could with their field pieces. The action Sept. 27th.

was brisk, though short; the Norwegians climbing up the precipices with the agility of rock foxes, as their enemy in derision called them, the Swedes were soon in a situation which rendered all resistance fruitless. A parley was accordingly beat, and the whole Swedish corps obliged to surrender as prisoners of war.

The Swedes behaved with all the gallantry which their situation and force could admit. It happened, however, fortunately, that the loss of men on both sides was very moderate. The prisoners, who somewhat exceeded eight hundred, were treated with the greatest attention and kindness, and were released upon their parole not to serve against the empress of Russia during the war. This little affair afforded an opportunity to the prince of Denmark of being, what in sportsman's language would be called *blooded*, and of acquiring a practical



practical knowledge of the distinction between the music of great balls and small ones, as they flew over and by him.

The prince of Hesse then marched to Uddewalla, a rich and trading city, with its harbour full of shipping. The inhabitants had armed themselves, thrown up an entrenchment, and prepared for defence; but perceiving they had no support, and the prince having taken care to acquaint them that he made no war upon private property, they submitted quietly; while the complete security which he afforded to the town and shipping fully justified their confidence. In the mean time, Bahus, with its castle (once deemed a fortress of great importance) with a number of other places, all fell without resistance into the hands of the Danes, while the prince pushed on detachments to secure the bridges and roads on the way to Gottenburgh.

Having arrived at Strom, and gained a passage, with some difficulty, over the river Giotha, at the mouth of which Gottenburgh stands, he made no doubt that when his army had advanced, on both sides of the river, within sight of the ramparts, the city, seeing itself completely invested, and being sensible of the greatness of the immediate danger, would have readily submitted to a capitulation. For, the place being surrounded by eminences, and the houses mostly built of timber, that rich and fine city was liable to instant destruction by a bombardment. The prince of Hesse had likewise intelligence that the garrison was only weak, and the fortifications naked of artillery, so that resistance would be attended with the double risque, of the city

being carried by assault, while it was smoking under the effect of the bombardment. The wealth of the inhabitants, however, afforded no small security, that they would not by resistance urge so deplorable a catastrophe, as this dreadful accumulation of danger could not fail to produce.

Prince Charles of Hesse thought it necessary, before the passions of the people were too much agitated by his approach, to dispatch a general officer to Gottenburgh, to propose terms of capitulation to them. But the governor had not waited for the arrival of the Danish officer, or the approach of the enemy; he had already summoned a meeting of the inhabitants, at which he represented the danger they were in, and recommended a submission to them as the only means of preserving the city; a proposal with which they generally, if not universally, agreed. Thus was the rich mart, and great emporium of the foreign commerce of Sweden, the only port of any value which she possessed on the ocean, at the very point of being lost; nothing more being wanted to seal her destiny, than the arrival of the Danish officer to conclude the capitulation.

A vigilance seldom equalled, along with unusual personal exertion, on the side of the king, prevented an event so ruinous and disgraceful to the nation and to himself from taking place. Aware of the danger to which Gottenburgh might be exposed in his absence, he performed a long journey on horseback, alone, travelling night and day with more than the expedition of a courier, for its preservation. It was to the utmost astonishment of the inhabitants, that, within a few hours after

their determination to surrender, the king, whom they thought to be far distant, and likewise to be cut off by the enemies parties (which were spread through the country) from almost the possibility of approach, arrived in that city.

His first act was to displace the governor; and, having summoned a meeting of the inhabitants for the following morning, his usual powers of persuasion produced the happiest effect, on a people who were already greatly ashamed of the dastardliness which their conduct on the preceding day indicated. All thought of the danger of houses and property was now at an end, or at least nobody would hazard the mention of such an idea; and it was unanimously determined, that, in conjunction with the garrison, the place should be defended to the last extremity. The astonishment of the Danish general, on his arrival, was undoubtedly no less than that which the inhabitants had already experienced, when he found himself led blindfolded into the city, and introduced directly into the king's presence. The precaution was indeed rather farcical, as the enemy were as well acquainted with the defences of Gottenburgh as the inhabitants.

Though the place was thus saved for a moment, yet the situation of that city, as well as of the king himself, was still very critical, and indeed perilous. For he had no force in his hands, or within reach, at all competent to oppose with effect the Danish army, and the desperate obstinacy of his courage was such, that nobody doubted his determination to perish in the ruins, sooner than relinquish the place; while the native spirit of his sub-

jects would scarcely admit those who were present to be unwilling partakers of the ruin.

The intervention of the mediating powers of England, Prussia, and Holland, distant though they were, saved Sweden, and saved the king from so dreadful a crisis, and afforded a new and eminent instance of the utility of that watchful attention in states to the affairs and situation of their neighbours, which operates to prevent the great from swallowing up the small, and any combination of power from entirely crushing an individual. To this vigilant spirit and disposition, this forward look into futurity, as well as wise precaution against near danger, Europe has preserved for several ages, though at different periods in a less or greater degree, some reasonable balance of power between its respective states, and thereby escaped that general despotism, which has so often oppressed and enslaved the greater part of mankind. To this also, arts, science, literature, civilization, and humanity, owe the greatest obligations.

It happened singularly enough, in this season of business, trouble, and commotion in the north, that neither Great Britain, Prussia, nor even France, had any public minister resident at the court of Stockholm. To remedy this want, Mr. Elliot, the British minister at the court of Copenhagen, immediately passed over to Sweden, and, having announced, by letter to the prince of Hesse, his new character of delegate from the allied mediating powers, he proceeded to act in their joint name, and joined the king at Gottenburgh. The zeal, address, dexterity, and ability, displayed by  
this

this minister in all the parts of a successful but very difficult negotiation, have seldom been equalled, and can never be exceeded; a stronger demonstration of which needs not to be given, than that his merits were fully and generously acknowledged by those, who considered him as entirely inimical to their interests, and felt themselves suffering under their effect.

In his first letter to the prince, Mr. Elliot informed him, that the Swedish sovereign having accepted the mediation of the allied powers, and a courier being already dispatched from Berlin to demand a general armistice of the empress, he wished at the same time to settle with him the means of concluding a particular armistice for the present, until the intended arrangements could take place. Prince Charles, in his answer, declined entering into any negotiation upon the subject, as he could not, without express orders from his Danish majesty, depart from that line of conduct which was prescribed to him.

In Mr. Elliot's second letter he acquainted the prince, that by a courier just arrived from Berlin he had received certain intelligence, that the offensive operations of the army which he commanded in Sweden, were regarded in such a light by the allied sovereigns, that, to prevent their further progress, an immediate attack on Denmark, by the combined forces of Prussia and Great Britain, was determined upon; that this fact being of too much importance to be concealed from the prince royal, he should therefore demand an audience of his royal highness; and that he still flattered himself with being able to

find means, by which the prince of Hesse should fulfil his engagements with Russia, without any farther effusion of blood.

Prince Charles returned an answer to this in the name of the prince royal: "That he had too firm a reliance on the king his uncle, and the whole British nation, always so faithful to their engagements, ever to fear any thing on their side, after their being long ago apprized of the several reasons from which the king his father could not refuse a corps of auxiliaries to the empress of Russia: That this corps, in which he was himself a mere volunteer, having been relinquished to her majesty's disposal, in conformity to the tenor and terms of a treaty, he did not think himself at all authorized to stop its further progress." After some reasoning in justification of the invasion, as to manner and place, the prince of Denmark concluded, that he would, however, dispatch a courier to Copenhagen, the answer from whence should decide the further steps of the auxiliaries.

Two days after a Prus- Ovt. 7th.  
sian officer arrived in the  
Norwegian camp with another letter from Mr. Elliot, in which that minister informed the princes, that the kings of Prussia and England could by no means consider their troops as a Russian, but absolutely as a Danish army, and consequently addressed themselves, through him, to require an immediate cessation of all further progress in the Swedish territories. That he, the minister, being furnished with full powers by the king of Sweden for treating with the prince of Hesse on a cessation of hostilities, upon just and honourable conditions, either as field-

marshal of the king of Denmark, or as commander of a corps of auxiliary troops ceded to Russia, he would (notwithstanding a severe indisposition) find means to be conveyed to the head-quarters, in order to settle the conditions of an armistice without delay.

To give the greater force to his arguments, and effect to his proposal, Mr. Elliot observed, that at the moment he was writing, war was perhaps already declared against Denmark by Prussia and England; but that, in case prince Charles was seriously inclined to seize the present opportunity of doing that service to humanity which he proposed to him, he would immediately dispatch couriers to Berlin and London, to stop, if possible, both the invasion of a Prussian army in Holstein, and the sailing of an English fleet for the Sound. He further observed, that he had chosen baron d'Albrdyhl to be the bearer of that letter; because, being a Prussian officer, he could confirm every thing he had asserted, with respect to the preparation and determination of his master. Mr. Elliot concluded his letter by an indirect application to the prince royal, requesting that it might be read to him, and taking notice that it was written by the ambassador of the king his uncle; by a man wholly devoted to his royal highness, and who was risking his own life (alluding to his illness) to prevent the effusion of the blood of others.

The first apparent effect of Mr. Elliot's intervention, was a change in the position of the Danish army, that part which had passed the Gieutha, in order to enclose Gottenburgh on both sides, being now re-

called, and the head-quarters transferred from Strom to Trotska.

The situation of prince Charles of Hesse was at this moment by no means enviable, and indeed he had a very difficult game to play. He had positive orders, both from his own court and that of Petersburg, for the taking of Gottenburgh, and the force placed in his hands was fully competent for that service. His own character as a commander, seemed likewise not a little staked upon that event; and it seemed a severe check upon the laudable ambition of the prince royal, to be disappointed in the grand object of his first enterprize in arms. Nor is it to be supposed but that, well acquainted as Prince Charles was with the peremptory haughtiness of the court of Petersburg, long used to succeed in her designs, and to the prompt execution of all her orders, he must have been apprehensive that she would ill relish a failure, with respect to an object on which she had so strongly fixed her mind; and which the princes themselves had deemed as already in their hands.

But, on the other hand, the unexpected arrival of the king at that place, along with the extraordinary effect produced by his elocution and address upon the inhabitants, had totally changed, within a very few days, the aspect of affairs. All hope of gaining Gottenburgh by composition was now at an end; it could only be carried by force; by an exertion of the most cruel nature; a bombardment in the first instance, which would have laid the city in ashes, and a succession afterwards of the most desperate and bloody assaults. Nor was the success of this



this extremity by any means so clear, as the Danish generals seemed disposed to imagine; and in the best case that could happen, the smoking ruins of the place would be the only prize to the victors. The hearts of the princes recoiled at the idea of such a scene of carnage and desolation; at being themselves considered as incendiaries, for the destruction of such a city, of such immense private property, and the ruin that must ensue to so great a number of individuals; and of being the means of rendering the name of Dane for ever odious and abhorred in Sweden.

The greatest rub of all still remained, however, to be considered; that was the dangers that would arise to Denmark from the combined hostile operations of a Prussian army, and of an English fleet. This was a subject that commanded the most serious attention. It was not among the least of the embarrassments in which the prince of Hesse was now involved, that he was under a necessity of coming, in a certain degree, to an immediate determination upon this subject. In this dilemma he happily considered, that the intervention of these great powers, as the supporters and protectors of Sweden, had totally changed the face of affairs; that Denmark was in no degree capable of resisting such a combination; that therefore the original design must of necessity be foregone, for that an obstinate perseverance on her side, instead of affording aid to Russia, would probably prove the means of adding a most formidable increase to her enemies. Upon these considerations, and perhaps others, the prince of Hesse resolved to accommodate his conduct to

the present necessity of things. He besides reflected, that Denmark had done all that she could to manifest her zeal for the empire; and that the prince royal had afforded an unequivocal proof of his attachment to her interests, by gallantly hazarding his life in their support; so that no charge, whether on the side of friendship, or with respect to fulfilling the duties of an ally, could possibly lie against either.

These moderate sentiments, which owed their birth, in no small degree, to the ability and dexterity of the British minister, were supported and confirmed by his incessant application. Another change was made in the position of the army, by which it was moved farther from the scene of jealousy and contest; and the head-quarters were removed to the neighbourhood of Bahus, where Mr. Elliot attended the princes in person. To his former strong representations on the necessity of an immediate armistice, in order to prevent the greatest evils, and to ward off the most imminent dangers, he now held out the flattering hope, that it would afford the means of producing a speedy pacification in the north; an event which would not be more happy to Sweden, than glorious to the princes and to the two allied powers themselves.

This pleasing idea, so happily contrasted with the evils before held out, could not fail of effect. Oct. 9th. An armistice was immediately concluded for eight days, as preparatory to one for a longer term, the avowed object of both being, to afford time for negotiating a general peace under the auspices of the mediating powers. In the mean time, a strong remonstrance

france from the king of Prussia was presented at the court of Copenhagen, including a threat of an immediate invasion of Holstein, if the Danish forces were not withdrawn from Sweden; and the Baron de Borcke arrived as minister from Berlin at Gottenburgh, in order to coincide with and confirm the proceedings of Mr. Elliot.

We are sorry that justice and truth compel us to observe, that the king of Sweden did not act, in the ensuing negociations, with all that openness, fairness, and clearness, which were to be wished, and would have been so suitable and becoming to his high rank. That, on the contrary, he seemed to have afforded too much room for a renewal of those censures, with respect to a certain ambiguity of character and versatility of conduct, which have heretofore been passed, both at home and abroad, upon other occasions. It is certain, that a captious spirit of litigation, not exempt from strong appearances of duplicity, became now so predominant as to draw forth the marked disapprobation, and even something like an implication of withdrawing from the office they had undertaken, of his own particular friends, the two ministers of the mediating powers, whose zeal and ability had been so happily instrumental in the preservation of his kingdom.

It would seem, that the animosity which he conceived against the Danes was so great, and his resentment for the supposed disgrace of the invasion so keen, that he was almost willing to risque all things in order to gratify these feelings, and to give the invaders such fore and lasting remembrancers of the effect of their conduct, as might serve to

deter them in future from similar attempts. For the Pomeranian troops, amounting to sixteen or eighteen hundred, being now arrived, other troops collected from different quarters, the Dalecarlian volunteers approaching, and the peasants arming and regimenting themselves in considerable numbers in the adjacent provinces, the late apprehension and terror about the fate of Gottenburgh was already forgotten, and the king fondly imagining that he was, or would in a few days be, in sufficient force to beat up the Norwegian posts and cantonments, and to drive them disgracefully and ruinously out of the country, it is more than probable, that he fully regretted the successful progress of the mediating ministers, in procuring an accommodation; nor can it be doubted, that, under these impressions, the sight of a Prussian army in Holstein, and of an English fleet in the Sound, would have afforded much higher gratification than any peace whatever.

But these sanguine hopes were partly, perhaps, founded upon miscalculation, or otherwise were merely the fruits of too warm an imagination. For the force in his hands, or that soon could be, was totally incompetent to their fulfilment. The regular troops were too few in number; and, notwithstanding the native courage of the Dalecarlians, and of the raw newly-raised peasants, it would have been madness, in the present system of war, to rely upon them in a field of battle, when opposed to a well-constituted, well-disciplined regular army, composed of men as hardy and brave as themselves. Neither were any magazines provided, nor the king's forces fur-

ished with baggage, ammunition, and other articles, which were the most indispensably necessary to enable them to take the field.

It was, however, undoubtedly, in consequence of the disposition and opinion we have mentioned, that twenty Norwegian barks, laden with provisions, stores, and the baggage of the army, were taken on their short coasting voyage, under the sanction and in the midst of the armistice, and carried into Gottenburgh with all the triumph of a victory; while the king supported and justified this violence, on the ground, that the terms seas and waters were not specifically mentioned in that instrument. Under the dominion of the same spirit, while the negociators were labouring with the utmost assiduity to heal all grievances between the nations, and, if they could not yet succeed in the restoration of peace, at least to accomplish a renewal of the armistice, a strange sort of proclamation, or manifesto to his subjects, was issued by the king, tending to frustrate all their labours and subvert their designs. For the evident object of this piece was to excite in the people the greatest possible animosity against the Danes, by most injuriously and unjustly charging upon the Norwegian army, and of course upon their general, the ruin of the Swedish provinces in their possession, by the exorbitances and depredation of which they were guilty. It is easily seen, that the natural consequence of such a publication, coming from such an authority, would have been some outrage on the part of the neighbouring peasants, that would necessarily lead to an immediate renewal of hostility.

It was much to the honour of the English minister, that he shewed as much zeal in refuting these calumnies, in justifying the conduct and vindicating the honour of the prince of Hesse, as he had constantly done in promoting and securing the interests of Sweden.

Indeed the mediating ministers had now a most vexatious as well as difficult part to act, in endeavouring to prevent the effect of that strange uncertainty and tergiversation on the side of their ally, which tended to counteract all their efforts in his favour. In the course of altercation which this state of things produced, the following extract from a letter, written by Mr. Elliot to the king, on the subject of the Norwegian barks, is, perhaps, on account of the sentiments it contains, not unworthy of preserving. — The king having before complimented the minister on the “glorious situation he was placed in; an individual is the depository of the solemn word of a great king, and of a prince commanding an army!” Mr. Elliot now repeated these terms in his letter, to recall them to the king’s memory, and as introductory to his subject; he then proceeds: “It was on the acknowledged character of British veracity, stable as the foundation of their island, the underwritten saw a sovereign and a prince rely, to stop the effusion of blood, on the point of inundating the north of Europe. It was the verbal assurance of a stranger, credited for the faith of his name and country; that two armies, ready to combat, have resigned their hatred, and renewed their ancient ties of amity and confraternity. It is, therefore, in the sacred name

“ name of honour and truth, the  
 “ underwritten is obliged to declare,  
 “ that, according to his weak in-  
 “ fight, the objects contested must  
 “ be restored to prince Charles of  
 “ Hesse. He dispenses with enter-  
 “ ing into a reasonable discussion  
 “ upon time and place; he fulfils  
 “ his task, in virtue of his right as  
 “ umpire.”

Notwithstanding the various dif-

ficulties which the negotiating mi-  
 nisters had to surmount, another  
 armistice for a month was happily  
 concluded: and this was succeeded  
 by a third, for six months, the term  
 of which did not expire until the  
 15th of May 1789.—The prince of  
 Hesse withdrew his army from Swe-  
 den into Norway, rather before the  
 middle of November.



C H R O N I C L E.



## C H R O N I C L E.

## J A N U A R Y.

*Bay of Honduras, Sept. 23.*

**B**ETWEEN the hours of four and five in the morning, a gale commenced from N. N. W. At eight it came to blow at W. N. W. with great violence, attended with rain. At eight the sky became obscured, and it blew a hurricane. At this period the houses began to give way on both sides the river Balize, the limbs of the trees to be torn off, the inhabitants with fear and consternation to be running about for refuge, and the rain pouring incessantly upon their heads in full torrents. About ten the wind shifted to S. W. and blew, if possible, with redoubled violence. At that instant the sea began to rise, and, contending with the land floods, every where overflowed the low lands. The cries of the women and children, and the floating of the dead bodies promiscuously among the logs of mahogany, exhibited such a scene of human misery and distress as no pen can describe, nor was the horror in the least diminished when the hurricane abated, and the waters subsided—a melancholy scene presented itself to the unfortunate survivors—not a single house, hut, or habitation of any

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kind, on either side the Balize, standing; not less than 500 of different constructions have been blown down, and with their furniture reduced to a heap of rubbish. The dead bodies of many who had perished in endeavouring to gain the heights, the carcases of hogs, goats, and cattle, all served to heighten the calamity. Out of fifteen square-rigged vessels, besides schooners, small craft, and other vessels, eleven of them were totally lost, and more than 100 persons perished. Such a deplorable catastrophe never befel any settlement in the West Indies before.

*Petersburgh Gazette, Nov. 20, 1787.*

“ Last week the court received from prince Potemkin the following account of another defeat of the enemy’s troops, commanded by the famous Sheik Mansour, dated Elizabeth-Grod the 5th instant.

“ Towards the middle of September lieutenant general Potemkin receiving advice that a great number of troops were assembled between the rivers Urap and Lab, and that a great many Turks of Sudshukkle had come to inform the Tartars of Cuban that war was declared, and to engage them to make an incursion in the neighbouring states of Russia; he formed the design of preventing them, and dispersing the troops which were assembled.

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“ The

“ The 1st of October he passed the Cuban with three columns, and the fourth, commanded by major-general Jelagin (to cover his design) was to pass the river below Owetschu-Brod, and to repulse the enemy in case they should attack him.

“ Colonel Rebinder’s column, which had the least way to go, arrived first at the sheik’s quarters, where he found about 600 of the enemy’s troops entrenched behind the waggons. When the vanguard attacked them, the Tartars, entrenched behind the waggons, repeated a loud prayer, dictated by the sheik; after which they made a desperate defence, but were obliged to yield to the valour of our troops, who made themselves masters of the entrenchment, and left 400 of the enemy dead on the field.

“ On the 2d, the sheik returned with a body of troops he had raised to attack colonel Rebinder, but was repulsed. The regiment of carabinieri, of Rosten, had the greatest share in this attack; for whilst they engaged a troop that was detached from the rest, another party rushed from an ambuscade on their left wing; which being immediately succoured by the regiment of Astracan-dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers, the enemy was obliged to fly.

“ On the 3d of December, the enemy having been reinforced by some Tartar troops from Temengai, Bellei, Keptschak, and Abastu, made a second attack on our troops. Major-general prince Ratifew marched straight against them, and forced them, by a smart and well-supported fire, to fly hastily towards their habitations. The next day they set fire to the sheik’s habitation, and the

neighbouring villages, where they found 10,000 piods of butter, and a great store of barley.

“ Colonel Deprerabowitsch set out immediately to the villages of the Tartars of Cuban, and after a laborious march, during the 7th, 8th, and 9th instant, they reached them: The Tartars made a desperate attack, and the fight lasted for seven hours. Major-general Jelagin, having marched to succour the colonel, found, on his arrival, the enemy already put to flight. Colonel Deprerabowitsch calculates the number of men killed in this encounter, in the action, villages, and in flying, to be two thousand. The whole body under major-general Jelagin had only one lieutenant and thirty-four soldiers killed, and two second lieutenants and one hundred and five soldiers wounded. The booty taken consists of a great number of cattle, which they distributed amongst the troops, who, after having humbled the Tartars of Cuban, returned safe to their quarters.”

*Plymouth, Dec. 27.* The Pegasus frigate, from Cork, commanded by his royal highness prince William, arrived here. His royal highness, after visiting the admiral and commissioner of the dock, took up his residence at Mr. Winne’s, an eminent merchant of this town. On his passage his highness experienced the effects of a very extraordinary phenomenon: a thunder storm broke over the ship so violently, as to tear some of the sails, and shiver the main-mast, so as to render it necessary for a new mast to be supplied. The season of the year makes the circumstance memorable, and the more so, as the storm was more tremendous on the north coast of France than at sea.

*January*



*January 1st.* A singular forgery has lately been committed on the Bank, by a person of the name of Lamb. The note by which the forgery was discovered, was for 20l. and so nicely executed, that Abraham Newland, the cashier, could hardly tell the true from the false note. The early discovery, which was fortunate for the public, was by chance. Lamb, being a clerk in Doctors Commons, requested the head clerk in the office to lend him a 20l. bank note, which he promised to return in a short time. But Lamb not keeping his word, his brother clerk was obliged to press him for it. The note Lamb received was indorsed; the note Lamb brought the head clerk, Lamb happened to neglect putting the indorsement on it. This, with other suspicious circumstances, led the clerk to suppose there was some underhand manoeuvre in the matter. He went to Messrs. Boldero and Co. with the note: they declared it to be genuine, and offered him cash for it; which he refused, conscious the note he gave Lamb was indorsed. His suspicions proved too true; for no sooner Lamb fled, than the matter took air.

It does not appear that he had passed any number in circulation. They were drawn with a pencil and Indian ink, and the water-mark complete.

*10th.* This evening it was given out that Mr. Macklin was to appear in the character of Shylock, at Covent Garden theatre. The house was crowded in every part, and his performance exhibited a wonderful share of spirit and vigour, considering his advanced age, till the second act, when, conscious of some few defects, he, with much

solemnity, addressed the audience nearly in the following words:

“Ladies and gentlemen,

“Within these very few hours I have been seized with a terror of mind I never in my life felt before;—it has totally destroyed my corporeal, as well as mental faculties. I must, therefore, request your patience this night—a request, which an old man of 89 years of age may hope is not unreasonable. Should it be granted, you may depend this will be the last night, unless my health shall be entirely re-established, of my ever appearing before you in so ridiculous a situation.”

This affecting address from an old favourite of the town, of at least eighty-nine years of age, met with enthusiastic reception; which seemed to give new life to his drooping spirits. He soon recovered, and the play went on with applause to the end. It is recalled to mind on the present occasion, that Leveredge, the singer, sung on the stage at the age of ninety-five.

*Plymouth, Jan. 14.* Last Tuesday evening at eleven arrived here, in a coach and six, their royal highnesses the prince of Wales and duke of York, accompanied by prince William Henry, who went to meet them. The concourse of people was astonishing; the illuminations splendid, and the demonstrations of joy on every countenance pleasing beyond expression. The carriage proceeded slowly through the town to lodgings prepared for the royal guests in Fore-street.

The marquis de la Luzerne, ambassador from the most Christian king, had his first private audience of his majesty to deliver his credentials.

As had likewise the count St. Martin

Martin de Font, envoy extraordinary from the king of Sardinia.— To which they were respectively introduced by the marquis of Carmarthen.

20th. Among the several returns made to the house of commons, in compliance with Mr. Gilbert's bill, was one from a poor Welch curate, who, after delineating the distresses of his poor neighbours, adds, " But their distresses cannot be greater than mine are; I have a wife who is far advanced in her pregnancy: I have around me nine poor children, for whom I never yet could procure shoe or stocking; it is with difficulty I can supply them with food; my income is 35*l.* per annum; and for this I do the duty of four parishes." The letter here alluded to, had a wonderful effect upon the whole committee. Mr. Gilbert, with that benevolence which has long characterized him, immediately transmitted to the poor curate a bank note for a temporary supply. The letter has been shewn to their majesties; enquiry has been made as to the moral character of the man, and provision will be made for him as soon as possible.

Soon after, the duke of Chandos humanely conferred on this clergyman a living of 120*l.* per annum.

*Dublin, Jan. 31.* This day Robert Keon, esquire, was brought up to the court of king's bench, to receive sentence for the murder of George Nugent Reynolds, esquire. The circumstances of this murder were the following: those two gentlemen went out to fight a duel, and when Mr. Reynolds, previous to coming to action, was in the act of saluting Mr. Keon with his hat in his hand, wishing him a good morn-

ing, the latter fired his pistol, and shot him through the head. Upon this, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Reynolds's second, called out, " A horrid murder!" On which Mr. Keon's brother replied, " If you don't like it, take that," and snapped a pistol at Mr. Plunkett, which luckily did not go off. The jury found Mr. Keon *guilty* in November last; but his counsel moved an arrest of judgment, and pleaded several errors in the different proceedings, to stop the sentence. The court, after the most solemn arguments, over-ruled all the objections, and passed sentence of death upon him, according to the verdict; and he was executed the 16th of the following month.

**DIED.**—At Paris, the count de Grasse, who was taken prisoner by admiral Rodney, in the *Ville de Paris*, last war.

At Kilmarnock, aged 105, Janet Allan, being born on that day John Nisbet suffered martyrdom at the cross of Kilmarnock, in the reign of Charles II. About four years ago, her sight returned in a great measure, after it was long dim by reason of age. She went to kirk and market till within a few days of her death, and retained her senses to the last.

At Galloway, aged 114, Patrick Connolly, esquire.

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## F E B R U A R Y.

On Tuesday, January 28, 1st. the court of session determined the very important question, " Whether the members of the college of justice have the privilege of being exempted from all taxations and assessments for the support of the poor within the city of Edinburgh."

Their

Their lordships delivered their several opinions at great length, and unanimously determined that the privilege of exemption from this assessment clearly and indisputably belonged to the members of the college of justice, both from statute and usage. Their lordships spoke with much candour and liberality on the subject. They felt the delicacy of deciding a cause in which they themselves were parties; but, whatever might be the wish of some to wave a privilege apparently ungracious, the immunities of an ancient and most respectable corporation were not to be infringed. They sat as judges, not as legislators; the interpreters, not the makers of the law. It was only for the high court of parliament to interfere in a matter of such magnitude and importance.

The French king's edict, concerning Protestants was registered on the 29th of January. It consists of thirty-seven articles; of which twenty-four respect the necessary detail of marriages, births, baptisms, and burials; the others specify, that Protestants are to contribute to the clergy of the French church—that the police and municipal regulations are to be obeyed—that the established officers of the French shall never be interrupted—and that the Protestants shall be incapable of any act as an incorporated community.

6th. In the court of king's bench was solemnly argued and determined a very interesting question, respecting the laws of marriage:—a dispute having arisen between two parishes concerning the settlement of a pauper who had been charged to have two wives, but who had sworn only to one; an ap-

peal was made to the quarter sessions, when the justices made an order, without permitting the wife, with whom he had sworn to have contracted matrimony, to prove her marriage. A rule *nisi*, therefore, was obtained to quash this order, upon the ground that the wife ought to have been admitted an evidence. The court was, however, of a contrary opinion, and that the wife is in no case admitted as a witness to criminate her husband. In the case before the court, the husband had sworn he was married to one wife only; the testimony of the wife would not only have imputed to him the crime of perjury, but might probably have led to a prosecution for that offence. They were therefore of opinion, that the order of sessions ought to be confirmed, and, of course, the rule was discharged.

This day being appointed 13th. for the trial of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, esquire, the house of commons, about eleven o'clock, preceded by the managers of the impeachment, came from their own house into the hall. The managers were dressed, the rest of the members in their usual undress. Mr. Burke led the procession, and they took their seats on the green benches.

Half an hour after, the lords moved from their own chamber of parliament: the clerks of parliament first, the masters of chancery following them, next the serjeants, then the judges; after them a herald, and then the eldest sons of peers and peers minor; then, after the ushers, the barons, bishops, viscounts, earls, marquesses, dukes, the archbishops, and the lord chancellor. The procession closed with the royal family, the son of the

duke of Gloucester walking first, and the prince of Wales last. In passing to their seats they took off their hats, and bowed to the throne.

Having taken their seats, the serjeant at arms made proclamation, commanding silence, and called upon Warren Hastings, esquire, to come into court.

Mr. Hastings accordingly came into court, accompanied by Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner, his two bail, and kneeling at the bar in the box assigned to him, he was ordered to rise, which he accordingly did.

The serjeant at arms then made proclamation:

“Oyez, Oyez, Oyez. Whereas charges of high crimes and misdemeanors have been exhibited by the honourable the house of commons, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, esquire, all persons concerned are to take notice that he now stands upon his trial, and they may come forth in order to make good the said charges.”

The lord chancellor then addressed the prisoner as follows:

“Warren Hastings,

“You stand at the bar of this court charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, a copy of which has been delivered to you; you have been allowed counsel, and a long time has been given to you for your defence; but this is not to be considered as a particular indulgence to you, as it arose from the necessity of the case, the crimes with which you are charged being stated to have been committed in a distant place. These charges contain the most weighty allegations, and they come from the highest authority: this circumstance, however, though

it carries with it the most serious importance, is not to prevent you from making your defence in a firm and collected manner, in the confidence that, as a British subject, you are entitled to, and will receive, full justice from a British court.”

To which Mr. Hastings made the following answer:

“My lords,

“I am come to this high tribunal equally impressed with a confidence in my own integrity, and in the justice of the court before which I stand.”

The clerks of the court then proceeded to read the charges and the answers, which they did as long as they had day-light; and about a quarter past five, had come to the end of the seventh charge and answer, when the lord chancellor moved, that the lords should adjourn to their own chamber of parliament. They accordingly withdrew in the order in which they came.

Her majesty, with the four elder princesses, sat in the center of the duke of Newcastle's box. The queen was waited on by the duchess of Ancafter, lady Holderness, lord Aylesbury, &c. She was drest plain without diamonds, and coming without state, the usual etiquette was dispensed with, and she suffered the ladies above mentioned, with the young daughters of lady Lincoln, to sit on the same seat with her.

So high was the public anxiety on the issue of the 11th. bruising match, which was decided yesterday between Humphreys and Mendoza, that neither the distance from town, nor the state of the weather, could prevent a very large body of people from assembling at the



the scene of action in Odiham.—Several hundreds of people paid half a guinea a-piece to gain admission within the paddock, where the stage was raised. The paddock was well defended against the multitude by Tring, Ryan, Dunn, and a number of other of the strongest men in England, who with clubs looked like so many giants; but what can resist the shock of an English mob? The paddock was broken down, and the torrent rushed in.

The combatants mounted the stage exactly at one o'clock, and, after the usual salutation, Mendoza instantly began the onset with all the heat and impetuosity of a man determined on victory. He threw himself in with much activity, and displayed much shewy enterprise, while Humphreys retreated and avoided the blows. The latter bore himself with great reserve, and the Jew was accordingly the assailant in the first six or seven rounds. In these, Mendoza being more hazardous and more successful than Humphreys, the bets, which were two to one in favour of the latter before the battle, changed to six to four, seven to four, and at last two to one against him. Several blows of Mendoza had their effect. He cut Humphreys under the left eye, and of course endeavoured to follow up the wound, but in this he was disappointed by the superior address of his opponent.

The stage, from the wetness of the day, was extremely slippery, and for some time neither of them could keep their feet so as to give firmness to their action. To remedy this, Humphreys threw off his shoes, and got a pair of worsted stockings, in which, without shoes,

he continued the battle with improved footing.

After they had fought 18 or 19 minutes, Humphreys began to manifest his superior skill, and the bets again changed in his favour. He planted a dreadful blow on the neck, or near the jaw of the Jew; which sickened, and almost disabled him. He continued the battle, however, with much determination of spirit, until extravasated blood and exhausted breath made him so helpless, that he lay on the stage unable to rise, and yielded the contest.

The battle lasted 29 minutes.

Humphreys was seconded by Johnson, and Mendoza by Jacobs.

In consequence of the above battle, it is said that upwards of 20,000*l.* sterling of bets will be transferred from the Jews to the Christians—*rather to the Gentiles.*

This day, at a half-yearly court of the proprietors of the 19th. bank stock, the governor acquainted the proprietors, that as this was the time when the dividends are usually declared, it was the unanimous opinion of the directors, that the next half-yearly dividend, ending the 25th instant, should be three pounds ten shillings, which makes the increase of the dividend of that stock at the rate of one per cent.

*Limerick, Feb. 25.* On the 20th instant, John Downs, esquire, inspector of excise, accompanied by some other civil officers, and a detachment of the 27th regiment, with two field-pieces, proceeded to attack the castle of Ognolly, in which has been carried on for some years an immense distillery in open defiance of the laws; but on the first appearance of the military force, the castle surrendered without the

least resistance. In it was found one of the most compleat distilleries in the kingdom, which they totally destroyed.

**DIED.**—On the 31st ult. at Rome, about half past nine o'clock, prince Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart. Since the death of his father, in the year 1765, he assumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the continent by the name of the chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the young Pretender. He was just sixty-seven years and two months old on the day of his death, being born on the 30th of November, 1720. He was son to James Francis, prince of Wales, son to James II. His mother was the princess Maria-Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, who beat the Turks near Vienna, and made them raise the siege of that capital, and thus saved Christendom from destruction. She had an immense fortune; a great part of which was lost in the fruitless attempt made by her son, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two sons by her husband; Charles, who lately died, and Henry-Benedict, who by his father was created duke of York, and who, having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York. The elder son married, some years ago, a princess of Stolberg, in Germany; but by her, who is still alive, he has no issue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he lately created duchess of Albany, and to whom he has bequeathed all the property he had in the French funds, which was very considerable. She is about

twenty-five years of age, and much respected for her good-nature, piety, and politeness. To his brother, the cardinal, he has left his empty pretensions to the crown of England. It is thought his eminence will change his title, and assume that of the king-cardinal. His eminence is a bachelor, and in his sixty-third year. The remains of prince Charles will be buried in the church of Fiescati, of which city his brother the cardinal is bishop, who will go in person to assist at high mass, and perform the last duties at his funeral.

At Chelsea, aged 106, Mrs. Mary Warder. She had been 14th. married to three husbands, the last of whom was a pensioner in that college. She had been the mother of twenty-one children, fifteen of whom are alive, and all married. The number of her children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, amounted to seventy-two.

In his 77th year, John Flower, esquire, mayor of the borough of Devizes, being the fifth time of his filling that office.

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## M A R C H.

The following is a concise statement of the arrangement 1st. which his majesty has been pleased to make for adjusting the claims of rank between the king's and the East India company's officers, and settling them on a firm and lasting footing.

“First, That from the day when hostilities ceased at Cuddalore, the officers in his majesty's and the company's service should rank indiscriminately from the dates of their commissions.

“Secondly,

“ Secondly, That if it should happen that two commissions, now or hereafter, should be dated on the same day, the king’s officer is to have the precedence.

“ Thirdly, That such king’s officers, as hold commissions dated prior to the cessation of hostilities at Cuddalore, should command all the company’s officers of the same rank.

“ Fourthly, That brevets should be granted by his majesty’s authority to the company’s officers, dated from the cessation of hostilities.

“ Fifthly, That, in all future promotions, the company’s officers shall receive brevet commissions from his majesty.

“ Sixthly, That no officer, possessing brevet local rank in India, should remain there, unless he chuses to serve with his actual rank in the king’s army.

“ Seventhly, That a period of eighteen months should be allowed for the exchange of those officers who now hold local rank in India.

2d. By the Ravensworth, an account of the loss of the company’s country ship, the Ganges, captain Frazer, bound from Bengal to Madras, has been received, of which the following are the particulars:

On the 22d of May 1787, a leak had been discovered; but, while the vessel could be kept clear by the pumps, no danger was apprehended. In the evening, however, the pumps were rendered useless, being choked by the rice, of which the cargo consisted. In this dilemma it was judged adviseable to run the ship ashore. By two o’clock she had taken ground, and was lying on her beam-ends, when Mr. Corbet, who, with his wife, were passengers, went down to acquaint

his lady of the danger in the tenderest manner possible, of which she was sufficiently apprised, by the noise unavoidable on such occasions, and with great composure assured him, she was prepared to meet with him whatever might be their fate: with this resolution they got into the top, where they remained some time, till the shifting of the ship plunged the mast into the sea with such violence as to oblige them all to quit their hold, except Mr. Brown, another passenger, who generously leapt into the water to save the lady, but perished in the attempt. Mr. Corbet was saved by the Pilot schooner, that took him up in a state of insensibility; he lived to experience all the horrors of his miserable situation. Out of one hundred and thirteen persons, forty-three were saved. Of the gentlemen who perished, the following are the names: Messrs. Gardener, Brown, M’Intyre, jun. Boulden, and Joseph.—Lieutenants Warren and Nuttel.

*From the Bahama Gazette.*

On the 3d of January, captain Thomas Thompson, in 5th. the sloop Sally, beating up from the S. W. point of Heneaga, saw a white flag flying on the shore, where, on landing, he found twenty-three women and fifty-three men and boys in a most distressed situation, having been passengers on board a brig from Dunlary in Ireland, bound to Charles Town and Baltimore, and put ashore there for want of provisions, the brig having been six weeks at short allowance. They were told the place where they were landed was a plentiful island, on which they would find towns and inhabitants who would supply them with plenty of provisions; but when they found themselves deceived, and wanted

wanted to return on board, they were fired at, and one man killed. Captain Thompson is said to have landed twenty of these unfortunate people on Long Island, and fifty-six at Nassau.

*Edinburgh, March 22.* On Wednesday a sharp contest took place at the back of the Black Rocks, near Leith harbour, between a boat's crew belonging to Newhaven and another belonging to Preston Pans, occasioned by the latter's dragging oysters on the ground laid claim to by the former. After a severe conflict for about half an hour with their oars, boat-hooks, &c. the Newhaven men brought in the Preston Pans boat to Newhaven, after being much hurt on both sides. This is the second boat taken from them this season.

*Ireland.* On Tuesday, the 27th of March last, a large bog of 1,500 acres, lying between Dundrum and Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, began to be agitated in an extraordinary manner, to the astonishment and terror of the neighbouring inhabitants. The rumbling noise from the bog gave the alarm, and on the 30th it burst, and a kind of lava issued from it, which took its direction towards Ballygriffen and Golden; over-spreading and laying waste a vast tract of fine fertile land belonging to John Hide, esquire. Every thing that opposed its course was buried in ruins. Four houses were totally destroyed, and the trees that stood near them torn up by the roots. The discharge has been incessant since the 30th, and how far it will extend cannot at present be determined.

The states of Venice have published their formal refusal to permit the Russian fleet making

use of their ports. It is dated in the Predagi (i. e. council or senate) on the 1st of March.

A proclamation was this day inserted in the London 22d. Gazette, recalling all British seamen, of what denomination soever, or wheresoever, from foreign service; and prohibiting all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, and all other seafaring-men whatsoever (natural-born subjects of G. B.) from entering into foreign service without licence, on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law; and, in case of being captured by the Turks, &c. excluded from all right of redemption.

## A P R I L.

This morning, came on the ballot for six Directors of the 9th. East India company, in the room of those who go out annually by rotation. About a quarter after eleven o'clock in the evening, the scrutineers declared the numbers to be, for

Abraham Robarts, esq;	1,045
John Michie, esq;	1,021
George Tatem, esq;	978
Thomas Parry, esq;	856
John Woodhouse, esq;	830
Charles Mills, esq;	793
David Scott, esq;	729

The first six gentlemen, who are duly elected, were upon the proprietors list. David Scott, esquire, was the only new candidate who had not been in the direction.

The following is a correct list of the eight gentlemen who have been elected this year to serve as Directors of the bank of England :

Thomas



Thomas Boddington, esq;  
 Thomas Dea, esq;  
 John Harrison, esq;  
 Christopher Puller, esq;  
 Thomas Raikes, esq;  
 Samuel Thornton, esq;  
 Ben. Winthrop, esq;  
 Moses Yeldham, esq;

The last gentleman was elected in the room of Lyde Brown, esq; deceased.

N. B. It is a rule agreed upon by the Directors of the Bank, that eight out of the twenty-four go out every year in rotation, with an exception only to those who have passed the chair.

In the evening lady Wallace's new comedy of the Ton was attempted to be a second time acted at Covent Garden theatre, when the clamour was so great against it, that it was with difficulty the actors could get through with their parts. In the general uproar, whilst Mr. Lewis was bowing to obtain audience, a quart bottle was thrown from the gallery into the pit. This increased the disorder; but the occasion being declared, and a reward of ten pounds offered to discover the delinquent, and a proper apology made by the manager, the representation was suffered to proceed quietly to the end; and an indulgence of one night more, to give the author's numerous friends an opportunity of seeing it acted, was granted.

*St. James's, April 9.* A chapter of the most noble order of the Garter having been summoned to meet this day, the knights companions, with the officers of the order, all in their mantles; the knights (with their collars) attended the sovereign in his own apartment, from whence a procession being made, as usual, to

the great council chamber, and the sovereign and knights companions seated, the bishop of Carlisle was introduced, and humbly prayed to be admitted to take the oath of register of that most noble order; which being done, and the sovereign having invested him with the insignia of office, he withdrew to his place; and as by the statutes none but knights can be elected, Garter and Black-rod introduced his grace the duke of Dorset, who was knighted by the sovereign with the sword of state, as was likewise the duke of Northumberland. This ceremony over, and the suffrages collected, the knights companions proceeded to election, when his grace of Dorset, by his majesty's command, was declared duly elected. In like manner his grace of Northumberland was declared duly elected.

On the 2d inst. the prince bishop of Liege issued a proclamation against gaming in any part of his dominions, particularly at Spa, under the penalty of two hundred gold florins for the first offence, and two years imprisonment for the second.

The damages done by the late storms and inundations in Portugal are estimated at above two millions of crusadoes. From Coimbra they write, that the fertile province of Beira has been laid waste by the overflowing of the Mondego river, in such a manner as to require many years to restore it to its former state. The waters rose so high, and with such impetuosity, as to bear down the noble bridge, the admiration of all travellers.

*London Gazette.*

*Constantinople; Feb. 22.*

The grand divan, which was assembled here on the 19th.

11th instant, came to the resolution of releasing Monf. de Bulgakow, the Russian minister, and the Russian subjects, detained in the seven towers. Monf. de Bulgakow is preparing to depart by sea, and has given orders to freight ships for himself, his drugoman, and their families, for Leghorn.

Baron d'Herbert, the Imperial internuncio, and his interpreters, with all their families, departed from Constantinople the 15th instant.

21st. The court of king's-bench determined, that a woman was competent to serve the offices of commissioner of the sewers and overseer of the poor. Mr. Justice Ashurst observed, that the statute of Elizabeth mentioned substantial housekeepers, without distinction of sex. He also mentioned a parish where a woman was chosen constable.

A dissection at Mr. Cruickshank's, in Windmill-street, is said to have occasioned much speculation among the gentlemen of the faculty, there being no well-attested description, in the anatomical annals of this or any other country, of such a phenomenon. The intestines are all reversed, the heart, &c. being on the right-side, and the liver on the left. In every other respect, but situation, the parts are complete. It is very probable, the person himself might live without a consciousness of such a difference in the internal structure of his body.

DIED.—At Hawes, county of York, aged 105, John Scarr, a pauper. He could thread a needle without spectacles, and crack nuts in the last year of his life, as well as most young people.

Mrs. Mary Delany, at her house

in St. James's Place, April 15, 1788, within a month of the completion of her 88th year. She was the daughter of Bernard Granville, esq; married, first, to Alexander Pen-darves, of Rostrow, county of Cornwall, esq; and, secondly, to Patrick Delany, dean of Down, in Ireland. She was niece to George Granville lord Lansdowne, secretary at war under queen Anne, one of the first patrons of Pope, and himself a poet. In his society, which was that of a very polished court, she acquired, in her youth, a grace and dignity of manners which she preserved to the last. Married early, and retired into a remote county, she had the leisure and good sense to cultivate a naturally vigorous mind; and her letters and conversation eminently evinced the good use she made of the opportunity. She possessed, in an uncommon degree, that quick feeling of the elegant and beautiful which constitutes taste: she was peculiarly fitted, therefore, to succeed in the fine arts. She made a great proficiency in music; but loved and excelled principally in painting, in which she has been equalled by few of her sex. When the failure of her eyes disabled her from pursuing the higher branches of the art, in her 78th year she invented a new one, that of imitating flowers in paper mosaic; and, till her 83d, when the dimness of her sight prevented her going on even with that, she completed 980 plants to a degree of perfection and effect not easily to be conceived but by those who have seen them. She preserved her warm affections and fine understanding to the last; and crowned a long and exemplary life by a calm, composed, and cheerful death. She was the chosen friend and companion of the late duchess dowager of Portland,

land, and during her grace's life constantly resided with her. Mrs. Delany afterwards removed to Windsor, his Majesty unsolicited presenting her with a residence there, and with an addition to her income, which before was far from inconsiderable.

M A Y.

1st. By the last accounts received from the fleet from Botany Bay, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 13th of October last, and expected to sail again about the middle of November, and to proceed directly for their place of destination. They were very healthy, and the convicts very orderly. The number of deaths from England to the Cape amounted to twenty-one.

7th. Came on a trial at Guildhall, in which the trading people are deeply interested. The sole question was this, Whether the plaintiffs, who are wholesale grocers and tea dealers, to whom the defendant was a customer, were entitled to interest, on the amount of goods sold, computed from the end of three months, being the usual credit in the plaintiffs trade? which was decided in favour of the plaintiffs.

16th. His royal highness the duke of Orleans arrived at Portland-place from Paris, having obtained leave of his sovereign to retire to England till affairs are settled at court. His first visit was to Mons. de Calonne, with whom he held conference for some considerable time, which sufficiently indicates the subject of his mission. His next visit was to the prince of Wales.

Came on be tried, before lord Loughborough and a 19th. special jury, the cause instituted by the countess of Strathmore against Mr. Bowes, to recover back certain estates (value 12,000 l. a-year) which she had secured to herself by a private deed, made previous to her marriage with the defendant. This was on issue directed by the lord chancellor; and the question for the jury to try was, "Whether a deed the 1st of May 1777, executed by the court, revoking the former deed; was obtained by the influence of terror, arising from cruelty and violence." And the jury, without going out of court, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff. The whole court expressed the highest satisfaction.

Edinburgh. On Sunday, the 25th, the king, queen, and prince of Wales, were prayed for by name, and the rest of the royal family in the usual manner, in all the Nonjuring chapels in this city and Leith. The same manner of testifying the loyalty of the Scotch Episcopalians will also be observed in every part of the country, in consequence of the resolution come to by the bishops and clergy of that persuasion. Thus an effectual end is put to the most distant idea of disaffection, in any part of his majesty's dominions, to his royal person and government.

The two annual prizes of 20 guineas each, given by lord 30th. North, chancellor of the university of Oxford, are, for the present year, adjudged to Mr. Roberts, A. B. of Corpus Christi, for an English Essay on Refinement; and to Mr. Vaughan, of Merton College, for Latin Heroics on the Art of Chemistry. Both

Both of these compositions will be recited in the theatre at the ensuing commemoration.

31<sup>st</sup>. As the princess Elizabeth was sitting in her apartment, in the afternoon, her royal highness was surprized with the abrupt entrance of a shabby man. The princess, exceedingly alarmed, hastily quitted the room by an opposite door, and acquainted her attendants with what had happened. The page in waiting ran instantly and seized the fellow, who, upon examination, appeared to be a poor insane creature, who by some means or other had got into the palace unperceived. Being taken to the lodge, the porter protested, he had no recollection of any such man having passed; and being questioned in what manner he had obtained admittance, he laughed at the porter for asking; saying, it was *his* business to tell, and never would say more. As he appeared a harmless creature, he was suffered to depart; but in a short time returned, and, in peremptory terms, insisted on being introduced to the princess, "That he might pay his adorations at her feet." It was then thought necessary to take him into custody, and notice to be sent to lord Sidney. The result was, that, after being confined till next day, he was then examined by the magistrates in Bow-street, when it appeared his name was Spang; his father a Dane, but himself an Englishman, and a hair-dresser; that he had till lately worked with a Mr. Warren, who gave him a good character; and, upon the whole, his insanity being established on the clearest evidence, the magistrates ordered his parish to provide for him.

DIED.—At her house in Caven-

dish-square, Mrs. Adams, a widow lady of large fortune. Dying without immediate heirs, she has distributed upwards of 50,000*l.* in legacies; among which are, 300*l.* to Mary-le-Bonne charity-school; 1000*l.* to her own maid, and 500*l.* to her coachman. She has also left an annuity of 15*l.* a year, for the support of a favourite dog. Her remains were deposited, on the morning of the 22<sup>d</sup> inst. in Mary-le-Bonne burying-ground, attended by an immense concourse of people, the children of the school singing an anthem as the procession passed through the streets.

At Ostend, aged 107, Mr. George de Drusina. He was born in France, but had been upwards of eighty years in the service of the emperor of Germany.

Aged 102, Mademoiselle Jun, a nun of the Ursuline order at Bourdeaux. She had led an austere religious life till she was 100 years old, and it was with regret that she obeyed the positive orders of her superior to keep her room on account of her age.

## J U N E.

*Jamaica, April 5.* The slave laws here have been revised: 1<sup>st</sup>. and consolidated, and several regulations made in favour of the negroes. The assembly have passed an act, which contains the following reforms: 1. Every possessor of a slave is prohibited from turning him away when incapacitated by sickness or age, but must provide for him the wholesome necessaries of life, under a penalty of ten pounds for every offence. 2. Every person who mutilates a slave shall pay a fine



fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, and be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months; and, in very atrocious cases, the slaves may be declared free. 3. Any person wantonly or bloody-mindedly killing a slave shall suffer death. 4. Any person whipping, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning, a slave not his property, nor under his care, shall be subject to fine and imprisonment. 5. A parochial tax to be raised for the support of negroes disabled by sickness and old age, having no owners."

Mr. Tankard, a king's officer at Dartford, in consequence of an information, stopped the mail-coach from Dover, and demanded of the guard the key of the trunk on which he sat. Being refused, he broke the trunk open, and two letter bags, with the brass labels, "Dover bags," were found filled with lace. The coach and horses were seized.

Lord Mansfield signed the 3d. resignation of his office at Caen-Lodge, before Mr. Montague the master in chancery, who underwrote it, and afterwards dispatched it to the lord chancellor, who next day laid it before the king. Some slight existing differences, it is said, was the reason the resignation did not take place at the chancellor's house.

A cause was determined in 7th. the court of king's-bench, of consequence to be remembered. A female servant, having hired herself for a year, gave notice to quit at the end of her term. Her mistress, in the mean time, in consequence of impertinent behaviour, discharged her eight days before the expiration of the year; but at the same time paid her wages in full for the year's service. The question before the court was, "Whether this service

gained a settlement?" The court determined in the affirmative.

Arrived at Edinburgh the 17th. much talked of Mr. Brodie, lately apprehended for robbing the Edinburgh bank, after being traced to London, from London to Flanders, and from Flanders to Rotterdam, where he was seized, identified, and delivered up to the British consul, in that city. Brodie was a man of property, of whom a particular account may be expected.

One of his majesty's messengers arrived at the office of 19th. the marquis of Caermarthen, with the provisional treaty of defensive alliance between his majesty and the king of Prussia, signed on the 13th instant, by plenipotentiaries duly authorized for that purpose.

Lord Elcho, grand master of 20th. all the lodges in Scotland, attended by a respectable body of free and accepted masons, laid the foundation-stone of an assembly-room, to be built in a most elegant style, at Haddington, by subscription.

DIED.—At his house in 1st. the Adelphi, much lamented, George Hesse, esq. The manner of his death renders the circumstance still more unfortunate. About two o'clock in the morning he came home, and went into his library, where it appears he wrote five letters, which were found upon the table, addressed to the following persons: Mrs. Hesse, sen. his mother, Mrs. Hesse, jun. his wife, Mr. Agar, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Woodman. After which he charged very lightly one of his own travelling pistols, and, putting it into his mouth, discharged it. The ball went through his head, and was found upon the sofa. The report was

was not heard by any of the servants of the house. About eight, the maid-servant went in to open the windows, and seeing a man's leg on the sofa, on opening the door, she ran down to tell the valet that some man had broke into the house. On coming into the room, he immediately perceived it was his master, who was lying at his length on the sofa, with the pistol in his right hand, across his breast. The letters above mentioned were on the table, with his watch, and a pen-knife. On the day preceding, Mr. Hesse had dined with lord Gage; whence he went to the club at Philimore's, and, on leaving that, immediately went home. The whole evening he was remarkably thoughtful; and for many weeks past had shewn symptoms of an altered mind. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict lunacy.

### J U L Y.

On the 12th instant, at five in the afternoon, their majesties, with their royal highnesses the princess royal and princess Augusta, arrived at Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, for the benefit of the waters of that long-neglected spa. Their majesties set out from Windsor about seven in the morning, proceeded to the earl of Harcourt's at Nuneham in Oxfordshire, where they stayed about two hours, and then proceeded on their journey through crowds of people, who were every where assembled on the road, to express their loyalty to his majesty.

On the 18th their majesties and the princesses attended divine service at the parish church, where a

sermon was preached by the lord bishop of Gloucester.

The royal family reside at lord Fauconberg's, a delightful seat, about a quarter of a mile from the town, and two hundred yards from the spa.

Their majesties ride or walk abroad every day; and it may be easily conceived with what crowds of loyal subjects they are attended. They want no military guards.

On the 19th their majesties and the princesses paid a visit to earl Bathurst, at Oakley Grove, where they were most nobly entertained, and a dinner provided fit for a king, which their majesties, as was previously intimated, could not be prevailed on to partake, because in direct opposition to the purpose of going to Cheltenham.

They have since been to Gloucester, and are soon to visit Worcester and Hartlebury.

A most extraordinary robbery was this day discovered <sup>15th.</sup> to have happened at Devonshire-house, where the lock of his grace's cabinet had been broken, and medals carried off to a considerable amount. Some discoveries have already been made, but not sufficient to enable us to authenticate the recital.

This afternoon the secretary <sup>16th.</sup> of state sent a free pardon to Wilkins, the printer, in Newgate; but the right honourable lord George Gordon, who employed Wilkins, still remains close prisoner in that gaol.

The ceremony of presenting the Indian ambassadors at Versailles took place on Sunday the 10th instant. A splendid throne was prepared *dans la salle d'Hercule* (Hercules's hall, in the king's palace at Versailles),

Verfailles), and on that throne the king received them. The procession attending their introduction was very magnificent. The queen preceded, in a beautiful white dress, elegantly embroidered with variegated flowers. Her breast and sleeve knots, of rich diamonds, dazzled the eyes of the gazing admirers, but chiefly her *aigret*, which was composed of brilliants of the most pure water. The duke of Bourbon was in the royal retinue. The other princes of the blood did not attend. When his majesty had reached the throne, and the etiquette of placing the queen, the royal brothers, and the princesses Elizabeth de Provence and Artois on his right and left, was adjusted, the three ambassadors advanced in solemn state, without music, accompanied by twenty-four attendants in their Indian dresses and muslin turbans, bespangled with silver and gold. One of them carried a present for the queen in his hands, shut up in a kind of box; it was thought to be pearls. The presentation was soon over, and they returned to Trianon, where they had slept the preceding evening, and where they dined in their own way. In the afternoon they returned to Versailles, to enjoy the curious display of waters, with which they were exceedingly pleased.

Came on to be heard before the chancellor, at Lincoln's-inn-hall, a petition of a singular nature. The petitioner was a bankrupt, who was solicitous to obtain his certificate, to which his creditors had signified their consent. The prayer of his petition was, that a question propounded to him by one of his creditors, at his last examination, and the bankrupt's an-

swer to such question, might be expunged from the proceedings under the commission of bankruptcy.

The question propounded was, Whether the bankrupt had lost five pounds by a game at cards?—which he acknowledged he had.

This application to the chancellor became necessary by a certain provision in the bankrupt laws, by which a bankrupt, who has lost five pounds at one time at a game of cards, and some other species of gambling therein described, is precluded from obtaining his certificate.

The chancellor rejected the petition.

The high court of Justiciary met at Edinburgh, to 25th. pronounce sentence upon James Granger, unanimously found guilty by his jury, of having taken an active part in the combination among the operative weavers, and the riots which afterwards took place in Glasgow and its neighbourhood in September last. The verdict of the jury being read, "that the prisoner should be carried back to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, therein to remain till Wednesday the 13th of August next, on which day he should be publicly whipt through the streets of the city by the hands of the common executioner; that he should then be set at liberty, and be allowed till the 4th of October to settle his affairs; after which he should banish himself from Scotland for seven years, under the usual certifications in case of his again returning during that period;" the lord justice clerk desired the opinion of the court upon the sentence which fell to the court to be pronounced in consequence of the verdict of the jury. The judges all concurred in

the heinousness of the offence, but felt for the prisoner, who, till those unhappy disturbances took place, had behaved as a good and worthy citizen, and lord Eskgrove even wished that the public whipping could be remitted. There were some, he said, so callous, as to receive that chastisement with no other emotion than what the smart of the lash of the executioner occasioned; while there were others who had so high a sense of the indignity that they would rather almost submit to the last punishment of the law than endure it; these being his sentiments, he was extremely sorry to be under the necessity of differing from the majority of their lordships in the mode of punishment, though he perfectly agreed in the atrociousness of the crime. Lord Swinton felt much for the situation of the prisoner; but, sitting as a judge, he thought himself bound to call in his judgment to correct those feelings, by way of example for the benefit of society. The sentence, as before recited, was agreed to and pronounced.

**DIED.**—At Selkirk, aged 116, William Riddell. This man, who, in the early part of his life, was a considerable smuggler, and remarkable for his love of brandy, which he drank in very large quantities, was always so fond of good ale, that he has often declared he never drank a draught of pure water. He was not a regular drunkard, but had frequent paroxysms of drinking, which continued several successive days. After his 90th year, he at one time drank for a fortnight together, with only a few intervals of sleep in his chair. When he married his third wife he was 95; and retained his memory and other facul-

ties to his death. For the last two years of his life his chief subsistence was a little bread infused in spirits and ale.

## AUGUST.

The poll for member for the city of Westminster finally 4th. closed, when the numbers on casting up the books were as follow:

	Townshend.	Hood.	Total polled.
Frid. July 18,	572	292	864
Saturday 19,	521	484	1005
Monday 21,	826	839	1665
Tuesday 22,	440	704	1144
Wednesd. 23,	382	573	955
Thursday 24,	517	488	1005
Friday 25,	408	415	823
Saturday 26,	302	216	518
Monday 28,	643	382	1025
Tuesday 29,	469	233	702
Wednesd. 30,	398	236	634
Thursday 31,	264	156	420
Frid. Aug. 1,	123	97	220
Saturday 2,	177	261	438
Monday 4,	350	193	543
	<u>6392</u>	<u>5569</u>	<u>11961</u>

Majority for Lord J. Townshend 823  
*Brighton, Aug. 6.* This day, about twelve o'clock, the stand on the race-ground was crowded with the nobility, gentry, and others, to see three pitched battles on a stage erected for that purpose before the stand. The first was between Watson and Jones. They both fought with great spirit for eighteen minutes, and aimed most of the blows at the head. Jones, finding himself too weak for any hopes of success, yielded to Watson.—The second battle was between Ward and Reynolds. Ward (not the Bristol man)



was evidently the strongest, and fought manfully; but Reynolds shifted, shewed but little sport, and on the first fair blow in the face, gave it up.—The third battle was between Tyne and Earl. Earl was the taller man, and a shoe-maker by trade; Tyne is a taylor, and has fought several battles. They both, from the first set-to, shewed great courage, and wasted but little time in manœuvring. Tyne appeared to have most skill; but Earl fought very fast, and generally threw him. In the second round, Tyne's right eye was closed up, and in a few rounds more he cut Earl terribly over the face in several places, and aimed most of his blows at the head and breast. However, after a dreadful conflict of forty-eight minutes, Tyne struck Earl under the left side, and immediately closed in, and threw him a most dreadful fall, which killed him instantly. Several surgeons, who were present, endeavoured to bleed him, and otherwise use their skill; but all to no purpose. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has declared that he would have some settlement made on the nearest relation of the deceased; but that, on account of the dreadful example he had then witnessed, he would never more either see or patronize another stage fight.

Being the birth-day of the 12th. Prince of Wales, who then entered into the 27th year of his age, the same was observed in London and Westminster, with illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. At Brighton, where his Royal Highness ordered an elegant dinner to be provided, it was still more splendidly observed. In the evening a general illumination was dis-

played; and the castle honoured by company of the first distinction.

Was the day appointed, 15th. by his Majesty, for the celebration of the birth-day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Windsor. Those who were present on this occasion, speak of the solemnity as one of the finest fights ever seen in this kingdom. Twelve of the Royal Family were seated at one table, and very near one hundred of the nobility of both sexes, at two long tables to the right and left of the first. The *coup d'œil* of the whole, therefore, from the decorations of the tables, the blaze of lights, the splendor of the dresses, and, above all, the beauty of the ladies, formed a scene that was at once awful and impressive.

Prince Charles of Lich- 25th. tenstein arrived at Vienna, brought in a litter from Zagran, by eighteen Sclavonians, relieving each other successively on the road. The princess accompanied him with the utmost tenderness and attention; but little hope is entertained of his recovery.

Marshal Laudohn has been appointed commander in chief in Croatia, in his room.

Marshal Laudohn had a narrow escape in the late action; as he was reconnoitring with his first aid-du-camp, two centinels in an advanced piquet-guard fired, and both shots took place—one wounded the aid-du-camp rather dangerously, the other hit some of Marshal Laudohn's accoutrements, and wounded the horse on which he was mounted.

The Turkish fort of Gradisca, so much boasted of by the Austrians, is among the first trophies of his victories. The miserable garrison of which was reduced to the pitiful

number of 265 men, who, notwithstanding, refused to surrender, till they could no longer endure the stench of their own dead. Only ten pieces of cannon were found in the fort.

A letter lately received from York, among other particulars, gives the following description of the mausoleum, erected about a mile from the front of Wentworth-house, the top-stone of which, a few days before the letter was written, was set by the Right Hon. lord Milton, son of earl Fitzwilliam, on which he laid a bank of England note, value ten pounds, for the workmen. The base of this noble structure is of the Doric order, 26 feet square; the middle story of the Corinthian; and the rotunda, of twelve columns, of the Composite order. This grand edifice is erected to the memory of that great and illustrious character the late Marquis of Rockingham. The inside of the base story forms a dome supported by twelve Doric columns, wherein are intended to be placed statues of the late marquis, late Sir George Savile, and some other of his intimate friends. In the inside of the second story is placed a Roman sarcophagus. The whole of the building is about 90 feet high, and forms a noble object, not only from the house, but for several miles round the adjacent country.

29th. This morning the purser of the Princess Amelia, the last ship expected from Madras this season, arrived at the India-house, with advice of the arrival of that ship off St. Helen's. She has brought dispatches from that presidency to the court of directors, which were near being lost on landing, the boat being overset the mo-

ment after the dispatches were put on shore.

On Sunday last, about twelve o'clock, the Archbishop of Sens, prime minister of France, was dismissed from his employments.

DIED.—At his house in Pall Mall, about two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Gainsborough, the painter, one of the greatest geniuses that ever adorned any age or any nation. His death was occasioned by a wen in the neck, which grew internally, and so large as to obstruct the passages. The effects of it became violent, a few months since, from a cold caught one morning in Westminster-hall, at the trial of Mr. Hastings. The malady began to increase from this time; but its symptoms so much eluded the skill of Dr. Heberden and Mr. John Hunter, that they declared it was nothing more than a swelling in the glands, which the warm weather would disperse. With this prospect he went to his cottage near Richmond, where he remained for a few days; but growing worse, he returned. A suppuration taking place soon after, Mr. John Hunter acknowledged the protuberance to be a cancer. Mr. Pott was at this time called in, with Dr. Warren; who confirmed this opinion, but found it impracticable to administer aid. In a situation thus desperate, the esteemed and admired Gainsborough languished, and died ignorant of the malady which brought him to his end. Since his death, the part has been opened, the excrescence examined, and replaced. —Mr. Gainsborough was just turned of 61 years of age. Of his great excellence, both as a portrait and a landscape painter, the number and value

value of his works make it unnecessary to speak.

24th. In Glasgow town hospital, after eight days illness, aged 105, John Young, weaver, born in Cumbernauld. He wrought for his own support till the age of 99, when he was received into the hospital, and has since been employed in winding yarn. On the 15th inst. the day allowed the poor of the hospital to see their friends, he went out with the rest. He retained his memory to the last; remembered the battle of the Boyne, and the massacre of Glencoe.

26th. At Paris, her grace Elizabeth countess-dowager of Bristol, duchess-dowager of Kingston. She was sole daughter and heiress of colonel Thomas Chudleigh, late of Chelsea-college (younger brother of sir George Chudleigh, bart. of Ashton, in Devonshire) and Harriet his wife. In 1743 she was appointed one of the maids of honour to the princess of Wales; which office she continued to hold till her marriage with the duke of Kingston.—Her grace was married Aug. 4, 1744, in the parish church of Lainston, in Hampshire, the seat of John Merrill, esq. by the rev. Thomas Amis, rector of that parish, to the hon. Augustus-John Hervey, then lieutenant of the Cornwall man of war, second son of John lord Hervey, son and heir of John the first earl of Bristol (who, in consequence of the death of his eldest brother, George-William, the second earl of Bristol, unmarried, March 20, 1775, succeeded to that title) both parties being then about eighteen years of age. The issue of this marriage was a son, born at Chelsea, in 1747, who died an infant. The earl died Dec. 22, 1779.

—She was married, secondly, March 8, 1769, in the parish church of St. George, Hanover-square, by the rev. Samuel Harpur, of the British Museum, to Evelyn duke of Kingston. He died at Bath, Sept. 23, 1773, without issue.—Her grace was tried for bigamy before the house of peers, in Westminster-hall, on April 15, 16, 19, 20, and 22, 1776, Henry earl Bathurst, lord chancellor, being appointed high steward of Great Britain for that purpose; and on the last of those days was found guilty by the unanimous and unequivocal adjudication of all the peers present, the duke of Newcastle only adding to his declaration of “Guilty, upon “my honour,” the assertion, that she was so “erroneously, but not “intentionally.” After the trial, she quitted this country, and resided at St. Petersburg, and many other foreign courts.—About a fortnight before her grace’s demise, she was attacked with a fever of so slight a nature, that the faculty considered it of little importance. She was indisposed, rather than actually ill. The night preceding the day on which she expired, an internal bleeding took place, and it appeared to have considerably relieved her. She arose a little later than her accustomed hour; by the aid of a domestic, walked about the saloon, and conversed with some friends, at different intervals, during the forenoon. At two o’clock she expressed an inclination to drink a glass of wine, which was brought her. She then walked the length of the saloon, returned towards a couch, and the instant in which she reached it, she sat down, fell gently backward, and expired without an agitation or a groan. On opening

the body, preparatory to embalment, the heart and lungs were found to be in perfect condition; but a small blood-vessel had burst, which caused her death.—The duchess was born in 1720; consequently she was 68 years of age. The executors are, sir Richard Heron, sir George Shuckburgh, and Mr. Payne, formerly consul at Algiers. Mr. Payne is gone to Paris, to bring over the will, which was made two years ago.

## SEPTEMBER.

1st. The lord mayor of London went to St. Margaret's-hill court in the Borough, accompanied by sir Thomas Halifax, sir William Plomer, and Mr. Sheriff Fenn; where his lordship opened the court for granting licences to the publicans residing within the five parishes of the Borough.—Among many others who received their licences was the proprietor of the Dog and Duck tea-gardens; consequently, that house will be opened in the usual manner.

At three o'clock the lord mayor and aldermen withdrew from St. Margaret's-hill, after finishing the business of the day, and confirming the jurisdiction of the city of London in the exercise of magisterial authority a second time, with the full concurrence of the inhabitants, who accede to the enjoyment of many privileges and franchises by this extension of the city's charter.

The Surry magistrates attended at the same time, and for the same purpose, at Union-hall, to maintain their claim of a jurisdiction over the Borough; so that this claim,

which has been long in litigation, does not yet seem to have obtained a legal decision.

On Wednesday the 3d, came on at Edinburgh, before the high court of justiciary, the trial of William Brodie and George Smith, for breaking into the general excise-office for Scotland, in the night of the 5th of March last, and stealing bank-notes and money. The trial commenced at a quarter before nine o'clock in the morning, and the evidence was not closed till after one the next morning, when the whole was summed up by the lord advocate on the part of the crown, and by the prisoner's counsel. The lord justice clerk then gave his charge to the jury, which lasted till near six o'clock, when they were inclosed, and at one returned a verdict, unanimously finding the prisoners guilty. A motion was then made for an arrest of judgment, which their lordships unanimously rejected; and the lord justice clerk passed sentence on the prisoners, to be executed on Wednesday the first of October next.

Mr. Brodie's behaviour during the whole trial was perfectly collected. He was respectful to the court; and, when any thing ludicrous occurred in the evidence, smiled, as if he had been an indifferent spectator. His demeanour, on receiving the dreadful sentence, was equally cool and determined. He was carried back to prison in a chair. Smith was much affected. Mr. Brodie was dressed in a blue coat, fancy vest, fatten breeches, and white silk stockings; a cocked hat; his hair full dressed and powdered. Smith was rather meanly dressed.

However extraordinary it may appear,



appear, it is a certain fact, that Mr. Brodie, at the death of his father, which happened about twelve years ago, inherited a considerable estate in houses in the city of Edinburgh, together with 10,000*l.* in specie; but, by an unhappy connexion, and a too great propensity to that destructive, though too predominant passion, gaming, he is reduced to his present deplorable situation.

8th. Two eight-oared cutters started from Westminster-bridge, to row to Richmond against wind and tide, for a wager of sixty guineas a side; the first through Richmond-bridge to win the money. The names of the boats were the Chatham and the Invincible. The bets at starting were much in favour of the Invincible, and continued so till they came off Sion-house, when the Chatham touched her in the stern, and drove her ashore, to the surprise of the spectators, the Chatham being 300 yards a-stern at Kew-bridge. On board the Invincible the exertions were so great, after this encounter, that one man may be said to have died on his oar, and two others, on being landed at Kew, were taken very ill; of course the Chatham carried off the prize.

12th. William Mason was this day tried for the robbery in Devonshire-house. By the lenity of his grace the duke of Devonshire, the prisoner was indicted only for a simple felony, of which he was convicted.

18th. This day there was a numerous meeting of proprietors of bank stock, at the half-yearly court, to hear the dividend declared; when Mr. Darell (the governor) declared, that they were

enabled to make a dividend of 3*l.* 10*s.* *per cent.* for the half year, ending the 10th of October next. Mr. Alderman Pickett then arose, to know the grounds on which that dividend was declared. He detested all private views, and stated the right the proprietors had by their charter to meet and deliberate on the nature and circumstances of their affairs; and according to the situation in which they stood, from time to time, to declare the dividend for the time being. He insisted, that as the profits of the company were progressive, the dividend ought also to be progressive in proportion to those profits. He made other pertinent observations, which he formed into resolutions; but as he found the sense of the principal proprietors *in toto* against him, he forbore for the present to urge them. The directors acknowledge the right of the proprietors; but could by no means be answerable for what would attend the exercise of it.

The motion being put, that the court do agree to the dividend declared, the same passed unanimously.

On the 26th of July, early in the morning, a large hulk, in the service of government, lying off Greenwich in Jamaica, in which was above 2000 weight of powder, took fire and blew up. There were only a white man and two negroes on board, by the carelessness of whom a fire was left burning in the cabin when they went to sleep. A little after twelve the white man awoke, and finding the vessel on fire, instantly called the negroes to assist in quenching the flames; instead of which, they suddenly jumped into the only boat along-side, and

[O 4] rowed

rowed off. In this dilemma the man got over the bows of the hulk, and supported himself by the cable till the explosion took place, when he was blown into the air, and fell down again into the sea, without receiving any other hurt than being slightly scorched.

A young Irish gentleman, for a very considerable wager, set out, on Monday the 22d instant, to walk to Constantinople and back again in one year. It is said that the young gentleman has 20,000*l.* depending on the performance of this exploit.

29th. A common-hall was this day held at Guildhall, for the election of a lord mayor for the year ensuing, when William Gill, esq. citizen and stationer, being the senior alderman, was chosen with unusual unanimity.—Mr. Pickett's threatened motion for the demolition of Temple Bar, meeting with no hand to second it, dropt of course unput.

30th. The arrangement of the French ministry, as resolved on by the most Christian King, stands thus.—It is nearly the same as it was when the archbishop of Sens was at the head of affairs.

M. de Castries has no share whatever in the new administration; nor is there any place of premier now existing.

M. Necker, minister of the finances, and at the head of affairs. The place of superintendant of the finances was abolished under M. Fouquet, and probably will never be revived.

There is no comptroller general.

M. de la Moignon (and not de Montholon) keeper of the seals.

Count de Luzerne (and not de la Porte) minister of the marine,

M. de Brienne (and not de St. Priest) minister in the war department.

There is no such office in France as secretary for the home department; but

Count de Montmorin (and not M. de Breuille) secretary of state for foreign affairs.

The other department of administration is, monseigneur de Montmorency Laval, chancellor.

At present it is not intended there should be any prime minister—but should any such department be filled, it will certainly be by the duc de Chatelet.

DIED.—Rev. William Norman, rector of Bledon, in Somersetshire. As he was sitting at supper (on the 25th) with a friend, he observed his brother, the rev. Henry Norman, take a large knife from the case, and go out into the kitchen. He immediately called to the servant to take it from him, which, through fear, he omitted to do. Soon after, Henry returned to the parlour, with the knife concealed under his coat, and, unobserved by his brother, came behind him and stabbed him twice. The unfortunate gentleman lay in the greatest agonies of pain till the morning of the 27th, when he expired.—The wretched perpetrator of this horrid act is rector of Morsted, near Winchester; and, having been some time since deranged in his intellects, was removed to his brother's at Bledon, for security, and in August last appeared in a more serene state than for some years before. He therefore had greater liberties allowed him, and the tragical event happened as above related. The unhappy maniac, we are told, being asked by his

his servant when he should return home, gave for answer, "as soon as he had killed his brother." No notice, however, was taken of this. He has been since confined in a private madhouse.

O C T O B E R.

9th. At a general court of proprietors at the East India house, for balloting on the question for restoring captain Bruce Boswell, late of the Earl of Chesterfield East Indiaman; the ballot began at nine in the morning, and finally closed at six in the evening; soon after which it was declared for the captain.

11th. Between the hours of one and three in the morning, the palace of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury was broke open, and plate, as it is said, to the value of two thousand pounds taken away; to secure which, his grace had lately removed a door that led into the plate-rooms, and had caused the passage to be bricked up with a wall eighteen inches thick. By this alteration, it is supposed, the villains came to the knowledge of the rooms where the plate was deposited, a part of which was the property of Mr. Eden, who, before he went abroad, lodged it in the palace as a place of the greatest security. Finding it impossible to get over the wall with the booty, the thieves picked the lock of the garden-door next the river, and it is thought conveyed away their prize in a boat moored along side the bishop's walk for that purpose. Not any of the family were alarmed, nor the robbery discovered until the servants rose, when the hole in the wall,

which was the size of the mouth of a large oven, betrayed the fact. A letter was found in the palace, evidently dropped by one of the depredators, without an address, signed *Joseph*, but no surname. The contents of the letter is, that the house of the writer's master had been broke open, but the family being alarmed, the men had gone off without effecting their purpose, and left behind them a sack, and some implements for house-breaking. This epistle being taken to Bow-street, and the books examined, the house to which the letter alluded was known, information of the circumstance having been given at the office after the intended robbery. The gentleman being waited on, immediately knew the hand-writing of the letter to be that of a servant named *Joseph*, whom he had lately discharged, on an idea of his being concerned with the persons who broke into his house. But nothing has yet been discovered by it.

One Richard Coventry, a 16th. lighterman, navigating his barge from London-bridge, on the Surry-side of Black-friars was set fast, and in going home, between twelve and one, made the following discoveries, of which he made oath before the justices at Union-hall in the Borough. Seeing a light in a carpenter's yard, and hearing the sound of hammers, he was induced to be curious, and discovered five persons hammering tankards, tureens, spoons, &c. the utensils appearing to be covered with dirt and filth. It struck him that this was the plate which was stolen from the archbishop; and he immediately called his fellow bargeman and a boy, who arming themselves with two old pistols and a cutlass,

burst

burst into the place, and surprized the thieves at their work: four of them got off—the fifth jumped upon a pile of timber, but being surrounded was obliged to descend, and was taken into custody by the watchmen. Four large bags of plate were found upon the spot, all tarnished black, having been thrown into the adjoining ditch. The plate was produced, and several pieces of it were beat close together, so as to render it impossible to be identified: but it was not so with the greater quantity, which was clearly proved to be the property of the archbishop by two of his servants. The prisoner's name is Edwards. He has usually plied upon the water, and occasionally worked as a porter, and was known by the nick-name of *Oil Skin Jack*. The facts being fully corroborated, the prisoner Edwards was committed to the Borough New Gaol for further examination.

*Ireland*, 20th. The anniversary of the birth of king William III. was observed at the Castle with more than ordinary solemnity. The appearance of nobility and gentry at the levee was such as evinced their attachment to the revolution in favour of that illustrious monarch, and its happy consequences in the establishment of the present royal family on the throne of these realms. After the levee, his excellency, attended by a numerous train of the first personages in the kingdom, and escorted by the guard usual on such occasions, went from the Castle to College Green, and after saluting the equestrian statue of king William, proceeded from thence round Stephen's Green. The appearance on this occasion was splendid, and the number of equipages more nu-

merous than had been known for many years.

*Portsmouth*, 28th. A court martial was this day held on board the *Edgar*, to try lieutenants Wall and Lucas, officers on board the *Phaeton* frigate, captain Dawson commander, for suffering themselves to be beaten by the surgeon, Mr. William Wardrobe (under sentence of death for striking his commanding officer while on duty) without punishing or calling him to account for his conduct. The prosecutor was the third lieutenant, supported by the master. The beating was proved; but it likewise was proved, that the surgeon, in the course of service, having received a contusion in his head, was a maniac when he was in liquor, but a man of quiet temper and consummate skill in his profession when sober, which had inclined lieutenant Wall (who had the command of the ship when the fatal quarrel happened, in which he was struck) from a principle of humanity, to forgiveness, in which he had been seconded by lieutenant Lucas from the same motives; a lenity, which however commendable as private gentlemen, was reprehensible in the extreme in officers, as dangerous to the service in his majesty's navy. Thus circumstanced, they threw themselves on the mercy of the court, hoping that, should they be thought guilty, in shewing too great lenity to an unhappy man, in compassion to his more unhappy family (having a wife and several small children, entirely dependant on his pay, in Scotland) a little of that lenity they may be blamed for shewing to others, may be extended to themselves.

While the sentence of the court martial



martial remained in suspense, another court martial was ordered to be held on captain Dawson, which commenced on the 7th instant, at the instance of Mr. Wilkie, the master, on a variety of charges (fourteen in number) the greatest part of which were judged by the court ill-grounded, scandalous, malicious, and subversive of all good government and discipline in the navy; but part of the tenth, the eleventh, twelfth, and part of the fourteenth, were fully proved; and therefore the sentence of the court was, that the captain be dismissed from his majesty's service.

30th. The general assembly of the church of Scotland, by an act passed on the 29th of May, 1788, appointed the 5th day of November, in the present year, to be observed, within the bounds of their national church, as a day of solemn thanksgiving, in commemoration of the revolution in 1688, and have enjoined all ministers to intimate the same from their pulpits, on the Lord's day preceding the said 5th of November.

DIED.—At Paris, suddenly, the marquis de Chastellux, a commanding officer in the French army in America, and author of "Travels in North America, in the years 1780, 1, 2," which have been translated into English. The marquis also wrote, "De la Felicité publique; ou, Considerations sur le sort des Hommes dans les différentes Epoques de l'Histoire," published at Amsterdam without his name, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1772.

At Paris, after a short illness, aged eighty-seven years, eight months, and twenty-seven days, Antoine de Contaut de Biron, duke de Biron, peer and first marshal of France, knight

of the king's orders, colonel-general of the French guards, governor of Languedoc, baron of Perigord and Ruffey, lord of Bradefol, Mugron, and Brisambourg, count of Cabrerres, and marquis of Rouffillon and Montferrand.—His remains lay in state till the evening of Monday, November 10, when they were buried with military honours, all the French guards attending.—Mr. Walpole thus describes his gardening: "In the garden of marshal de Biron at Paris, consisting of fourteen acres, every walk is battened on each side by lines of flower-pots, which succeed in their seasons. When I saw it, there were nine thousand pots of Asters, or La Reine Marguerite."

## N O V E M B E R.

This morning William Gill, esq; lord mayor elect, was 1st. presented to the lord chancellor, according to ancient usage, for his majesty's approbation.

This day was tried before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an indictment against Joseph Mitton, a soldier belonging to the bank picquet, for the assault on Mr. Crespigny, son of the member of parliament of that name. The indictment charged the defendant with an assault with intent to murder, and also with a common assault.—After lord Kenyon had summed up the evidence with his usual accuracy, the jury pronounced their verdict, Not guilty upon the count charging the defendant with an intent to kill—but guilty upon the count for a common assault.

Being the anniversary of the birth-day of king William III. 5th. the

the artillery company attended divine service at St. Paul's church, and afterwards dined at the Armoury-house.

Among the clubs in London who celebrated the centenary of the glorious revolution, there were seven, besides a number of inferior ones, who distinguished themselves on that memorable occasion.

At the dinner, at the London tavern, of the Revolution society, more than eight hundred gentlemen were present, earl Stanhope in the chair. The tavern was elegantly illuminated. There were many more illuminations where the friends of that happy event were assembled.

At the Whig club, held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, his grace the duke of Portland in the chair, Mr. Sheridan, after paying an eloquent tribute to the memory of our immortal deliverer, submitted to the approbation of the society certain resolutions respecting a column intended to be erected in Runney Mead (a spot sacred to the liberties of the people) to perpetuate so illustrious an event, which were unanimously agreed to, and more than £. 1000 subscribed by the several members.

*Edinburgh,* The 5th instant, being the 100th anniversary of the landing of king William III. in England, the same was observed at Edinburgh as a day of thanksgiving. A number of excellent sermons were preached at the various churches, in which the rise, progress, motives, and joyful effects of the revolution that followed, were pointed out in a most masterly and pathetic manner. The congregations, which were universally numerous, were in the principal churches of the first quality.

One of the Whig clubs, called, "The Independent Friends," came to the resolution, "That, impressed with the strongest sense of the inestimable blessings which these kingdoms enjoy in consequence of the glorious revolution in 1688, they now enter into and shall promote a subscription for erecting in Edinburgh, or the immediate neighbourhood thereof, some public monument, with a suitable inscription, in commemoration of that great event, and in testimony of their firm and steady adherence to the principles of the revolution settlement."

On the 17th of September, the ship Alliance, captain Read, arrived at Philadelphia, from Canton, in China, after a voyage of fifteen months, part of which, outwards, was by a new track, from the Cape of Good Hope steering to the south-eastward, and encircling all the eastern and southern islands of the Indian Ocean, passing the south cape of New Holland, and on their passage northwards discovering, as they supposed, some unknown islands, with the inhabitants of which, they, however, had no intercourse; so that nothing can be concluded from their report.

By the report of doctor Rush, of Philadelphia, a second phenomenon, equal, if not superior, to that prodigy in calculation, Jedediah Buxton, has appeared in Maryland, in the person of a black slave; this is the more extraordinary, as it is somewhere remarked, that few of the race of woolley-headed blacks can go farther in the art of enumeration than the number 5. The man being asked how many seconds a man of seventy years, some odd months, weeks, and days, had lived? *in a minute and a half*, told the

the number. The gentleman, after calculating the same by figures, said he was wrong.—“*Stop, massa,*” replied the black, “*you forget the leap years;*” and on including them, the gentleman found the black was precisely right. This slave is a native of Africa, and could neither write nor read; neither could Jededia Buxton. The publication of these *facts* seems to have an *end* in view, which, however, will by no means lessen their credit, when reported by doctor Rush, on his *own knowledge*.

*Ireland.* A most extraordinary circumstance occurred lately at Mullingar. A man about three years ago murdered his step-mother in the open day; and the alarm being given, a gentleman, with his attendants, properly armed, repaired to the place in order to apprehend him. While the party were engaged in breaking open the street-door, he contrived to make his escape backward, and going round, mounted the gentleman's horse, and rode clear off. He was not heard of for about three years; but on the 27th instant, went to the sheriff of the county of Westmeath, and voluntarily surrendered himself; though remote from punishment, and living orderly, he had acquired the reputation of an honest man.

22d. The following interesting point of law was argued and determined in the court of common pleas, before lord Loughborough. Mr. Williams, an auctioneer, was employed by Mr. Crown, of Brompton, to sell his furniture by auction, on the premises. A Mr. Millington, who had a claim of five guineas on Crown, had goods knocked

down to him at the auction, for which he paid the customary earnest, and next day found means to get the goods loaded and sent off, and then tendered a receipt for the five guineas due to him, with 2l. 4s. 6d. in cash, as payment to the auctioneer. The auctioneer refused the receipt in payment, paid Crown the full money for the lot, and then brought his action against Mr. Millington, and got a verdict in his favour. Millington moved the court to set aside the verdict. The arguments offered by his counsel were principally these, that the auctioneer had himself no property in the goods, and his possession was only a menial one, such as a shopman has from his employers; therefore he could maintain no action in his own name for breach of contract; that the case was totally different from that of a factor for a foreign merchant, who was liable to sue and be sued, for the convenience of commerce, because the principal, dwelling in a foreign country, could not be forthcoming; but here the auctioneer's principal being on the spot, removed all responsibility from the servant to himself. When the counsel on the other side had replied, lord Loughborough gave it as his decided opinion, that the auctioneer had not only a clear possession of the goods, but that possession was also coupled with an interest he had in them, as bound not only to defray all expences incurred by the sale, but the law threw upon him the responsibility for the duty. On this ground the verdict was established.

Was committed to the Castle of Lancaster, John 29th. Taylor, of Aldcliffe, for attempting

to shoot his wife and child; with a gun loaded with three flugs, which, though he snapped it twice, fortunately missed fire. In a scuffle which ensued, the wife twisted the gun out of his hands, and discharged its contents on the first pull of the trigger.

30th. Lord George Gordon, of whom we have heard nothing material for some time, has lately taken occasion to cause several hand-bills to be distributed, in which many texts of scripture are most scandalously applied to the unhappy state of the king. They are chiefly selected from the books of Deuteronomy and Kings.

His lordship, in order to shew government that what Moses and the prophets wrote in respect to the sovereigns of those days, would answer for any monarch in hundreds of centuries afterwards, thought proper to send several of those hand-bills to the present members of administration, avowing himself as the author.

The applications evidently made, and the effects palpably intended, were to alienate from his majesty the affections of his people, by the most scandalous perversion of the texts above-mentioned.

As this proceeding was of a very criminal nature, orders were immediately sent to the sheriff to search his lordship's apartments, and discover whether he had any means of printing such treasonable libels in Newgate. Accordingly sir Benjamin Hammet went, on Thursday, the 28th day of November, to lord George Gordon's apartment, on the felons side in Newgate, and tore down two copies from the walls of the room. He informed his lord-

ship, that those papers made a great disturbance in the city, and threatened to remove his lordship to a worse room. Lord George told the sheriffs, he was under the power of his enemies, in a loathsome prison, and they might do as they thought most prudent for themselves; as to the printer, he was known to nobody but himself.

DIED.—Lately, of a violent fever, on board his ship the *Rotislaw*, at Revel, admiral Samuel Carlöwitsch Greig, chief governor of the port of Cronstadt, chevalier of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander-Newski, St. George of the second class, St. Woldemir of the first class, and St. Anne; and admiral and commander in chief of the empress of Russia's fleet.—His remains have been conveyed from Revel to Petersburg by water, and there interred with great funeral pomp in the cathedral church of St. Catherine, where a monument is to be erected.

## DECEMBER.

The royal society held their anniversary meeting, at their 1st. apartments in Somerset-place in the Strand, when the president, sir Joseph Banks, bart. in the name of the society, presented the gold medal (called sir Godfrey Copley's) to Charles Blagden, M. D. Sec. R. S. for his two papers "On Congelation." The president on this occasion delivered the customary discourse on the subjects contained in Dr. Blagden's papers.

Afterwards the society proceeded to the choice of the council and officers for the ensuing year, when, on examining



examining the ballots, it appeared, that the following gentlemen were elected of the council :

Of the old council, sir Joseph Banks, bart. Charles Blagden, M.D. Richard Brocklesby, M.D. Henry Cavendish, esq; the reverend Lewis Dutens, M. A. Thomas Emlyn, esq; the reverend Nevil Maskelyne, D.D. Constantine John lord Mulgrave, sir William Mulgrave, bart. Joseph Planta, esq; Samuel Wegg, esq;

Of the new council, John Douglas lord bishop of Carlisle, Francis marquis of Carmarthen, Charles Combe, M.D. George Fordyce, M.D. Sir Abraham Hume, bart. Thomas Barnard lord bishop of Kilaloe, Francis Millman, M.D. John Peachey, esq; Samuel Prime, esq; Robert Weston, esq;

And the officers were, sir Joseph Banks, bart. president ; Samuel Wegg, esq; treasurer ; Joseph Planta, esq; and Charles Blagden, M.D. secretaries.

8th. The recorder of London had a long conference with lord Sidney, on the subject of the present situation of the prisons of the metropolis, and the number of convicts that are increasing to an alarming degree, owing to the delay of sending abroad those under sentence of transportation. The season is over for sending them to Quebec and Nova Scotia ; but assurances have been given, that two ships, properly fitted up, shall be ready, by the latter end of March next, to carry convicts to America.

12th. The poll at the contested election for Colchester closed, when the numbers were—for Mr. Tierney, 640—for Mr. Jackson, 640. The mayor made a double return.

The assembly of the Notables,

which met at Versailles on the 6th of November, was dissolved by the French king in person. The following is a translation of his speech :

“ Gentlemen, in terminating your meetings, I assemble you around me, to testify my satisfaction at the zeal and application which you have observed in the examination of the different objects which I laid before you. I shall weigh with attention the result of your deliberations, and shall prepare every thing which may accelerate the assembly of the States General ; a period that I wish for with much impatience, being assured they will provide an efficacious remedy for the evils of the state.”

A ballot was held at the East India house for the 16th. choice of a director, in the room of the late Mr. Michie : at six o'clock the glasses were closed ; and at seven the scrutineers declared the numbers as follows :

For Mr. David Scott, 568

Mr. Robert Jenner, 283

Upon which Mr. Scott was declared duly elected.

This day his royal highness the duke of York ordered 260 sacks of coals to be distributed among the families of the married men of his regiment, and the same to be continued every week during the severity of the weather.

DIED.—At Paris, in his 62d year, Peter Andrew de Suffren Saint Tropes, bailey and knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, vice-admiral of France, knight of the king's orders, ambassador at Malta to his Most Christian Majesty, general of that order, commendeur of several priories, &c. He greatly distinguished himself in many gallant actions during the late

war in the East Indies.—Being a knight of Malta, he was buried in the Temple, on the 11th inst.

22d. In Princes-street, Hanover-square, Percival Pott, esq; F.R.S. late principal surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He was among the favoured few who are indulged with early eminence. He succeeded Nourse, his master, at St. Bartholomew's, where, man and boy, he had been occupied above fifty years; and yet, in all that time, who ever found him wanting in any pursuit of urbanity and elegance? He was an interesting converser; he had cultivated literature; he was fond of art. But his best praise was in real life, in the relative duties, and more trying efforts of active life. In the pecuniary parts of character, happy is he who can be as liberal. His life had been, if health and comeliness are so, uncommonly reputable to his skill. He looked 50 though at 75. He was sent for to a patient out of town. Catching cold, he caught his instant death. He was delirious before night; and before the next night, notwithstanding Dr. Millman's assistance, he was dead.—The following is as correct a list of his publications as we can obtain: 1. "An Account of Tumours which soften the Bones." Phil. Transf. 1741, N<sup>o</sup> 459. 2. "A Treatise on Ruptures," 8vo, London, 1756. 3. "An Account of a particular Kind of Rupture," 8vo, *ibid.* 1757. 4. "A Treatise on the Hydrocele," 8vo, *ibid.* 1762. 5. "A Treatise on the Fistula Lachrymalis," 8vo, *ibid.* 1763. 6. "An Account of an Hernia of the Urinary-Bladder, including a Stone." Phil. Transf. vol. LIV. for 1764. 7. "Remarks

on the Fistula in Ano," 8vo, *ibid.* 1767. 8. "Some few general Remarks on Fractures and Dislocations," 8vo, *ibid.* 1768. 9. "Observations on the Nature and Consequences of those Injuries to which the Head is liable from external Violence," 8vo, *ibid.* 1768. 10. "Observations on Wounds of the Head," 8vo, *ibid.* 1760 and 1771. 11. "An Account of the Method of obtaining a perfect or radical Cure of the Hydrocele, or Watery Rupture, by means of a Seton," 8vo, *ibid.* 1771. 12. "Chirurgical Observations relative to the Cataract, the Polypus of the Nose, the Cancer of the Scrotum, the different Kinds of Ruptures, and the Mortification of the Toes and Feet," 8vo, London, 1775. All these different works have been collected and published in one volume quarto.

At his apartments at Chelsea College, in his 95th year, 26th. Messenger Mounsey, M.D. For a considerable time he was family physician to the late earl of Godolphin, and physician to Chelsea College. His character and humour bore a striking resemblance to that of the celebrated Dean Swift. By his will he has directed that his body shall not suffer any funeral ceremony, but undergo dissection; after which, the "remainder of his carcase (to use his own expression) may be put into a hole, or crammed into a box with holes, and thrown into the Thames," at the pleasure of the surgeon. The surgeon to whom he has assigned this charge is Mr. Forster, of Union-court, Broad-street.—In pursuance of the doctor's singular will, Mr. Forster has since given a dis-

course,

course, in the theatre of Guy's Hospital, to the medical students and a considerable number of intelligent visitors, on the dissection of the body. He introduced the subject by a sketch of the mental powers of Dr. Mounsey, observing, that his understanding was very comprehensive, that his genius and wit ranked him high in the literary world, that his company was courted by men of the first character for talents and distinction, and that he retained the strength of his judgment, and the liveliness of his fancy, to the very advanced period at which his life ended.—Mr. Forster then vindicated the doctor from all affectation, vanity, or whim, in having ordered his body for dissection, and prohibited all funeral ceremony, stating, that whatever of singularity might appear in his will was resolvable merely into a zeal for knowledge, and a desire of benefiting mankind, as he conceived that a dissection of his body would lead to the illustration of much useful truth. He mentioned also the philosophic contempt in which the Doctor held all funeral pomp, and every species of unnecessary form.

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## BIRTHS for the year 1788.

Jan. Lately, The right hon. lady Vernon, of a daughter.

8. Great duchess of Tuscany, of a prince.

14. Lady of the hon. Fred. Lumley, of a son.

15. Lady of the hon. John Byng, of a daughter.

Feb. 9. Lady of Thomas Smith, esq; M. P. for Nottingham, of a daughter.

10. Lady Carysfort, of a daughter,

18. At Copenhagen, her royal highness princess Sophia-Frederica, of a princess.

24. Lady Boynton, of a daughter.

26. Lady of Gerard Edward Noel, esq; of a daughter.

27. Right hon. lady Kinnaird, of a son.

March 10. Lady Macdonald, of a son.

21. Right hon. lady Boston, of a son.

24. Right hon. lady Louvaine, of a son.

29. Her royal highness the princess of Asturias, of a son.

April 4. Lady of sir Paulett St. John, bart. of a daughter.

12. Lady of sir Samuel Hannay, bart. of a daughter.

May 9. Lady Carnegie, of a daughter.

13. Lady John Russell, of a son.

19. Countess of Altamont, of a son and heir.

21. Her imperial highness the great duchess of Tuscany, of a princess.

June. Lately, the countess of Eglintoun, of a daughter.

8. Lady Compton, of a son.

11. Lady Swinburne, of a son and heir.

19. Lady Calthorpe, of a daughter.

21. Right hon. Countess Kinnoul, of a daughter.

July 20. The right hon. lady  
Frances Benson, of a  
son.

Aug. 6. Lady Frederick, of a  
son.

16. Lady Bernard, of a son  
and heir.

26. At Naples, her Sicilian  
majesty, of a prince.

Sept. Lately, the right hon.  
lady Cattle Stewart, of  
a daughter.

1. Lady of James Hodson,  
esq; of Ince, near  
Wigan, of a son and  
heir.

4. Right hon. lady Grey  
de Wilton of a daugh-  
ter.

26. Lady Whichcote, of a  
daughter.

30. Ducheſs of Beaufort, of  
a son.

Oct. Lately, the right hon.  
lady Ann Fox, of a son  
and heir.

15. Her grace the ducheſs  
of Athol, of a son.

17. Counteſs of Abingdon,  
of a daughter.

20. Lady Allanson Winn,  
of a daughter.

Nov. Lady Radnor, of a son.  
In Ireland, viſcounteſs  
Jocelyn of a son.

Dec. 2. The counteſs of Tanker-  
ville of a daughter.

Jan. 14. Edward Miller Mun-  
dy, esq; of Shipley,  
member of parliament  
for Nottinghamshire,  
to the right hon. lady  
dowager Middleton.

23. The hon. ſir Francis  
Drake, bart. admiral  
of the blue, to miſs  
Onſlow, only daugh-  
ter of George Onſlow,  
esq; many years mem-  
ber of parliament for  
Guildford, Surrey.

26. Sir John Rous, bart.,  
member of parliament  
for Suffolk, to miſs  
Wilson, only daughter  
and heiress of the late  
Edward Warter Wil-  
son, esq; of Bilboa, in  
the county of Lime-  
rick, in Ireland.

Samuel Whitbread, esq;  
junior, to miſs Grey,  
daughter of ſir Charles  
Grey, knight of the  
Bath and Thistle.

Feb. Lately, in Dublin, the  
right hon. lord viſ-  
count Jocelyn, to miſs  
Bligh, of Merriam-  
buildings, eldeſt daugh-  
ter of the dean of  
Elphin.

2. Lord viſcount Went-  
worth, to the counteſs  
Ligonier.

14. The earl of Ayleſbury,  
to lady Ann Rawdon.

March 4. Lord Glaſgow, to lady  
E. Hay, third daugh-  
ter of the counteſs of  
Errol.

6. Sir John Sinclair, bart.  
to the hon. miſs Mac-  
donald.

11. Richard Groſvenor,  
esq; member of parlia-

x ment

# MARRIAGES for the Year 1788.

Jan. Lately, Francis Bur-  
ton, esq; of Lincoln's-  
inn, member of par-  
liament for Wood-  
ſtock, to miſs Hal-  
head, eldeſt daughter  
of Nicholas Halhead,  
esq; late of that place.



ment for West Looe,  
Cornwall, to miss  
Drax, only daughter  
of Edward Drax, esq;  
of Melcomb Regis,  
Dorset.

April 7. Hon. John Wilson, one  
of the judges of the  
court of common-pleas,  
to miss Adair, daugh-  
ter of serjeant Adair,  
recorder of London.

11. Lambert Theodore  
Walpole, esq; nephew  
to lord Walpole, to  
the hon. miss Marga-  
retta Clive, youngest  
sister to lord Clive.

12. Right hon. the earl of  
Dundonald, to Mrs.  
Mayne.

14. Charles, Sturt, esq;  
member of parliament  
for Bridport, in the  
county of Dorset, to  
the right hon. lady  
Mary-Anne Ashley,  
only daughter of the  
late earl of Shaftes-  
bury.

May. Lately, The rev. Dr.  
Cleaver, first chaplain  
to the lord-lieutenant  
of Ireland, to miss  
Wynne, daughter of  
the right hon. Owen  
Wynne.

1. Sir Nicholas Conway  
Colthurst, bart. to miss  
Harriet Latouche,  
daughter of the right  
hon. David Latouche,

13. Sir Egerton Leigh, bart.  
to Mrs. Beauchamp,  
daughter of the late  
sir Edward Boughton,  
bart. of Lawford-hall,  
in the county of War-  
wick.

16. Sir Edmund Affleck,  
bart. rear-admiral of  
the red, and member  
of parliament for Col-  
chester, to Mrs. Smi-  
thers.

20. The earl of Plymouth,  
to the hon. miss Ar-  
cher, one of the daugh-  
ters of the late lord  
Archer.

29. Orlando Bridgeman,  
esq; eldest son of sir  
Henry Bridgeman,  
bart. member of par-  
liament for Wigan, in  
the county of Lan-  
caster, to the hon. miss  
Byng, eldest daugh-  
ter of lord viscount  
Torrington.

June 2. Monf. de Calonne, mi-  
nister of state, to  
madame d'Harvelai.

4. — Vyrer, esq; son of  
Robert Vyrer, esq;  
member of parliament  
for Thirke, to lady  
Theodosia Mary Ash-  
burnham, daughter of  
the late lord viscount  
Ashburnham.

8. The right hon. lord  
Charles Henry So-  
merfet, second son of  
the duke of Beaufort,  
to the honourable miss  
Elizabeth Courtenay,  
fourth daughter of the  
right hon. lord viscount  
Courtenay.

26. Vice-admiral sir Alex-  
ander Hood, knight  
of the Bath, to miss  
Bray, only daughter  
of the late Thomas  
Bray, esq; of Edmon-  
ton.

July 12. Right hon. the earl of  
[P] 2 Burford,

Burford, son to the duke of St. Albans, to miss Moses.

15. Right hon. viscount Dudley and Ward, to Mrs. Baker.

Aug. 4. John Drummond, esq; member of parliament for Shaftesbury, to the right hon. lady Susan Fane, daughter of the late earl of Westmorland.

Oct. 11. The right hon. the marquis of Carmarthen, to miss Catharine Anguish, daughter of the late Thomas Anguish, esq; master in chancery, and accountant-general.

Nov. Lately, the hon. H. Pelham, second son of lord Pelham, to miss Cobb, daughter of lady Mary Cobb.

Dec. 9. The hon. Frederick St. John, brother to lord viscount Bolingbroke, to lady Mary Kerr, daughter of the marquis of Lothian.

physician extraordinary to the queen.

March. Right hon. sir James Harris, K. B. appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states general of the United Provinces; and William Gomm, esq; appointed secretary to the said embassy.

Reverend Richard Farmer, D.D. appointed canon residentiary of St. Paul, vice right reverend doctor John Douglas, bishop of Carlisle.

Captain William Wynyard, captain Charles Asgill, and the hon. Charles Fitzroy, appointed equerries to his royal highness the duke of York.

William Stiles and William Roe, esquires, appointed commissioners of the customs, vice Henry Pelham, and John Pownall, esquires, resigned.

Jeremiah Pemberton, esq; appointed chief justice of Nova Scotia, vice Brian Finucan, esq; deceased.

Thomas Walpole, esq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the elector palatine.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, esq; treasurer of the navy, elected chancellor of the university of St. Andrew, in Scotland, vice earl of Kinoul, deceased.

George Rose, esq; member of parliament for Launceston, in the county of Cornwall, elected verdurer of New Forest, vice sir P. J. Clerke, deceased.

Right reverend doctor John Butler, bishop of Oxford, translated to the see of Hereford, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceased.

Right reverend doctor E. Smallwell, bishop of St. David's, translated to the see of Oxford, vice doctor Butler.

Reverend Samuel Horsley, D. D. appointed

#### PROMOTIONS *for the Year 1788, from the London Gazette, &c.*

January. Reverend doctor Douglas, bishop of Carlisle, appointed registrar of the most noble order of the Garter, and dean of Windsor, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceased.

Reverend James Jones, D. D. appointed archdeacon of Hereford, vice reverend doctor Harley, deceased.

James Ford, M. D. appointed

appointed bishop of St. David's, vice doctor Smallwell.

April. Reverend Samuel Weston, M. A. appointed canon and prebendary of Canterbury cathedral, vice doctor Richard Farmer, resigned.

Reverend Charles Fiennes, B. A. appointed prebendary of Westminster, vice doctor Taylor, deceased.

Philip Goldsworthy, esq; appointed equerry to his majesty, and clerk-marshal of the Mews, vice general Carpenter, deceased.

May. Right hon. Hugh lord Fortescue, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon, vice earl Poulett, deceased.

Lieutenant-general William Augustus Pitt, right hon. James Cuffe, Ponsonby Moore, John Handcock, and Robert Langrishe, esquires, and colonel David Dundas, together with the hon. George Jocelyn, George Rawson, and Charles Henry Coote, esquires, appointed commissioners and overseers of barracks, &c. in Ireland, vice James Cavendish, Fitzherbert Richards, and Ralph Ward, esquires.

Sir George Yonge, and admiral sir Alexander Hood, created knights of the Bath.

Reverend Francis Barnes, B. D. of King's college, Cambridge, appointed master of Peterhouse, vice the late bishop of Carlisle.

June. Right hon. sir Lloyd Kenyon, bart. created a British peer, by the title of lord Kenyon, baron of Gredington, in the county of Flint.

Right hon. lord Kenyon, appointed lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, vice earl Mansfield, resigned.

Richard Pepper Arden, esquire, knighted, and admitted of the honourable privy council.

Sir Richard Pepper Arden, knight, master and keeper of the rolls, vice lord Kenyon.

Archibald M'Donald, esq; knighted, and appointed attorney-general, vice Arden.

John Scott, esq; knighted, and appointed solicitor-general, vice M'Donald.

The earl of Leven, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

George Rose, esq; clerk of the parliaments, vice Cowper, deceased.

July. Right hon. Richard viscount Howe, created an English baron and earl, by the style and title of Baron Howe, of Langar, in the county of Nottingham, and Earl Howe.

Right hon. John earl of Chatham, and the right hon. Samuel lord Hood, added to his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain.

His grace the duke of Leinster, appointed master and keeper of the rolls in Ireland, vice Rigby deceased; and Mr. Perry appointed his grace's deputy.

Edward Bearcroft, esq; appointed chief justice of Chester, vice sir Richard Pepper Arden, master of the rolls.

Francis Burton, esq; appointed puisne judge of Chester, vice the hon. D. Barrington, resigned.

August. Joseph Ewart, esq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

Hon. Stephen Digby, appointed master, keeper, and governor of the hospital or free chapel of St. Katharine near the Tower, vice Waller, deceased.

Dr. William Wynne, appointed judge

judge of the prerogative and peculiar, and dean of the arches court, Doctors Commons, vice Dr. Calvert, deceased.

Sept. Right hon. John Griffin lord Howard, of Walden, K. B. created a baron of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Lord Braybrooke, Baron of Braybrooke, in the county of Northampton; with remainder to Richard Aldworth Neville, esq; of Billingbear, Berks, and his heirs male.

Right hon. Jeffery Lord Amherst, K. B. created a baron of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Baron Amherst, of Montreal, Kent; with remainder to his nephew, William Pitt, esq; and his heirs male.

Right hon. sir Joseph Yorke, K. B. created a British peer, by the name, style, and title of Lord Dover, Baron of the town and port of Dover, in the county of Kent.

Right hon. sir James Harris, K. B. created a British peer, by the name, style, and title of Lord Malmesbury, Baron of Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts.

Right hon. and right reverend John Hinchcliffe, D. D. bishop of Peterborough, appointed dean of Durham, vice the hon. and reverend William Digby, deceased.

William Scott, LL.D. knighted, and appointed his majesty's advocate-general.

William Wynne, LL.D. knighted.

Charles Whitworth, esq; appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Petersburg.

Robert Liston, esq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Stockholm.

Daniel Hailes, esq; appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Warsaw.

Nov. Isaac Corry, esq; appointed surveyor-general and assistant to the lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Ireland.

Hon. Thomas Pakenham, appointed chief keeper of ordnance stores in Ireland.

Hon. miss Anne Boscawen, appointed by the queen sempstress and laundress to her majesty, vice hon. miss Chetwynd, deceased; also, the hon. miss Augusta Brudenell, appointed one of her majesty's maids of honour, vice hon. miss Boscawen.

## DEATHS *for the Year 1788.*

Jan. 9. The right hon. and right rev. John Harley, D. D. bishop of Hereford, dean of Windsor, and registrar of the most noble order of the Garter.

12. At Brussels, lady Catharine Bellafyse, eldest daughter of the late earl of Fauconberg, and sister to the present earl.

14. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, bart. member of parliament for Totness, Devonshire.

16. The countess dowager of Fife, mother to the earl of Fife.

At Liege, the hon. Thomazine Barnewall, viscountess dowager Gormanston.

24. In France, the cardinal de Luynes, archbishop of Sens, primate of both Gauls and Germany, abbot of Corbie, in Picardy, &c. commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, member of the French academy, and of that of sciences.

27. Lieutenant-general Tryon, colonel of the 29th regiment of foot,



foot, late governor of the province of New York, and commander in chief of his majesty's forces there.

30. Sir Ashton Lever, knight, late possessor of the Museum, in Leicester-fields.

Feb. Lately, in France, lord Rosehill, eldest son to the earl of Northesk.

March 5. Audrey, lady dowager viscountess Townshend, relict of the late Charles viscount Townshend, who died in 1764, and daughter and sole heir of Richard Harrison, esq; of Balls, near Hertford, formerly governor of Fort St. George, in the East Indies, and postmaster-general.

Lady H. Beauclerk.

8. Benjamin Carpenter, esq; general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons, clerk-marshal of the Mews, and principal equerry to the king.

11. Miss Moore, daughter of the archbishop of Canterbury.

15. Lady Wilmot, wife to sir Robert Wilmot, bart. and daughter to the late hon. admiral Byron.

21. Lady Armytage, relict of the late sir George Armytage, bart. of Kirklees, in the west riding of the county of York, and daughter of Godfrey Wentworth, esq; of Hickleton, near Doncaster, in the said county.

Anne, countess dowager of Coventry.

24. The right hon. lady Elizabeth Fitzwilliam, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, earl Fitzwilliam. She was second daughter of John, second earl Fitzwilliam.

31. The right hon. Susannah lady viscountess Fane, relict of Charles viscount Fane, of the kingdom of Ireland.

April 8. The right hon. Ri-

chard Rigby, member of parliament for Tavistock.

11. Right hon. Jane dowager countess of Hopetoun, daughter of Robert Oliphant, esq; and second wife to the late earl.

14. The right hon. Vere Poulet, third earl Poulet.

16. At Paris, George Le Clerc, count de Buffon, lord of Montbart, marquis of Rougemont, viscount of Quincy.

19. Lord viscount Kilcoursie, son to the earl of Cavan.

At Paris, the duke de Fleury.

22. Lady Flemming, relict of sir William Flemming, bart. of Rydal, in the county of Westmoreland.

29. Lord Boringdon, colonel of the Devonshire militia.

May 1. Jane dowager viscountess Galway, relict of the late John viscount Galway.

12. His serene highness duke Lewis Ernest of Brunswick Lunenburg, field-marshal of the empire.

16. Rachel baroness Le Despencer, sole daughter of Sir Francis Dashwood, of West Wycombe, Bucks, bart. by his second wife lady Mary Fane, eldest daughter of Vere, fourth earl of Westmoreland.

22. The right hon. lady Mulgrave of the kingdom of Ireland.

June. Lately, the right hon. lord Cahier, of the kingdom of Ireland.

4. Sir John Lindsay, K. B. rear-admiral of the red.

15. Rev. sir William Lowther, baronet, rector of Savillington, Yorkshire, and prebendary of York.

18. Her grace Lucy duchess of Montrose.

July 1. Lord viscount Say and Sele.

5. Right hon. lady Byron, wife of the right hon. William lord Byron, [P] 4

Byron, of Newstead-abbey, in the county of Nottingham.

Aug. 5. The right hon. lady Colville, of Culrofs.

7. The duc de Richelieu and Fronfack, peer and firft marshal of France.

8. Right hon. Richard Wingfield, baron Wingfield, of Wingfield, in the county of Wexford, and fifth viscount Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow.

10. Right hon. Edward Turnour Garth Turnour, earl of Winterton, of Gort, in the county of Galway, Ireland.

13. The right worshipful Peter Calvert, LL.D. F.R. and A.SS. official principal of the arches court of Canterbury, and master, keeper, or commissary of the prerogative court of Canterbury.

24. Sir Charles Raymond, bart. banker.

29. Lady Purves.

Sept. Lately, in France, the duc d'Augillon.

2. George Montagu, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron Montagu of Kimbolton, knight of the garter, lord-lieutenant, custos rotulorum, and colonel of the militia of Huntingdonshire, high steward of Godmanchester, collector of the customs outwards in the port of London, president of the Lock Hospital, and LL.D.

At Paris, the marquis d'Aubeterre, marshal of France, knight of the king's orders, and formerly ambassador to the courts of Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, and commandant in chief in Brittany.

6. At Rome, Cardinal Charles Boschi.

16. Lieutenant-general James Cunninghame, colonel of the 45th

regiment, and member of parliament for East Grinstead.

11. At Lisbon, of the small-pox, Joseph Francis Xavier, prince of Brazil, and heir apparent to the crown of Portugal. He was born Aug. 21, 1761; married Feb. 21, 1771, to his aunt, Maria-Francisca Benedicta, who was born July 24, 1748.

12. At Grenoble, Marshal de Vaux, commander in chief of the province of Burgundy.

19. The hon. and reverend William Digby, dean of Durham.

28. Lady Philipps, relict of the late sir John Philipps, and mother to lord Milford, of Picton castle, in the county of Pembroke.

Oct. 9. The right hon. John Ward, viscount Dudley and Ward, recorder of Kidderminster, Worcestershire, and LL.D.

13. Robert Nugent, earl Nugent of the kingdom of Ireland.

Nov. Lately, The princess of Wurtemberg, eldest daughter of the reigning duke of Brunwick-Wolfenbuttle.

Harriet lady Archibald Hamilton.

12. At Gottingen, his serene highness Francis Justiniani, prince of Chio and the Holy Empire, born knight of the royal order of Christ.

23. At Madrid, his royal highness the infant don Gabriel, his catholic majesty's third son; his consort died a little time before.

Dec. 5. Lady Aubrey, widow of the late sir Thomas Aubrey, bart. and mother to the present sir John Aubrey.

7. The hon. miss Cust, lord Brownlow's eldest daughter.

9. The right reverend Jonathan Shipley, D.D. lord bishop and arch-deacon of St. Asaph.

12. The

12. The right hon. lady Susan Powlett, aunt to earl Powlett.

14. William lord viscount Courtenay.

23. Hon captain James Luttrell, youngest son of the late earl of Carhampton, member of parliament for Dover, and surveyor-general of the ordnance.

*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for 1788.*

*Berkshire.* William Brummell, of Donnington.

*Bedfordshire.* W. L. Antonie, of Colmworth.

*Bucks.* S. Langton, of Little Horwood.

*Cumberland.* Sir F. Vane, of Hutton.

*Cheshire.* John Glegg, of Withington.

*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* Eutace Kentish, of King's Ripton.

*Devonshire.* Sir J. Chichester, of Youlston.

*Dorsetshire.* A. Chapman, of Holneft.

*Derbyshire.* Peter Pegge, of Beauchief.

*Essex.* T. Theophilus Cock, of Messing.

*Hants.* R. Brickenden, of Maltshanger.

*Gloucestershire.* N. Smith, of N. Nibley.

*Hertfordshire.* C. Bouchier, of Shenley.

*Herefordshire.* T. Downes, of Staunton.

*Kent.* James Bond, of Hayes.

*Leicestershire.* J. Clarke, of Great Wigton.

*Lincolnshire.* Edward Brown, of Stamford.

*Monmouthshire.* G. Smith, of Piercefield.

*Northumberland.* D. R. Grieve, of Swarland.

*Northamptonshire.* J. Ashley, of Ledgers Ashby.

*Norfolk.* Thomas Kerrich, of Gelderstone.

*Nottinghamshire.* R. Stenton, of Southwell.

*Oxfordshire.* T. Jemmett, of Little Milton.

*Rutlandshire.* W. Belgrave, of Uppingham.

*Shropshire.* Joseph Muckleston, of Prescot.

*Somersetshire.* J. Lethbridge, of Sandhill Park.

*Staffordshire.* T. Fletcher, of Newcastle under Line.

*Suffolk.* Sir T. C. Bunbury, of Barton.

*Surrey.* John Creuze, of Woodbridge.

*Suffex.* John Bean, of Littleington.

*Warwickshire.* W. Elliot, of Counden.

*Worcestershire.* J. Baker, jun. of Bevere.

*Wiltshire.* Robert Ash, of Langley.

*Yorkshire.* John York, of Richmond.

## S O U T H W A L E S.

*Breconsfire.* Sir E. Williams, of Llangoid Cattle.

*Carmarthenshire.* John Thomas, of Cistanog

*Cardiganshire.* John Vaughan, of Trewindlor.

*Glamorganshire.* R. Jenkins, of Pantynawell

*Pembrokeshire.* J. P. Langharne, of Orlanden.

*Radnorshire.* Bell Lloyd, of Bouity Brook.

N O R T H

NORTH WALES.

*Anglesea.* Henry Pritchard, of Trefscawen.

*Carnarvonshire.* John Holland, of Teyrdan.

*Denbighshire.* Richard Wilding, of Llashacdr.

*Flintshire.* John Fitzgerald, of Bettisfield.

*Merionethshire.* Griffith Evans, of Cym yr ason.

*Montgomeryshire.* R. J. Harrison, of Cefngwernfa.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council, for 1788.

*Cornwall.* F. Gregor, of Restormel Park.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Copies of the Letters received by the Council \* of Brabant, the 22d of January, from his Excellency Count de Trauttmansdorff.*

FERDINAND, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS it is our determined will, that conformably to our former orders the declaration of the 17th of December be published within twenty-four hours, and as that term is on the point of expiring, we now repeat to you our commands to carry our former orders into execution; forbidding you, at the same time, under pain of disobedience, to separate or quit the council, until you shall have taken the proper steps for issuing and publishing the said declaration, and communicated to us such your resolution. We think it proper to inform you, that we have made known to the deputies of the States our absolute intentions, in terms which announce the immediate consequences of the least delay on this head.

In the mean time, gentlemen, may God have you in his holy keeping.

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Countersigned, by command of his excellency,

Brussels, } VANDEVELDT.  
Jan. 22, 1788. }  
To the council of Brabant.

Received by the council a quarter before nine o'clock.

The above dispatch was accompanied by the following, addressed to the chancellor of Brabant.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I SEND you a dispatch for the council, which I beg you will cause to be immediately read. By the contents you will perceive that I am *irrevocably* determined to enforce the execution of what I mentioned this morning, even though I should come to those *extremities* which I have had the good fortune hitherto to avoid; but the *explosion* of which would be this day *infallible*, as well for the whole body, as for many individuals. It being his Majesty's absolute determination, which his dignity requires, that nothing, upon which he has already signified his will, may be made the subject of doubt, or altered in consequence of any representation or remonstrance, you will find in the said dispatch the most

\* The council of Brabant resembles, in some degree, as to its functions, a provincial parliament in France; it is distinct from the legislature, and is the supreme court of judicature of the country, enjoying some privileges and prerogatives of a superior nature to any possessed by the courts of law in England.

express injunction to the council (of which you are the head) not to separate before the publication shall have been agreed to, and until their resolution thereupon shall have been reported to me. I enjoin the judge-fiscal (or chancellor of the exchequer) to take notice of every thing that shall be done upon this head, and give me an account of it. I inform you, at the same time, that I will not receive any more representations or remonstrances; and if any should be sent, the council will expose itself to the mortifying humiliation of seeing them returned unopened. I yesterday gave you twenty-four hours to determine; to-day I can give you only *four*; and if the publication is not made in two hours hence, I will compel the council to it by FORCE, even though I should be obliged to invest the council-house with troops, and have recourse to the dire expedient of CANNON and BAYONETS, which his Majesty MOST EXPRESSLY prescribes.

And what would avail the most complete resistance of the council, produced by that of the States? It could only throw a *difficulty* in the way of a publication, which it could not possibly prevent; and would amount to a renunciation of the concessions made in the declaration of the 2d of September, which will certainly be revoked this morning, if the opposition is not withdrawn by two o'clock.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Chancellor,

Your most humble servant,

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Received by the chancellor the 22d of January, 1788, with the above dispatch, at a quarter before nine o'clock.

Soon after the delivery of the above letter, the whole town of Brussels was alarmed, and several of the citizens, anxious for the event, repaired to the market-place; in consequence of which, general D'Alton ordered an ensign with a party to patrol the streets. Some boys having thrown a few stones at the soldiers, the officer immediately formed, and ordered his men to fire, when five or six persons were killed; after which, without waiting to re-load, the whole party, alarmed and panic-struck, ran with the greatest precipitancy back to the main body.

To this circumstance the general alludes in the following letter.

Another letter to the chancellor.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE obstinacy of the council is incredible; and the death of some wretches, of which it has been the cause, ought to make it a subject of repentance to the members all the days of their lives. I shall, however, soon find a remedy for it. In the mean time, it is necessary that you continue to sit, till you receive a dispatch from the States, which will be soon delivered to you, that you may pass the resolution for the publication, and communicate it to me this night.

I have the honour, &c.

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Received in the council a little after nine at night—The dispatch from the States arrived at eleven at night.

To the Rector, Heads, Doctors, &c.  
of the university of Louvain.

FERDINAND, &c.

Venerable, dear, and well-beloved,  
THE answer you returned to our  
dispatch,

dispatch, the 29th of this month, is the less admissible, in as much as, notwithstanding our declaration, so clearly and so formally communicated to you in our dispatch of the 29th ult. you still PRESUME to confound the statutes and privileges of the university with the constitution of the country; and, under the pretext of its pretended quality of an essential branch or integral part of the constitution of Brabant, which you assume the university to be, you still persist in opposing the ordinary course of law to the dispositions of the sovereign respecting the government of the university. And, being determined that in the public acts and records there shall not remain a trace of any such appeal to the law, we herewith send you back your answer; and we repeat to you, for the LAST TIME, that his Majesty will by no means admit a claim or pretension, as contrary to the nature and constitution of the university, as it is to the incontestible right constantly asserted and maintained by the sovereigns of the Netherlands ever since the foundation of the university, of being the sole and exclusive judges of every thing relating to that body, as its supreme moderators and administrators, and consequently of being at full liberty to change, modify, and reform whatever in their justice and wisdom they may think fit, for the advancement of learning, to which all the rights, privileges, and franchises granted to the university must necessarily be subordinate. And as, moreover, it is well known, that this manifest truth, acknowledged and admitted at all times by the university itself, has of late been called in question only by some turbulent persons,

who finding their account in maintaining those abuses which the paternal solicitude of his majesty was about to reform in the university, have thought proper to avail themselves of the dissensions of the day, in order to procure to themselves, under the pretext of the pretended right of the university to be considered as an integral branch of the constitution of Brabant, a support against any reform whatever:—and as it is for the interest of the university (whose very existence depends upon it), and consequently of the city of Louvain, whose prosperity is so intimately connected with it, that so pernicious a cabal should be destroyed; we again command you all in general, and each of you in particular, to submit and conform to your sovereign's decision, announced to you in our dispatch of the 29th of December last, confirmed by our dispatch of the 19th inst.—and we enjoin you not to maintain, either by *word of mouth*, or in *writing*, the pretended right set up by the university, which his majesty has fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled: whoever shall DARE in the smallest degree to infringe this injunction, shall be prosecuted as REFRACTORY and DISOBEDIENT to the emperor's orders.—We give you notice at the same time, that we will receive no more representations, deputations, or prots whatsoever on this subject; and that if you presume to send any, we shall look upon them as formal acts of disobedience, and proceed upon them as such, according to the orders which we have received from his majesty.—We enjoin you, the rector, to cause this our declaration to be read in full convocation of the university;

university; to have it entered in its register, as well as in the registers of the different faculties; and to certify to us the execution of our present orders within the space of twenty-four hours.

May God, &c. &c.

TRAUTTMANSDORFF.

Brussels, Jan. 22, 1788.

*Account of a dreadful Inundation of the Sea at Ingeram, on the Coast of Coromandel, in the East Indies. — In a Letter from Mr. William Parson to Alexander Dalrymple, Esquire.*

Ingeram, June 7, 1787.

My dear friend,

YOU wish to have a just and circumstantial account of the late calamity we have sustained. It is no wonder the accounts you have seen, should be incoherent and imperfect; for while the misfortune was recent, our minds were distracted with a thousand fears and apprehensions for the consequences: indeed people less alarmed and less gloomy than ourselves might have admitted the apprehension of pestilence and famine; the former, from the air being tainted from some thousands of putrid carcases both of men and cattle; and the latter, from the country around us being destroyed, as well as our stock of provisions and the fruit of the earth.

From the 17th of May, it blew hard from the N. E. but, as bad weather is unusual at such a season, we did not apprehend that it would become more serious; but on the 19th at night it increased to a hard gale; and on the 20th in the morning it blew a perfect hurricane, in-  
 somuch that our houses were pre-

sently untiled, our doors and windows beat in, and the railing and part of the wall of our inclosures blown down. A little before eleven it came with violence from the sea, and I presently perceived a multitude of the inhabitants crowding toward my house, crying out that the sea was coming in upon us. I cast my eyes in that direction, and saw it approaching with great rapidity, bearing much the same appearance as the bar in Bengal river. As my house was situated very low, I did not hesitate to abandon it, directing my steps toward the old Factory, in order to avail myself of the Terrace: for in that dreadful moment I could not so far reflect upon causes or effects, as to account for the phenomenon, or to set bounds to its encrease. I had indeed heard of a tradition among the natives, that about a century ago the sea ran as high as the tallest Palmira trees; which I have ever disregarded as fabulous, till the present unusual appearance called it more forcibly to my mind. In my way to the old Factory, I stopped at the door of Mr. Boures' house, to apprise the rest of the gentlemen of their danger, and the measures I had concerted for my safety: they accordingly joined me; but before we attained the place of our destination, we were nearly intercepted by the torrent of water. As the house is built on a high spot, and pretty well elevated from the ground, the water never ran above a foot on the first floor, so we had no occasion to have recourse to the Terrace. Between one and two o'clock the water began to subside a little, and continued gradually decreasing till the body of it had retired; leaving all the low places, tanks, and wells full  
 of



of salt water. I think the sea must have risen fifteen feet above its natural level. About the time of the water subsiding, the wind favoured it by coming round to the southward, from which point it blew the hardest. As the Factory-house was in a very ruinous state, and shook exceedingly at every gust, we were very anxious to get back to Mr. Boures' house. I attempted it twice, but found I had neither power nor strength to combat the force of the wind, getting back with the greatest difficulty to my former station. About five o'clock, during a short lull, we happily effected our remove. It blew very hard the greatest part of the night: at midnight it veered to the westward, and was so cold, that I thought we should have perished as we reclined in our chairs. The gale broke up towards the morning. I shall not attempt to describe to you the scene that presented itself to our view, when daylight appeared: it was dreary and horrid beyond description. The trees were all blighted by the salt water, and the face of the country covered with salt mud; yet it had more the appearance of having suffered by a blast of hot wind, or by the eruption of volcanos, than by an inundation of water, such an effect had it in destroying the herbage and foliage of every description. Our houses were found full of the inhabitants, who had taken refuge therein, stripped of doors and windows, and quite open to the weather at top; the godowns mostly carried away, and several substantial tiled houses so completely levelled, as scarcely to afford a mark of their ever existing: but our sufferings were light, when compared with those of Coringa, and the rest of

the villages nearer the sea. At Coringa, out of four thousand inhabitants, it is said not more than twenty were saved, and those mostly on Mrs. Corfar's terrace, and on the beams of captain Webster's house. Mr. Gideon Firth, Mr. George Day, and the Portuguese Padre were, I believe, the only Europeans that were drowned. At first the sea rose gradually, and as it came in with the tide the people were not much alarmed; but when they found it still increase, so as to render their situation dangerous, they mounted on the top of their cadjan-houses, till the sea, impelled by a strong easterly wind, rushed in upon them, most furiously, when all houses at the same awful moment gave way, and nearly four thousand souls were launched into eternity. This tremendous scene was visible from Mrs. Corfar's terrace, over which the sea sometimes broke, and they were frequently in great danger from the drifting of vessels and other heavy bodies, which must inevitably have brought down the house, had they come in contact. At the Dutch village of Jaggernaickporan, I hear the distress was very great, and that about a thousand lives were lost; many of the villages in the low country between Coringa and Jaggernaickporan were totally destroyed, and the inundation carried its dreadful effects as far to the northward as Apparah; but I do not hear that many lives were lost at that place. The inundation penetrated inland about ten cofs from the sea in a direct line; but did little more damage to the westward of us than destroying the vegetation. It would be very difficult to ascertain, with any precision, the number of lives lost in this dreadful

ful visitation; the most intelligent people I have conferred with on the subject, state the loss at from ten to twenty thousand souls. This is rather an indefinite computation; but I think, if the medium be taken, it will then rather exceed than fall short of the real loss. They compute that a lack of cattle were drowned, and, from the vast numbers I saw dead at Nellapilla, I can easily credit their assertion. For two or three days after the calamity, such was the languor of the inhabitants, that not a cooley or workman was to be procured at any price; it required our utmost exertion to get the dead bodies and the dead cattle buried with all possible speed, to prevent the air being impregnated with putrid effluvia. This, to be sure, was a task we could not fully execute, except just in the villages. However, no bad effects have ensued, which I impute to the continual land winds that have blown strongly for some time past. These have the property of drying up the juices of dead bodies and preventing putrefaction, which must necessarily have been the consequence in a damp air. It is extraordinary, that the vast tract of low ground on the south side Guadavery, from Gotendy to Bundarmalanka, suffered very little from the inundation, and scarcely a person perished. This country lies so exceedingly low, as to be flooded in many places by the common spring-tides, and a great deal of it is in consequence covered with salt jungle. It is probable they owe their safety to those small islands at the mouth of the Guadavery, as well as Point Guadavery itself, which must have both contributed to break the force of the sea.

When we had recovered from our

consternation on the 21st, we began to consider how we should be able to exist in such a field of desolation, as our wells were filled with salt water, our provisions destroyed, and we found, by digging in different places, that no sweet water was to be procured; when it was discovered that Providence had so far interfered in our favour, as to bring down the freshes at a very early and unusual season. From what accounts we could hastily gather, we were apprehensive that the stores of rice were either much damaged or totally destroyed, as the rice godowns and godmarks are generally secured against an accident less formidable than this. However, the event has happily falsified our surmises, and proved our information fallacious, for rice has hitherto been plentiful and not dear. The generous supplies that have been sent us from the presidency will, I trust, secure us from serious want. Our markets have not yet been attended by a person with an article for sale; but this is not to be wondered at, as our supplies were generally furnished by the villages at no great distance inland; and these countries have been drenched sufficiently in salt water to destroy their produce. The fishermen, a most useful body of people, inhabiting chiefly by the sea-side, have been almost totally extirpated; and we are thereby deprived of a very material part of our subsistence. Time alone can restore us to the comforts we have lost, and we have reason to be thankful that things have not turned out so bad as we apprehended. I have tired myself in attempting this narration, and I fear I have almost tired you in the perusal of it. A great deal more might be said upon the subject in a flowery garb:

garb: if it yields a moment's amusement to my friend, my end is fully answered. The greatest part of this intelligence you have already had in detail, but it is your desire I should bring it to one point of view. It is hastily written and very inaccurate; but you will remember I was in a good deal of pain at the time of writing it, from an inflammation in my legs, so had not sufficient ease or leisure to correct or transcribe it.

Your's affectionately,  
(Signed) WILLIAM PARSON.

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*Particulars relative to Lord Mansfield's Resignation of his Office of Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench; with the Letters which passed between his Lordship and the Counsel of the King's Bench Bar on that Occasion.*

June 3d, 1788.

THIS morning lord Mansfield sent a servant from Caen Lodge to Mr. Montague, the master in chancery, at Frogna! Grove, near Hampstead, requesting that gentleman's company to dinner. The answer returned was, "That Mr. Montague had come home the preceding evening from London ill, and remained then indisposed." The messenger returned back, pressing Mr. Montague's attendance on his lordship, who had some material business to communicate; upon which Mr. Montague replied, "He would wait on the Earl in the afternoon."

At five o'clock the master went to Caen-Wood-Lodge, where he was introduced to Earl Mansfield, who was alone. "I sent for you, Sir, says his lordship, to receive as

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well officially, as my acquaintance and friend, the resignation of my office; and in order to save trouble, I have caused the instrument to be prepared, as you will here see." He then introduced the paper, which, after Mr. Montague had perused, and found proper, the Earl signed. The master underwrote it, and afterwards dispatched it to the lord chancellor's house, who laid it before the king.

Earl Mansfield has been chief of the king's bench exactly thirty-two years, having been raised thereto in May 1756, on the decease of Sir Dudley Ryder.

Soon after his lordship's resignation was signified, the following letter was sent to him. It was signed by the counsel of the king's bench bar, who had practised in the court during his lordship's administration.

To the EARL of MANSFIELD.

My Lord,

It was our wish to have waited personally upon your lordship *in a body*, to have taken our public leave of you on your retiring from the office of chief justice of England; but judging of your lordship's feelings upon such an occasion by our own, and considering besides, that our numbers might be inconvenient, we desire in this manner affectionately to assure your lordship, that we regret with a just sensibility, the loss of a magistrate, whose conspicuous and exalted talents conferred dignity upon the profession; whose enlightened and regular administration of justice made its duties less difficult and laborious, and whose manners rendered them pleasant and respectable.

But while we lament *our loss*, we  
[2] remember

remember with peculiar satisfaction, that your lordship is not cut off from us by the sudden stroke of painful distemper, or the more distressing ebb of those extraordinary faculties which have so long distinguished you amongst men; but that it has pleased God to allow to the evening of an useful and illustrious life the purest enjoyments which nature has ever allotted to it—the unclouded reflections of a superior and unfading mind over its varied events, and the happy consciousness, that it has been faithfully and eminently devoted to the highest duties of human society, in the most distinguished nation upon earth.

May the season of this high satisfaction bear its proportion to the lengthened days of your activity and strength. Signed.

The letter thus signed being transmitted to the venerable Earl by Mr. Erskine, at the desire of Mr. Bearcroft, the senior of that bar, and the rest of the gentlemen who had thus subscribed to it, his lordship, without detaining the servant *five minutes*, returned the following answer.

To the honourable T. ERSKINE,  
Serjeant's Inn.

Dear Sir,

I cannot but be extremely flattered by the letter which I this moment have the honour to receive.

If I have given satisfaction, it is owing to the learning and candour of the bar; the liberality and integrity of their practice freed the judicial investigation of truth and justice from difficulties. The memory of the assistance I have received from them, and the deep impression which the extraordinary mark they have now given me of their appro-

bation and affection, has made upon my mind, will be a source of perpetual consolation in my decline of life, under the pressure of bodily infirmities, which made it my duty to retire.

I am, dear sir, with gratitude to you and the other gentlemen,

Your most affectionate,

And obliged humble servant.

MANSFIELD.

Caen-Wood, June 18, 1788.

*Translation of the Duke of Sudermania's Letter to the King of Sweden, giving an Account of the Engagement between the Swedish and Russian Fleets; extracted from the Stockholm Gazette of July 31, 1788.*

YOUR majesty's fleet under my command, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, and five frigates, was on the 17th inst. cruising in the Narrows off Kalkboden and Ekholmen, with the wind easterly, and very foggy weather; when early in the morning we heard several guns fired to windward. This was unexpected, as by information received from different ships, I had reason to believe the Russian fleet were still at anchor at Seaskar. I ordered the fleet, however, to form in a line on the starboard tack, a disposition the most likely to gain the weather gage of the enemy; but there being little wind, and a very strong current running near the lee-side of Ekholmen, the van were not able to accomplish that manœuvre, which obliged me, at six, A.M. to form the fleet in a line of battle on the larboard tack, and I at the same time made the signal to prepare for action. Be-



fore this order of battle could be formed, a few Russian ships of war were discovered through the fog, and various reports came in as to their number and force. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, and the dangers of a lee-shore, I thought it dishonourable for your majesty's fleet to decline coming to action, and therefore made a signal to tack, and advance in columns to meet the enemy, who at ten A. M. we could evidently discern, ranged in line of battle, and steering towards us with the wind large; from which disposition I then conceived hopes of getting to windward of them. Their close order of sailing, added to the haziness of the weather, rendered it impossible for some time to determine their exact force; but we at last made out 33 sail, of which one was a three-decker, eight of 74, and eight of 66 guns, with seven frigates carrying heavy metal. Both fleets having advanced within about two gun-shot of each other, the van of the Russian being opposed to our center, I made a signal for your majesty's fleet to form the line a-head on the starboard tack; but the enemy still continued on the other tack, carrying all their strength against our van. This manœuvre would have rendered the engagement indecisive; and as by approaching the shoals and other dangerous places, I should at any rate have been under the necessity of soon changing the disposition of the fleet, and that in the time of action, I resolved to tack, and form the line on the larboard, a disposition which was not only the most proper to gain the enemy's weather-gage, by our line stretching on towards their left wing, but also to profit by a mistake they seemed to commit in bearing up and opening

different ways in the center. This, however, was soon corrected by Admiral Greig, who altered the disposition of his rear, and cautiously bore down under an easy sail, at the same time endeavouring to take his station opposite to my ship, and his fleet afterwards bore down courageously within musket-shot; upon which, at four, P. M. I made the signal for action, which soon became general throughout our line, and with such fury, that in the space of an hour the leading ship of the enemy's squadron was totally disabled, and obliged to be towed out of the line, and brought round on the other tack, under the cover of some of their ships.

The smoke from the Russian fleet settling down upon us, and our own being but little dispersed from the lightness of the breeze, it was not possible to make or answer any signals, or even to distinguish our own line. This gave opportunity for small divisions of the enemy to station themselves on my quarter, and keep up a very heavy fire, being frequently relieved by others; and the same method of fighting seemed also to prevail in their van. But when the smoke had in some measure subsided, several Russian ships were seen disabled, and towing away to windward of their fleet. Afterwards they collected a considerable force in the van, and admiral Greig was also there, when the wind failing, and the smoke again settling on our fleet, which now, as in the morning, felt great inconvenience from the strength of the current off Ekholmen, and to such a degree, that notwithstanding all possible manœuvres, and the greatest exertion of our boats in towing, it was totally impracticable to prevent our ships falling round,

and suffering exceedingly by being raked fore and aft by the enemy.

It was in this critical situation that the *Wasa*, (commanded by the gallant count Horne, since dead of the wounds he then received,) very seasonably covered me by a vigorous and well-supported fire; and I sent lieutenant Ekholm to inform the van that the fleet was to veer, as the setting of the current did not allow us to come near the wind on this tack, but was in our favour on the other. At eight o'clock P. M. our line was again formed, and the action renewed with uncommon vigour on both sides, but with great advantage to your majesty's fleet, the enemy being obliged to veer, while exposed to the hottest of our fire, in order to cover their rear and disabled ships, which had retired astern. We have taken the *Wiadislaff*, of 74 guns, carrying thirty-two and forty-two pounders, and 783 men. The engagement finished soon afterwards, at ten P. M. Night coming on, I judged it prudent to form the fleet on the other tack, in order to avoid the danger of Kalkboden, cover our prize, and consult the honour of your majesty's fleet, by endeavouring to retake the *Prince Gustave*, who was laying disabled, and without a flag. But this last piece of service did not succeed, as the Russian Admiral, and his whole fleet, wore to protect their prize. During the night, the enemy hauled their wind close, and left the field of battle, whereas we carried lights in our top all night, and frequently fired signal guns. In the mean time reports were brought me from several ships, that they were in great want of ammunition, had several shot between

wind and water, and some of them their masts and rudders damaged.

I gave orders to make the most of their time by repairing their damages, and made a distribution of ammunition as far as it went. At day-break I formed the fleet in a line of battle on the starboard tack as well as the faint breeze would let me. On the other hand, the Russians had during the night got their disabled ships a great way to windward, all their fleet keeping close on a wind to cover them, which put it out of my power to renew the attack, particularly as the wind died away when the day advanced. I thereupon judged it most prudent to return to *Helsingfors Road*, not only to repair the ships, but especially to supply them with ammunition, of which most of them had none whatever left. It appears from the prize your majesty's fleet has taken, that the enemy was our superior by nearly one third in point of force. Their fleet had been some time fitted out, and in the most expensive and complete manner, with heavy artillery, being intended for an expedition to the Mediterranean. We lost two post captains, one master and commander, and had five officers wounded.

It is evident from the many disabled ships of the enemy, and from several confirmed reports that one of them had gone down, as well as their hauling their wind from the Swedish fleet, that zeal for your majesty's person, and love to their country, warmed the breast of every one under my command. All the captains paid the utmost attention to signals and evolutions, and maintained the line in a manner that did honour to the Swedish name.

The

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The enemy attacked us with all that confidence of success which their great superiority in size and force of ships, the situation of the field of battle, and the wind totally in their favour, in some measure seemed to warrant; but although the engagement was fought under many great

disadvantages on our side, their temerity was checked in a manner which reflects the greatest honour on every officer and seaman in your majesty's fleet.

Gustav. the Third; at anchor on Helsingfors Road, July 20, 1788.

CHARLES.

## *List of the Swedish Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of Sudermania.*

Guns.

Gustavus the Third	—	68	His R. H. Duke Charles.
			His Ex. Count Wrangel.
			Capt. Nordenschild, Flag Capt.
			Capt. Klint.
Enigheton	—	70	Capt. Eneschild.
Prince Gustaf	—	68	Count Wachtmeister.
Sophia Magdalena	—	68	Capt. Linderstedt.
Hedvig Eliz. Charlotta	—	60	Capt. Modee.
Omheton	—	60	Capt. Krusenstierna.
Rattwisson	—	60	Capt. Eust.
Dygden	—	60	Baron Raab.
Wasa	—	60	Count Horn.
Federnesland	—	60	Capt. Kuylenstierna.
Aran	—	60	Capt. Hisingerschild.
Forfigtigheten	—	60	Capt. Fahlstedt.
Prince Charles	—	60	Capt. Pfilanderhielm.
Pr. Fred. Adolphus	—	60	Capt. Leyonanckar.
Pr. Gustavus Adol-			
phus	—	60	Capt. Christiernan.

934 Guns.

*Frigates.*

Griffin	—	44	Capt. Von Horn.
Camilla	—	40	Capt. Duvfa.
Troga	—	40	Capt. Puke.
Minerva	—	40	Capt. Nauckhoff.
Thetis	—	40	Capt. Wollin.

*Frigates to repeat Signals, and small Vessels.*

Jaramas	—	32	Capt. Billing.
Hector	—	22	Lieut. Kullenberg.
Patriot	—	18	Capt. Wirgin.
Esplendian	—	16	Lieut. Ekholm.
Jaroslav	—	32	Capt. Hokeslyckt.
Sprengporten	—	26	Capt. Steding.
Trolle	—	26	Capt. Gyslenschild.

*List of the Russian Fleet, under the Command of Admiral Greig.*

Guns.			
Rostislaſſ	—	— 108	{ Admiral Greig.
Malislaſſ	—	— 74	{ Capt. Ozendoff.
St. Peter	—	— 74	{ Capt. Mouloffsky.
Wiadislaſſ	—	— 74	{ Capt. Denison.
St. Helena	—	— 74	{ Capt. Bergh.
			{ Rear Ad. Spiridoff.
			{ Capt. Breyer.
Kir-Iſlan	—	— 74	{ Rear Ad. van Diſſen.
			{ Capt. Tet.
Jaroſlaſſ	—	— 74	{ Capt. Biks.
Wfeſlaſſ	—	— 74	{ Rear Ad. Koſlaninoff.
			{ Capt. Makaroff.
Joan Bohoſloff	—	— 74	{ Capt. Warland.
Iſiaſlaſſ	—	— 66	{ Capt. Kartzoff.
Rodiſlaſſ	—	— 66	{ Capt. Travenen.
Diris	—	— 66	{ Capt. Kakoſſoff.
Damet Eſtaſia	—	— 66	{ Capt. Boronoff.
Victor	—	— 66	{ Capt. Obolianinoff.
Mezeſlaſſ	—	— 66	{ Capt. Borisoff.
Weichſlaſſ	—	— 66	{ Capt. Elphinton.
Boleſlaſſ	—	— 66	{ Capt. Deniſoff.

In all 17 ſhips of the }  
line — — } 1,228 Guns.

*Frigates.*

Podagriſlaſſ	—	— 36	Capt. Lomen.
Briantchiſlaſſ	—	— 32	Capt. Sincawen.
Priamiſlaſſ	—	— 32	Capt. Seiyers.
Slawa	—	— 32	Capt. Chichoicoff.
Nadechta Blahopoloutchia		32	Capt. Lolyret.
Wofmiſlaſſ	—	— 32	Capt. Liſoſkoy.
Mſilawetz	—	— 28	Capt. Slomontoff.

*Bomb Ketches.*

Lechtonche	—	—	Capt. Shot.
Neva	—	—	Capt. Bro-onn.

*Transports.*

Smelay	—	— 8	Capt. Srewnens.
And three others.			

*Subſtance*



*Substance of Admiral Greig's Letter to the Court of Petersburg; giving an Account of the same Engagement.*

“ON the 17th, about noon, our fleet discovered five Swedish ships, between 60 and 70 guns each, and eight large frigates, provided with heavy artillery, sailing in a line, having five small frigates and three packet-boats attending, under the command of the duke of Sudermania, whose ship carried the flag of admiral-general of Sweden, having also in the fleet a vice-admiral and rear-admiral's flags flying.

“Admiral Greig immediately gave the signal for an attack, and our ships directly crowded all the sail they could, advancing towards the enemy. The Swedes, on perceiving this, immediately formed into a line of battle. The weather was serene, and our ships profiting of a fresh south-east wind gained on the Swedes. The Rotisslaw, commanded by admiral Greig, attacked the Swedish admiral; but he retired towards his small vessels; and it was not until about five o'clock that our line were abreast of the enemy, who then began to bear down upon us.

“The firing immediately commenced on both sides, and was continued with great briskness until ten at night.

“The Swedes twice began to give way; and although during the battle there was a dead calm, and that it was impossible to govern the ships, the fire was still kept up with the greatest intrepidity, and continued until the night was so far advanced that the Swedes began to haul up, and retired, leaving our

fleet masters of the field of battle. They went under cover to Sweabourgh, in Swedish Finland. We took from the enemy the Prince Gustave of 70 guns, bearing the flag of the vice-admiral, who defended himself with the greatest bravery more than an hour against our admiral, but was at length obliged to strike. We made prisoners, with this ship, the Comte Wachmeister, vice-admiral and aide camp to the king of Sweden, who led the van, and fifteen officers, with all her crew.

“Admiral Greig writes, that he never saw a fight better sustained on both sides than the above. Our loss consists of 319 killed, and 686 wounded; that of the enemy must be more considerable, as the number found on board the ship we took amounts to 300 killed and wounded.

“After the battle, four ships of the enemy took advantage of the night and a calm, to surround one of our ships, and carry her off, after a vigorous resistance.

“The admiral gives a general eulogium on the conduct of all under his command.”

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*The following is the Empress of Russia's Letter, written by herself, and conveyed by a special Courier to Admiral Greig, after the above Action with the Swedish Squadron,*

“To the worthy and brave,  
&c. &c.

WE should be wanting in that gratitude and politeness, which should ever distinguish sovereigns, did not we with the utmost speed convey to you (and our other brave and gallant officers and sea-

men of our fleet, who have proved themselves worthy of their country) our approbation of your exemplary conduct; and the obligations which we owe you for your intrepid conduct in your engagement with our enemy the fleet of the Swedish king. To the constant exertion of your abilities, and your zeal for the glory of the common cause of ourselves and the whole Russian empire, may, under God, be attributed the very signal victory you have gained; and we have not the smallest doubt, but that every part of our dominions, where this event shall be transmitted, will behold it in its proper point of view. It is with grief we read the record of those poltroons, who, unable to catch fire from the spirited exertions of their fellow warriors, have so signalized themselves in the annals of treasonable cowards; and to whose cowardice the Swede has to boast that any ship of their fleet escaped when so encountered; and the more particularly that their high admiral escaped, when twice so nearly within their power to have captured.

“As we take upon ourselves the sole power to reward the meritorious; we shall take signal care for the very exemplary punishment of the guilty.

“We beg, therefore, that you would yourself accept our heartiest acknowledgment; and we trouble you to communicate the same to our other worthy and animated officers and seamen. It is our pleasure that the delinquents, mentioned in your official letters, be immediately brought to Cronstadt to wait our further displeasure.

“We sincerely wish you, and all with you, health, and the most signal assistance of the Almighty God,

whose aid we have invoked, and of whose assistance we cannot doubt in a cause so just.

“Your services will perpetually live in our remembrance; and the annals of our country must convey your names to posterity with reverence and with love.

“So saying, we recommend you to God’s keeping ever. Done at Petersburg the 23d of July, in the year of grace 1788.

(Signed) CATHARINE.”

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*Some Particulars of the naval Engagement between the Turks and Russians, in the Black Sea; extracted from a Letter, dated from Prince Potemkin’s Head Quarters, June 27.*

“A Brigadier arrived here yesterday in great haste from the fleet stationed at the mouth of the Niefter, commanded by the prince de Nassau, who was dispatched to prince Potemkin late at night on the 18th instant with the important news of the victory gained by the said fleet over that of the Turks, after a smart engagement of five hours. The following are the circumstances of it;

The capitan pacha having been to reconnoitre the gallies and great boats under the prince de Nassau, off Oczakow, immediately assembled all the vessels of every kind in the road of that fortress, to the number of 57, and prepared in person to attack the Russian squadron (which kept about two leagues from the place where the Niefter runs into the Black Sea.) On the 18th he advanced with a favourable wind against the said squadron, which waited ready to receive him. The  
Turks,

Turks, having the wind in their favour, began the cannonade, but too far off to do any harm. The Russians did not play their artillery till the enemy was within reach, and then fired so successfully, that, notwithstanding the capitan pacha's great superiority, he was obliged, after an engagement of five hours, to retire in great disorder under the guns of his grand fleet, which was below Oczakow, and the prince de Nassau returned to his former post. The Turks had three galleys sunk, and most of their crews drowned, and a great many more damaged and disabled. We are ignorant how many men they lost; but our officers say there must, owing to the excellent direction of our artillery, have been a great number killed, whilst we lost not one vessel, and had very few killed and wounded. After the engagement the prince de Nassau immediately sent an officer to prince Potemkin with the good news, who sent off two couriers directly, one to Petersburg, and the other to the emperor's head quarters, after which *Te Deum* was sung here amidst a general discharge of our artillery."

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*An Account of the Jubilee, to celebrate the Centenary of the Revolution, at Whittington and Chesterfield, in Derbyshire\*.*

ON Tuesday the 4th of November, the committee appointed to conduct the Jubilee had a previous meeting, and dined together at the Revolution-house in Whittington. His grace the duke of Devonshire, lord Stamford, lord George and

lord John Cavendish, with several neighbouring gentlemen, were present. After dinner a subscription was opened for the erecting of a monumental column, in commemoration of the glorious revolution, on that spot where the earls of Devonshire and Danby, lord Delamere, and Mr. John Darcy, met to concert measures which were eminently instrumental in rescuing the liberties of their country from perdition. As this monument is intended to be not less a mark of public *gratitude*, than the memorial of an important event; it was requested, that the present representatives of the above-mentioned families would excuse their not being permitted to join in the expence.

On the 5th, at eleven in the morning, the commemoration commenced with divine service at Whittington church. The reverend Mr. Pegge, the rector of the parish, delivered an excellent sermon from the words "*This is the day, &c.*" Though of a great age, having that very morning entered his 85th year, he spoke with a spirit which seemed to be derived from the occasion.

The descendants of the illustrious houses of Cavendish, Osborne, Boothe, and Darcy (for the venerable duke of Leeds, whose age would not allow him to attend, had sent his two grandsons, in whom the blood of Osborne and Darcy is united); a numerous and powerful gentry; a wealthy and respectable yeomanry; a hardy, yet decent and attentive peasantry; whose intelligent countenances shewed that they understood, and would be firm to preserve that blessing, for which

\* See Chronicle, p. 220, for the celebration of the same day by the different clubs in London and in Edinburgh.

they were assembled to return thanks to Almighty God, presented a truly solemn spectacle, and to the eye of a philosopher the most interesting that can be imagined.

After service the company went in succession to view the old house, and the room called by the Anti-revolutionists "The plotting-parlour," with the old armed-chair in which the earl of Devonshire is said to have sitten, and every one was then pleased to partake of a very elegant cold collation, which was prepared in the new rooms annexed to the cottage. Some time being spent in this, the procession began :

Constables with long staves, two and two.

Members of the eight Revolution clubs, four and four ; viz.

1. Mr. Deakin's : flag, blue, with orange fringe, on it the figure of Liberty ; the motto, " The Protestant religion and the liberties of England we will maintain."
2. Mr. Bluett's : flag, blue, fringed with orange ; motto, " Libertas ; quæ fera, tamen respexit inertem." Underneath, the figure of Liberty crowning Britannia with a wreath of laurels ; who is represented sitting on a lion, at her feet the cornucopia of Plenty ; at the top, next the pole, a castle, emblematical of the house where the club is kept ; on the lower side of the flag Liberty holding a cap and resting on the Cavendish arms.
3. Mr. Ostliff's : flag, broad blue and orange stripe, with orange fringe ; in the middle the Cavendish arms ; motto as No. 1.
4. Mrs. Barber's : flag, garter blue and orange quartered, with white fringe & mottoes, " Liberty secured." " The glorious revolution 1688."

5. Mr. Valentine Wilkinsons : flag, blue with orange fringe ; in the middle the figure of Liberty ; motto as No. 1.

6. Mr. Stubbs : flag, blue with orange fringe ; motto, " Liberty, property, trade, manufactures ;" at the top a head of king William crowned with laurel, in the middle, in a large oval, " Revolution 1688." On one side the cap of liberty, on the other the figure of Britannia : on the opposite side the flag of the Devonshire arms.

7. Mrs. Ollerenshaw's : the flag, blue with orange fringe ; motto as No. 1. on both sides.

8. Mr. Marsingale's : flag, blue with orange fringe ; at the top the motto, " In memory of the glorious assertors of British freedom 1688 ;" beneath, the figure of Liberty leaning on a shield, on which is inscribed, " Revolted from tyranny, at Whittington, 1688 ;" and in her hand a scroll with the words " Bill of Rights ;" underneath, a head of king William the Third : on the other side the flag, the motto, " The glorious revolter from tyranny 1688 ;" underneath, the Devonshire arms ; at the bottom the following inscription, " WILLELMUS DUX DEVON. Bonorum principum fidelis subditus ; inimicus & invisus tyrannis."

The members of the clubs were estimated to be 2000 persons, each having a white wand in his hand with blue and orange tops and favours, with THE REVOLUTION stamped upon them.

The Derbyshire militia's band of music.

The corporation of Chesterfield in their formalities, who joined the



the proceſſion on entering  
the town.

The duke of Devonſhire in his coach  
and fix.

Attendants on horſeback, with four  
led horſes.

The earl of Stamford in his poſt-  
chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

The earl of Danby and lord Francis  
Osborne in their poſt-chaiſe  
and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Lord George Cavendiſh in his poſt-  
chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Lord John Cavendiſh in his poſt-  
chaiſe and four.

Attendants on horſeback.

Sir Francis Molyneux and ſir Henry  
Hunlocke, barts. in ſir Henry's  
coach and fix.

Attendants on horſeback.

And upwards of forty other carriages  
of the neighbouring gentry,  
with their attendants.

Gentlemen on horſeback, three and  
three.

Servants on horſeback, ditto.

The whole was conducted with  
order and regularity; for, notwith-  
ſtanding there were fifty carriages,  
four hundred gentlemen on horſe-  
back, and an aſtoniſhing throng of  
ſpectators, not an accident happen-  
ed.

The company was ſo numerous  
as ſcarcely to be accommodated at  
the three principal inns.

In the evening a brilliant exhibi-  
tion of fire-works was played off,  
under the direction of Signor Pie-  
tro.

The day concluded with a ball,  
at which were preſent near 300 gen-  
tlemen and ladies; amongſt whom  
were many perſons of diſtinction.

An hogſhead of ale was given to

the populace at Whittington, and  
three hogſheads at Cheſterfield;  
where the duke of Devonſhire gave  
alſo three guineas to each of the  
eight clubs.

It was not the leaſt pleaſing cir-  
cumſtance attending this meeting,  
that all party diſtinctions were for-  
gotten. Perſons of all ranks and  
denominations wore orange and  
blue, in memory of our glorious de-  
liverer. And the moſt reſpectable  
Roman Catholic families, ſatiſfied  
with the mild toleration of govern-  
ment in the exerciſe of their reli-  
gion, vied in their endeavours to  
ſhew how juſt a ſenſe they had of  
the value of civil liberty.

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*On Nov. 13th, 1788, a Meeting was  
held at Lambeth Palace, at which  
the two Archbishops and four Bi-  
shops were preſent; when the fol-  
lowing Prayer was compoſed, and  
ordered to be uſed in all Churches  
and Chapels in England and Scot-  
land, during his Maſteſty's Indiſpo-  
ſition.*

## PRAYER for the KING.

“ **O** Merciful God, in whoſe  
hands are the iſſues of life  
and death, accept, we beſeech thee,  
the ſupplications of thy ſervants, who  
call upon thee in this time of their  
trouble.

“ We acknowledge, that for our  
manifold ſins and wickedneſs we are  
moſt worthy to receive thy chaſtiſe-  
ment. But thou, O God! in thy  
wrath, thinkeſt upon mercy. Vouch-  
ſafe therefore to hear the prayers of  
thy people, who with contrite hearts  
turn unto thee. Let thy merciful  
goodneſs regard their petitions  
which they offer unto thy Divine  
Maſteſty,

Majesty, in behalf of our sovereign lord the king, and thy people committed to his care. May it please thee to remove from him the visitation with which for the punishment of our transgressions thou hast seen it good to afflict him. Let thy gracious providence guard and support him. Give a blessing to the means used for his recovery : restore him, we pray thee, to his former health ; and grant that he may continue, by his piety and wisdom, to maintain amongst us the blessings of true religion, civil liberty, and public peace ; till it shall please thee to call him, full of years, and rich in good works, unto thy heavenly kingdom.

“ Extend, O Lord, thy mercies to the queen, the prince of Wales, and all the royal family ; be favourable and gracious unto them, and hide not thy face from them in their affliction. Let thy heavenly grace guide and direct them, and may they receive from thy Holy Spirit those consolations which thou only canst bestow.

“ Finally, we intreat thee, that we, who now cry unto thee in our distress, may in thy good time be enabled to give thanks unto thee in thy holy place, for that thou hast regarded the petition of thy servants, and restored our sovereign to the ardent prayers of his people. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ’s sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.”

*A Prayer for the King, used in all the Jewish Synagogues, on the same Occasion.*

“ He that dispenseth salvation unto kings, and dominion unto princes : who delivered his servant

David from the destructive sword ; who maketh a way in the seas, and a path in the mighty waters ; he shall bless, preserve, guard, and assist, exalt, and highly aggrandize our most gracious sovereign lord king George the Third. May the Supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, grant him life, preserve and deliver him from all manner of trouble and danger. May he be pleased to send him a perfect cure, and in his infinite mercy grant him life, heal and strengthen him. We beseech the Supreme Being to remember his just and pious actions, so that they may intercede in his behalf, and cause all his pain to be removed from him. O ! Lord God, I beseech thee, now heal our lord king George the Third, in like manner as thou didst heal Hezekiah, king of Judah ; raise him from the bed of sickness, lengthen his days, and grant him a life of blessing, mercy, health, and peace, as it is written, Prov. iii. 2. “ For length of days and years of life and peace shall they add to thee.” May the Almighty God be pleased in his mercy to remove all pain, trouble, and anxiety from our most gracious queen Charlotte, his royal highness George prince of Wales, and all the royal family, so that they may soon rejoice in the recovery of our most gracious sovereign.” — Amen. Selah.

*A Prayer for the King, on the same Occasion, appointed by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, to be used on Litany Days before the Litany, and on other Days immediately before the “ Prayer for all Conditions of Men,” in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial*

*obial Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of Ireland, during his Majesty's present Indisposition.*

" O father of mercies, and God of all comfort, our only help in time of need, we fly unto thee for succour in behalf of our sovereign lord the king, and of the people committed to his care; beseeching thee to restore him to his former health, and to prolong his days on earth, that he may live to thee, and be an instrument of thy glory, by continuing to serve thee faithfully in piety and wisdom, and to maintain amongst us the blessings of true religion, civil liberty, and public peace.

" Favourably, O Lord, extend thy mercies to the queen, the prince of Wales, and all the royal family; and comfort and support them in this their heavy affliction. And we beseech thee, that we, thy servants, duly sensible of the manifold blessings which thou hast extended to us under his mild government, may, in thy good time, be enabled to give thanks to thee, in thy holy place, for having restored our gracious sovereign to the ardent prayers of his people.—Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen."

*The following was the Form used in the Dutch Churches, on the same Occasion.*

" Almighty God! be graciously merciful to our friend and neighbouring ally, whom it hath pleased thee to afflict with a dangerous illness; and, O Lord! if it is consistent with thy all-wise decree, spare his life, not only for the welfare of the land over which he reigns, but

of these provinces, and the whole Protestant religion.

" O Lord! with thee nothing is wonderful; thou hast but to speak the word, and the king shall recover."

*Prayers to be said for the Recovery of the King's Health, in the Chapels of the Roman Catholics.*

In all the masses that are said, let the following prayer for our most beloved king George be added to the post-communion of the day.

*The Prayer.*

" O God, who art the singular refuge of human infirmity, shew forth the power of thy protection upon thy servant George our king, that, being assisted by the help of thy mercy, he may be restored to perfect health.

*After each of the masses, before the priest departs, kneeling at the foot of the altar, let him say.*

" *Antiph.* O Lord, save thy servant George our king: and hear us in the day when we call upon thee.

*Psalms xix and xx.*

" May the Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation: may the name of the God of Jacob protect thee.

May he send thee help from the sanctuary, and defend thee out of Sion.

May he be mindful of all thy sacrifices: and may thy whole burnt-offering be made fat.

May he give thee according to the desires of thy own heart: and confirm all thy counsels.

We will rejoice in thy salvation: and in the name of our God we shall be exalted.

The Lord fulfil all thy petitions:

now I know that the Lord will save his anointed.

He will hear him from his holy heaven : he will save him with the power of his right hand.

Some trust in chariots and some in horses : but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God.

They are bound and have fallen : but we are risen, and are set up-right.

O Lord save the king : and hear us in the day when we shall call upon thee.

“ IN thy strength, O Lord, the king shall be glad : and in thy salvation he shall exceedingly rejoice.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire : and hast not withholden from him the request of his lips.

For thou hast prevented him with blessings of sweetness : thou hast set on his head a crown of precious stones.

He asked life of thee : and thou hast given him length of days for ever and ever.

His glory is great in thy salvation : glory and great beauty shalt thou lay upon him.

For thou shalt give him to be a blessing for ever and ever : thou wilt make him exceeding glad with thy countenance.

For the king hopeth in the Lord : and through the mercy of the Most High he shall not be moved.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

*Antiph.* O Lord save thy servant George our king, and hear us in the day when we call upon thee.

Lord have mercy on us.

Christ have mercy on us.

Lord have mercy on us.

Our Father, &c.

*V.* And lead us not into temptation.

*R.* But deliver us from evil.

*V.* O Lord, save thy servant George our king.

*R.* Who putteth his trust in thee.

*V.* O Lord, send him help from thy holy place.

*R.* And from Sion protect him.

*V.* Be to him, O Lord, a tower of strength.

*R.* To defend him from the enemy.

*V.* O Lord help him.

*R.* On the bed of his sorrow.

*V.* O Lord, hear my prayer.

*R.* And let my supplication come unto thee.

*V.* The Lord be with you.

*R.* And with thy spirit.

“ *Let us pray.*

“ O God, whose property is always to have mercy and to spare ; receive our petition : that we and all thy servants who are bound by the chain of sins, may by the compassion of thy goodness mercifully be absolved.

“ O God, who art the singular refuge of human infirmity, shew forth the power of thy protection upon thy servant George our king, that being assisted by the help of thy mercy, he may be restored to perfect health.

“ O God, at whose nod the course of human life is maintained, receive our petitions in behalf of thy servant George our king, for whom in his present sickness we implore thy mercy : and grant that as we are afflicted at his danger, so we may rejoice at his recovery. Thro' our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who with thee, &c.

*R.* Amen.

*V.* May the divine assistance remain always with us.

*R.* Amen.”



*Funeral of the Pretender.—The following Extract of a Letter from Rome, contains a particular Account of the Funeral of the late Count of Albany.*

“THE funeral obsequies of the late count of Albany were celebrated on the 3d of February, in the cathedral church at Frescati; of which see the cardinal duke of York, his brother, is bishop.

“The church was hung with black cloth (the seams covered with gold lace) drawn up between the pillars in the form of festoons, intermixed with gold and silver tissue, which had a very magnificent and solemn effect; especially as a profusion of wax tapers were continually burning during the whole of the ceremony in every part of the church.

“Over the great door, and the four principal side altars, there were written in the festoons (in large characters) the following texts of scripture, which were chosen by the cardinal, as allusive to the situation and fortunes of the deceased:—Ecclesiastes, chap. 47, v. 17; Job, chap. 29, v. 5; Tobit, chap. 2, v. 18; Proverbs, chap. 5, v. 17; Maccabees, book 2, chap. 6, v. 31.

“A large catafalque was erected on a platform, raised three steps from the floor, in the nave of the church, on which the coffin, containing the body, was placed, covered with a superb pall, on which was embroidered, in several places, the royal arms of England; on each side stood three gentlemen, servants

of the deceased, in mourning cloaks, each holding a royal banner; and about it were placed a considerable number of very large wax tapers, in the form of a square; guarded by the militia of Frescati.

“About ten o’clock in the forenoon, the cardinal was brought into the church in a sedan chair, covered with black cloth, attended by a large suite of his officers and servants, in deep mourning.

“He seated himself on his throne, on the right-hand side of the great altar, and began to chant the office appointed by the church for the dead, assisted by his choir, which is numerous, and some of the best voices from Rome.

“The first verse was scarcely finished, when it was observed that his voice faltered, the tears trickled down his cheeks, so that it was feared he would not have been able to proceed; however, he soon recollected himself, and went through the function in a very affecting manner; in which manly firmness, fraternal affection, and religious solemnity, were happily blended.

“The magistrates of Frescati, and a numerous concourse of the neighbouring people, attended on this occasion; who were attracted, not so much by their curiosity, or the purpose of assisting at the masses, which were celebrating at every altar in the church, as a desire of testifying their great respect for the bishop; who constantly resides amongst them, and daily bestows upon them temporal as well as spiritual blessings, with a very liberal hand.”

## A GENERAL BILL

OF

## All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 11, 1787, to DECEMBER 16, 1788.

Christened { Males 9892 || Buried { Males 9962 || Increased in the Burials  
 { Females 9667 || { Females 9735 || this Year 348.

Died under Two Years	6138	—Fifty and Sixty	1698	A Hundred and Two	1
Between Two and Five	1522	—Sixty and Seventy	1481	A Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	667	—Seventy and Eighty	1145	A Hundred and Four	0
—Ten and Twenty	866	—Eighty and Ninety	460	A Hundred and Five	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1552	—Ninety and a Hundred	55	A Hundred and Six	1
—Thirty and Forty	2015	A Hundred	7	And 1 at the advanced age	
—Forty and Fifty	2086	A Hundred and One	2	of	113

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
<b>A</b> Bortive and Stillborn	713	Diabetes	0	<b>B</b> IT by a mad dog	
Abcesses	11	Dropfy	1021	Broken Limbs	3
Aged	1424	Evil	11	Bruised	0
Ague	7	Fever, malignant Fe-		Burnt	13
Apoplexy and Sud-		ver, Scarlet Fever,		Choaked	0
den	229	Spotted Fever, and		Drowned	119
Asthma and Phthi-		Purples	2769	Excessive Drinking	9
fic	488	Fistula	2	Executed	*7
Bed-ridden	6	Flux	14	Found Dead	12
Bleeding	5	French Pox	45	Fractured	1
Bloody Flux	1	Gout	58	Frighted	0
Bursten and Rup-		Gravel, Strangury, and		Killed by Falls and	
ture	12	Stone	59	several other Ac-	
Cancer	76	Grief	5	cidents	67
Canker	0	Head-Ach	0	Killed themselves	13
Chicken Pox	2	Headmouldshot, Hor-		Licked by a mad dog	1
Childbed	197	shoehead, and Wa-		Murdered	2
Cholic, Gripes, twist-		ter in the Head	44	Overlaid	3
ing of the Guts	14	Jaundice	53	Poisoned	2
Cold	6	Imposthume	1	Scalded	5
Consumption	5086	Inflammation	229	Shot	0
Convulsions	4485	Itch	0	Smothered	1
Cough and Hooping-		Leprosy	0	Starved	5
Cough	298	Lethargy	2	Suffocated	3
		Livergrown	5		
		Lunatick	46		
		Measles	55		
		Miscarriage	0		
		Mortification	218		
		Palsy	62		
		Pleurisy	23		
		Quinsy	1		
		Rash	1		
		Rheumatism	3		
		Rickets	0		
		Rising of the Lights	0		
		Scald Head	1		
		Scurvy	10		
		Small Pox	1101		
		Sore Throat	13		
		Sores and Ulcers	18		
		St. Anthony's Fire	2		
		Stoppage in the Sto-			
		mach	9		
		Surfeit	3		
		Swelling	0		
		Teeth	346		
		Thrush	34		
		Tympany	1		
		Vomiting and Loose-			
		ness	0		
		Worms	7		

Total 266

\* There have been 35 executed, of which number (7 only) have been reported to be buried as such within the Bills of Mortality.

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [257

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received, thereon, for one Year, ended the 5th of January 1789.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1788.	BRITISH.	FOREIGN.	Bounties and
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Drawbacks paid.
Wheat - - - - -	49,769	8,241	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - - - -	24,208	368	
Buck Wheat - - - - -	121		
Rye - - - - -	30,929	—	44,206 1 11½ Bo.
Barley - - - - -	62,187	171	
Malt - - - - -	146,280		
Oats - - - - -	11,443	907	o o o Dr.
Oatmeal - - - - -	619		
Beans - - - - -	8,933	997	
Pease - - - - -	4,520	63	
Indian Corn - - - - -	—	1	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat Flour - - - - -	384		
Rye - - - - -	291		
Barley - - - - -	851		
Barley hulled - - - -	34		
Malt - - - - -	3,287		
Oats - - - - -	1,081		976 10 4 Bo.
Oatmeal - - - - -	368		
Pease and Beans - - - -	622		
Bear - - - - -	2,198		
Bear Meal - - - - -	52		

## I M P O R T E D.

1788.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	116,936	
Wheat Flour - - - - -	6,302	
Barley - - - - -	10,685	
Oats - - - - -	331,053	5,344 3 4
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,086	
Beans - - - - -	9,190	
Pease - - - - -	1,092	
Indian Corn - - - - -	17	

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1788.		Quarters.	Duties received.
SCOTLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	- - - -	25,111	1,321 11 6
Barley	- - - -	794	
Oats	- - - -	48,804	
Oatmeal	- - - -	31,883	
Pease and Beans	- - - -	619	
Wheat Flour	- - - -	361	

The following is an account of the average prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1788.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 7½	3 5½	2 9	1 11½	3 4¾

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel, 6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.



## PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1788.

*N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.*

	Bank Stock	13 pr Reduce.	3 pr Ct.	4 pr Ct.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	India Stock	India Bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Excheg. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	161	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 $\frac{1}{4}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{5}{8}$	13 $\frac{7}{8}$	174 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	75 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	21	16 18 6
Feb.	158	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	75	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	174 $\frac{1}{2}$	78	73 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	2	2	16 14 —
Mar.	161	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	14	—	89	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	28	17 17 —
	158	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	95 $\frac{3}{4}$	22 $\frac{7}{8}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	79	—	—	2	—	15 19 —
	176	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96 $\frac{3}{4}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	174 $\frac{3}{4}$	91	—	75 $\frac{5}{8}$	2	26	23 —
	159	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96 $\frac{3}{4}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	172 $\frac{1}{4}$	82	—	—	1	24	22 10 —
Apr.	176	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96 $\frac{3}{4}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	175	88	74	75	2	12	—
	172	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	174 $\frac{1}{2}$	80	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	—	—
May	173	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	173 $\frac{1}{2}$	87	—	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	6	16 8 6
	171	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13	170	60	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 3 9
June	173	75	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{5}{8}$	171 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	74 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	21	16 6 —
	171	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	64	—	—	2	20	15 19 —
July	174	75	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{5}{8}$	168 $\frac{1}{4}$	64	74 $\frac{3}{8}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{8}$	21	16 4 —
	172	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	168 $\frac{3}{4}$	40	—	—	2	40	15 19 6
Aug.	178	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	167 $\frac{3}{4}$	75	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	40	16 4 —
	175	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	95 $\frac{3}{4}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	167 $\frac{1}{2}$	35	73 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	32	16 6 —
Sept.	176	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	167 $\frac{1}{2}$	74	73 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	41	16 6 —
	173	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	96	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	69	73 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 1 —
Oct.	176	76	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	96	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	75	74	74 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	38	16 7 6
	176	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	95	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	70	74 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 3 6
Nov.	172	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	78	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 12 6
	174	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	72	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 5 6
	171	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	74	93	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	76	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	—	16 18 3
Dec.	170	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	74	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	70	—	—	17 $\frac{1}{8}$	37	16 6 —
	169	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament to His Majesty for the Year 1788.

## N A V Y.

FOR 18,000 men, including 3,620 marines, at  
4l. per man per month, for 1788 — — £. s. d.  
936,000 0 0

### DECEMBER 7th.

For expences of the late armament, incurred by  
augmenting the naval forces — — — 175,407 5 11

### FEBRUARY 21, 1788.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay  
of marines, for 1788 — — — — 700,000 0 0

For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building  
and repairing vessels, over and above the allow-  
ance for wear and tear, for 1788 — — — 600,000 0 0

Total of the navy — 2,411,407 5 11

## O R D N A N C E.

### DECEMBER 10th, 1787.

For expences of the late armament incurred at the  
ordnance office — — — — 18,300 0 8

For the charges of the office of ordnance, for land  
service, for 1788 — — — — 419,407 0 1

Total of ordnance — 437,707 0 9

## A R M Y.

### DECEMBER 10, 1788.

For expences of the late armament, incurred at the  
war office — — — — 59,878 4 0

### DECEMBER 11, 1788.

For the army, 16,982 effective men for guards and  
garrisons in Great Britain — — — 598,637 2 10  
For

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [261

	£.	s.	d.
For forces for plantations and Gibraltar, for 1788 —	315,865	19	1
For the difference between the British and Irish establishments — — — — —	8,758	14	9
For the forces in the East Indies — —	11,292	13	0
For the pay of general and staff officers in Great Britain, in the same year — — —	6,427	0	6
For full pay to reduced or supernumerary officers of the army — — — — —	4,273	2	2
For the paymaster general, secretary at war, commissary general of the musters, judge-advocate general, comptroller of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the Exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaster general, and on account of poundage to the infantry	60,863	6	8

## MARCH 11, 1788.

For four troops of horse and grenadier guards, to June 24, 1788 — — — — —	28,490	1	0
For two regiments of life guards, from June 25 to December 24 — — — — —	19,294	11	6
For a compensation to the reduced officers of the four troops of horse and grenadier guards —	3,768	12	6
For return of admission money to the privates —	28,000	0	0

## APRIL 8.

For the horse guards, formerly reduced, for the same year — — — — —	223	17	0
For the officers late in the Dutch service, for the same year — — — — —	3,392	14	2
For the Chelsea pensioners, for the same year —	173,833	1	9
For pensions to officers' widows, for the same year	9,978	14	3
For the reduced officers of land forces, and marines, for the same year — — — — —	172,776	3	0
For reduced officers of the British American forces, for the same year — — — — —	60,000	0	0
For the army extraordinaries, for 1787 —	480,058	3	4
Total of the army —	2,045,812	1	6

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

### DECEMBER 6, 1788.

For the Hessian subsidy — — — — —	36,193	15	0
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### DECEMBER 10.

For the secret service, on account of the late armament — — — — —	58,166	0	0
For the building Carleton House — — — — —	20,000	0	0

[R] 3

For

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	£.	s.	d.
For the debts of his royal highness the prince of Wales — — — — —	161,000	0	0
For issued in pursuance of addresses — — — — —	17,496	14	6

## APRIL 10, 1788.

For the civil establishment of Nova Scotia, from 1st January, 1787, to 1st January, 1788 — —	5,845	6	0
The like of New Brunswick, from June 24, 1787, to the same day in 1788 — — —	4,300	0	0
The like of St. John's Island, from 1st January, 1787, to 1st January 1788 — — —	1,900	0	0
The like of Cape Breton, from June 24, 1787, to the same day in 1788 — — —	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland, from 1st April, 1787, to the same day in 1788 — — — —	1,182	10	0
For the civil establishment of the Bahama islands, from 1st January, 1787, to the same day in 1788, in addition to the salaries paid out of the duty funds — — — — —	4,080	0	0
For the civil establishment of New South Wales, from 10th October, 1787, to the same day in 1788. — — — — —	2,877	10	0
For salary of chief justice of the Bermuda islands, from 24th of June, 1787, to the same day in 1788 — — — — —	580	0	0
Ditto, Dominica — — — — —	600	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the mint, for 1787 — — —	24,145	5	8½
For the prosecution of offenders against the coin laws — — — — —	1,394	6	8

## APRIL 30.

For roads and bridges in Scotland, for 1788, by order of general Mackey — — —	4,000	0	0
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## MAY 5.

Issued to the secretary of the commissioners of American claims — — — — —	4,510	12	0
To the secretary of the commissioners of East Florida claims — — — — —	1,000	0	0
To the commissioners of American claims, for their expences — — — — —	2,111	0	6
For the annual allowance of the American loyalists — — —	74,725	12	0
For the surveys of lands in Nova Scotia, &c. — — —	2,982	12	1
For the bills drawn by the governor, &c. of New South Wales — — — — —	2,652	7	3
For the buildings at Somerset House — — — — —	25,000	0	0
Issued to the chief clerk of the commissioners of enquiry into the public offices — — —	813	13	6

Issued



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [263

Issued to the secretary of the commissioners of public accounts.	—	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
					600	0	0
Issued to the secretary of the commissioners of the crown lands	—	—	—	—	5,000	0	0
For the convicts at Plymouth	—	—	—	—	4,533	6	6
For the convicts on the Thames	—	—	—	—	30,083	10	2½

## MAY 19.

For the prosecution of Warren Hastings, esquire	—	—	—	—	8,058	15	1½
For the forts, &c. in Africa	—	—	—	—	13,000	0	0
For the repairs of Catwater harbour, Plymouth	—	—	—	—	2,000	0	0
Total of miscellaneous services	—	—	—	—	522,932	17	0¼

## DEFICIENCIES.

### DECEMBER 4, 1787.

To pay off the exchequer bills of last sessions	—	—	—	—	5,500,000	0	0
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### DECEMBER 13, 1787.

To make good the estimated deficiency of land and malt	—	—	—	—	300,000	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the commutation-tax to 5th of April 1787	—	—	—	—	89,899	2	5¼
To make good to the sinking fund deficiencies of annuities for 1758, to 5th of April 1787	—	—	—	—	21,816	3	6¾
Ditto for 1778, to ditto	—	—	—	—	68,895	16	8¼
Ditto for 1780, to ditto	—	—	—	—	143,614	13	10½
Ditto for 1783, to ditto	—	—	—	—	178,144	10	0
Ditto for 1784 and 1785, to ditto	—	—	—	—	76,362	8	0¾

### MAY 5, 1788.

To make good the deficiencies of the last year's grants	—	—	—	—	63,671	18	2¾
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Total of deficiencies	—	—	—	—	6,442,404	12	10¼
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### Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy	—	—	—	—	2,411,407	5	11
Ordnance	—	—	—	—	437,707	0	9
Army	—	—	—	—	2,045,812	1	6
Miscellaneous services	—	—	—	—	522,932	17	0¾
Deficiencies	—	—	—	—	6,442,404	12	10¼

Total of supplies for 1788	—	—	—	—	11,860,263	18	1
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## 264] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1788.

*Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1788.*

DECEMBER 6, 1787.			£.	s.	d.
By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound	—	—	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty	—	—	750,000	0	0
MAY 6, 1788.					
By loans and exchequer bills	—	—	5,500,000	0	0
From the growing produce of the consolidated fund, to April 5th, 1788	—	—	1,845,000	0	0
Surplus to arise from ditto, to discharge deficiencies as stated in the supplies	—	—	578,000	0	0
Imprest money to be paid in the course of the year	—	—	200,000	0	0
Army savings of the year 1786	—	—	200,000	0	0
A further sum to be paid by the East India company, on account of troops, and victualling the fleet in the East Indies	—	—	500,000	0	0
By lottery of 48,000 tickets, at 15 l. 12s. 9d. each	—	—	750,600	0	0
Deduct prizes	—	—	480,000	0	0
Savings from the army in 1786 and 1787	—	—	43,000	0	0
Total of ways and means for the year 1788	—	—	11,886,600	0	0
Total of supplies for ditto	—	—	11,860,263	18	1
Excess of ways and means for 1788	—	—	26,336	1	11

*N. B. There was no new tax laid this year, except an additional duty on spirits manufactured in Scotland and imported into England.*

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [265

*An Account of the Net Produce of all the Taxes, from the 5th of January, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1787; and from the 5th of January, 1787, to the 5th of January, 1788: laid before the House of Commons in April, 1788.*

	1787.			1788.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs - - - - -	4,063,314	7	2½	3,714,477	2	6
Excise - - - - -	5,531,114	6	10½	6,225,627	11	3
Stamps - - - - -	1,181,464	11	10¼	1,182,060	16	0
INCIDENTS.						
Salt, 5th April 1759 - - -	241,853	4	10½	80,461	10	5
Additional duty, 10th May 1780 - - - - -	60,463	3	7½	21,615	7	3
Ditto, 22d June 1782 - - -	62,954	0	6	22,183	13	9
700l. per week, letter-money, 1st June 1711 - - - - -	36,400	0	0	13,300	0	0
2,300l. per week, ditto, 1784	119,600	0	0	43,700	0	0
Seizures, ditto, 1760 - - -	4,442	14	7	5,429	13	9
Proffers, ditto - - - - -	635	16	11	661	9	2
Fines of leafes, ditto - - -	6,073	15	4	6,676	6	4
Alum mines, ditto - - - -	960	0	0	960	0	0
Compositions, ditto - - - -	2	10	0	2	13	4
Alienation duty, ditto - - -	1,351	15	4	2,433	15	4
Fines and forfeitures, ditto -	105	0	0	1,400	0	0
Rent of a light house, ditto -	6	13	4	156	13	4
Rent of Savoy lands, ditto						
Letter money, ditto - - - -	95,000	0	0	93,000	0	0
6d. per lib. on pensions, 24th June 1721 - - - - -	53,300	0	0	41,100	0	0
1s. deduction on salaries, 5th April 1758 - - - - -	29,410	16	6½	32,102	6	3
Houses and windows, 10th October 1766 - - - - -	414,050	13	2¾	411,021	19	2¾
Houses, 5th April 1778 - - -	125,470	0	10¼	140,081	5	11¼
Hawkers and pedlars, 5th July 1710 - - - - -	1,925	0	0	1,554	7	10½
Hackney coaches, 1st August 1711 - - - - -	9,324	8	11	13,219	15	4
						Ditto,

	1787.			1788.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ditto, 1784 - - - - -	11,979	0	0	14,269	0	0
Hawkers and pedlars, 5th July 1785 - - - - -	2,070	13	11	1,488	13	11½
First fruits of the clergy - - -	6,413	9	3	5,164	2	10
Salt, 1st August 1785 - - -	12,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
Tenths of the clergy - - -	9,903	14	10½	9,893	16	4
Male servants, ditto, 1785 - -	64,586	18	6½	97,912	0	6¾
Female ditto - - - - -	19,061	19	0¾	33,994	6	8
Four-wheel carriages, ditto -	86,307	14	1	134,512	13	10¾
Two-wheel, ditto - - - - -	18,595	16	8½	30,046	19	10½
Horses, ditto - - - - -	72,448	0	6½	110,885	1	9¾
Waggons, ditto - - - - -	8,446	18	2½	18,530	15	2
Carts, ditto - - - - -	4,887	0	0½	11,191	12	7½
Shops, ditto - - - - -	32,796	6	7¾	64,265	1	1
Houses and windows, ditto, 1727 - - - - -	773	10	3	82	0	9½
Male servants, ditto, 1777, ar- rears - - - - -	29	19	0	2	17	4
Consolidated letter-money, ditto, 1787 - - - - -	0	0	0	99,000	0	0
Ditto salt, ditto - - - - -	0	0	0	235,669	7	2½
Total of incidents - -	1,613,661	15	2	1,800,969	7	5½
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents - -	12,389,555	1	1¼	12,923,134	17	2¼

Exchequer,  
the 3d day of April 1788.

JOHN HUGHSON.



## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the fifth Session of the sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, on Tuesday the 27th of November, 1787.*

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ **A**T the close of the last session, I informed you of the concern with which I observed the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces.

“ Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming, and the danger which threatened their constitution and independence, seemed likely, in its consequence, to affect the security and interests of my dominions.

“ No endeavours were wanting on my part to contribute by my good offices to the restoration of tranquillity, and the maintenance of the lawful government; and I also thought it necessary to explain my intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic. Under these circumstances, the king of Prussia having taken measures to enforce his demand of satisfaction for the insult offered to the princess of Orange, the party which had usurped the government of Holland applied to the Most Christian king for assist-

ance, who notified to me his intention of granting their request.

“ In conformity to the principle which I had before explained, I did not hesitate, on receiving this notification, to declare, that I could not remain a quiet spectator of the armed interference of France, and I gave immediate orders for augmenting my forces both by sea and land.

“ In the course of these transactions, I also thought proper to conclude a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by which I secured the assistance of a considerable body of troops, in case my service should require it.

“ In the mean time, the rapid success of the Prussian troops under the conduct of the duke of Brunswick, while it was the means of obtaining the reparation demanded by the king of Prussia, enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government.

“ All subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation took place between me and the Most Christian king, and declarations have been exchanged by our respective ministers, by which we have agreed mutually to disarm, and to place our naval establishments on the same footing as in

in the beginning of the present year.

“ It gives me the greatest satisfaction that the important events which I have communicated to you, have taken place without disturbing my subjects in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace; and I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that I continue to receive from all foreign Powers the fullest assurances of their pacific and friendly disposition towards this country. I must, at the same time, regret that the tranquillity of one part of Europe is unhappily interrupted by the war which has broken out between Russia and the Porte.

“ A convention has been agreed upon between me and the Most Christian king, explanatory of the thirteenth article of the last treaty of peace, and calculated to prevent jealousies and disputes between our respective subjects in the East Indies.—I have ordered copies of the several treaties to which I have referred, and of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged at Versailles, to be laid before you.

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, together with an account of the extraordinary expences which the situation of affairs rendered necessary.

“ I have the fullest reliance in your zeal and public spirit, that you will make due provision for the several branches of the public service. I am always desirous of confining those expences within the narrowest limits which a prudent regard to the public safety will permit; but I must at the same

time recommend to your particular attention to consider of the proper means for maintaining my distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence.

“ *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

“ The flourishing state of the commerce and revenues of this country, cannot fail to encourage you in the pursuit of such measures as may confirm and improve so favourable a situation.

“ These circumstances must also render you peculiarly anxious for the continuation of public tranquillity, which it is my constant object to preserve.

“ I am at the same time persuaded you will agree with me in thinking that nothing can more effectually tend to secure so valuable a blessing, than the zeal and unanimity which were shewn by all ranks of my subjects on the late occasion, and which manifest their readiness to exert themselves whenever the honour of my crown and the interests of my dominions may require it.”

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*The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, for the foregoing Speech.*

Die Martis, 27<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1787.

“ *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“ **W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

“ We acknowledge with heart-  
felt

felt gratitude your majesty's constant regard to the interests of your people, which could not be more fully manifested than by your attention to the disputes lately subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces.

" The danger with which their constitution and independence were threatened, could not but affect, in its probable consequences, the security and interests of your majesty's kingdoms.

" We beg leave therefore humbly to express our highest approbation of your majesty's just and wise determination to counteract all forcible interference on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic; and we acknowledge in the fullest manner the propriety and necessity of the declaration made by your majesty in conformity to these principles, when the intention of the Most Christian king to assist the party which had usurped the government of Holland was notified to your majesty, for the augmentation of your forces by sea and land; measures which, while they prepared the country for any emergency which might arise, were the most likely to prolong the blessings of peace.

" We learn, with particular satisfaction, the rapid success of the Prussian troops under the auspicious conduct of his Serene Highness the duke of Brunswick, which has obtained for his Prussian majesty the just reparation which he demanded, and enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, as well as to establish their ancient and lawful government.

" The important events which have taken place, without disturb-

ing your majesty's subjects in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, afford matter of cordial congratulation to your majesty; and we are happy to see your majesty enabled to enter into an agreement with the Most Christian king for disarming, and placing the naval establishments of the two countries upon the same footing as in the beginning of the present year.

" We beg leave to return our humble thanks to your majesty for ordering the several treaties and conventions to be laid before this house, and to assure your majesty that we shall see with satisfaction any arrangement calculated to prevent jealousies and disputes between your majesty's subjects and those of the Most Christian king in the East Indies.

" Your majesty may depend upon our concurrence in such measures as it may seem expedient to adopt, in consequence of the other engagements entered into by your majesty, as well as such as may be necessary for placing your majesty's distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence.

" The flourishing state of the commerce and revenues afford us the highest satisfaction, and cannot fail to stimulate us to use our utmost endeavours to confirm and improve such important advantages, as well as to concur with your majesty's paternal wishes for the continuation of the public tranquillity. We lament, that hostilities should have broken out in any part of Europe; but we receive with satisfaction the information that your majesty continues to be assured of the pacific disposition of all foreign powers towards this country.

" We reflect with pleasure on the

the zeal and unanimity shown by all ranks of your majesty's subjects on the late occasion, as it must give more weight to the assurances we now humbly offer to your majesty, that, with every wish to cultivate the blessings of peace, we shall be always ready to exert ourselves to the utmost, when the honour of your majesty's crown and the interests of your people may require it."

*To which His Majesty returned the following answer.*

"My Lords,

"I thank you for this affectionate and loyal address. The satisfaction which you have unanimously expressed in the measures I have taken is particularly agreeable to me. You may depend, that both in war and in peace my constant objects shall be the honour of my crown, and the advancement of the interests of my people."

*The humble Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne, November 29th, 1787.*

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"Your faithful commons acknowledge, with gratitude, your majesty's regard for the welfare and interests of your people, manifested by your endeavours to promote the restoration of their internal tran-

quillity, and the maintenance of their lawful government.

"We are sensible that the danger which lately threatened the constitution and independence of the United Provinces was likely, in its consequences, to affect the security and interests of your majesty's dominions: and we particularly applaud your majesty's just determination to counteract all forcible interference, on the part of France, in the internal affairs of the republic.

"We feel, in the strongest manner, the propriety and necessity of the declaration made by your majesty, in conformity with those principles, when the intention of the Most Christian king was notified to your majesty, as well as of the reasonable and vigorous steps taken for the immediate augmentation of your majesty's forces both by sea and land.

"The rapid and brilliant success of the Prussian arms, under the conduct of his Serene Highness the duke of Brunswick, affords us matter of peculiar satisfaction, both as it was the means of obtaining the reparation demanded by the king of Prussia, and as it has enabled the Provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government.

"We cordially congratulate your majesty on the important events which have taken place without having disturbed your majesty's subjects in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and which have enabled your majesty to enter into an agreement with the Most Christian king for mutually disarming, and placing the naval establishments



ments of the two countries on the same footing as in the beginning of the present year.

“ We are sensible of your majesty’s goodness in the communication of the several treaties and declarations which your majesty has ordered to be laid before this house. We shall see with pleasure any arrangement properly calculated to prevent jealousies and disputes between your majesty’s subjects, and those of the Most Christian king, in the East Indies ; and we shall proceed, without loss of time, to consider what steps it may be fit to take in consequence of the other engagements entered into by your majesty.

“ Your majesty may be assured of our readiness to make such provision as may be necessary for defraying the extraordinary expences which have been incurred by your majesty, and for carrying on the several branches of the current service.

“ We shall make it the object of our immediate attention to consider what measures it may be expedient to adopt for maintaining your majesty’s distant possessions in an adequate posture of defence ; and we shall proceed, with unremitting assiduity, in the pursuit of measures which may tend to confirm and improve the favourable situation of affairs.

“ The flourishing state of the commerce and revenue of the country must make us concur, with more peculiar earnestness, in your majesty’s paternal wishes for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. On this account, while we see, with concern, the war which has unhappily broken out between Russia and the Porte, we have great satisfaction

in learning that your majesty continues to receive, from all foreign powers, the fullest assurances of their pacific disposition towards this country.

“ We are thoroughly sensible that nothing can more effectually tend to secure the invariable blessings of peace, than the zeal and unanimity which was shewn by all ranks of your majesty’s subjects on the late occasion, and which manifest their readiness to exert themselves whenever the honour of your majesty’s crown, and the interests of your dominions, may require it.”

*His Majesty’s most gracious Answer.*

“ Gentlemen,

“ I return you my hearty thanks for this loyal and dutiful address ; the satisfaction you express in the measures which I have pursued, and in the important events which have taken place, afford me peculiar pleasure.

“ You may depend upon my invariable attention to the happiness and prosperity of my kingdoms.”

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*His Majesty’s Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the close of the fifth Session, July 11th, 1788.*

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ **I**N the present advanced season of the year, and after the laborious attendance which the public business has required of you, I think it necessary to put an end to the present session of parliament. I cannot do this, without expressing the satisfaction with which I have observed the uniform and diligent attention

attention to the welfare of my people, which has appeared in all your proceedings."

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The chearfulness and liberality with which you have granted the necessary supplies, demand my particular acknowledgments. It must afford you the greatest satisfaction, that you have been enabled, without any addition to the burdens of my people, to provide for the extraordinary exigences of the last year, in addition to the current demands of the public service, and to the sum annually appropriated to the reduction of the national debt."

*"My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I see with concern the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte, in which the emperor has also taken a part. But the general state of Europe, and the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, afford me every reason to expect that my subjects will continue to enjoy the blessings of peace.

"The engagements which I have recently entered into with my good brother the king of Prussia, and those with the States General of the United Provinces, which have already been communicated to you, are directed to this object, which I have uniformly in view, and they will, I trust, be productive of the happiest consequences in promoting the security and welfare of my own dominions, and in contributing to the general tranquillity of Europe."

*A Copy of the Treaty of defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 25th of April, 1788.*

THE mutual and sincere friendship which has so long subsisted between his majesty the king of Great Britain, and the lords the states general of the United Provinces, having been increased, and strengthened by the interest which his Britannic majesty has lately manifested in the preservation of the independence of the republic, and of its legal constitution, his said majesty, and the said lords states general of the United Provinces, have resolved, in order to cement in the most solid and lasting manner the good harmony, confidence, and correspondence between them, to form permanent engagements, by a treaty of defensive alliance for the good of both parties, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, as well as of their own in particular. To accomplish so salutary a purpose, his majesty the king of Great Britain has named and authorised sir James Harris, privy counsellor, knight of the Bath, member of the parliament of Great Britain, and his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses; and their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces have named and authorised their deputies for foreign affairs; who, after communicating to each other their full powers in due form, and having conferred together, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

There shall be a sincere, firm, and constant friendship and union between his Britannic majesty, his heirs and successors, and the lords the states general of the United Provinces, so that the high contracting parties shall direct their utmost attention to maintain this mutual friendship and correspondence between them, and their dominions and subjects; and they engage to contribute, as far as shall be in their power, mutually to preserve and defend each other in peace and tranquillity.

ARTICLE II.

In case either of the high contracting parties should be hostilely attacked by any European power, in any part of the world whatsoever, the other contracting party engages to succour its ally, as well by sea as by land, in order to maintain and guaranty each other mutually in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, places, franchises, and liberties, which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of hostilities.

ARTICLE III.

His Britannic majesty guaranties, in the most effectual manner, the hereditary Stadtholderate, as well as the office of hereditary governor of each province, in the serene house of Orange, with all the rights and prerogatives thereto belonging, as forming an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces, according to the resolutions and diplomas of the years 1747 and 1748, by virtue of which the present Stadtholder entered into the possession of those offices in 1766, and was re-instituted therein in 1788: engaging

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to maintain that form of government against all attacks and enterprises, direct or indirect, of whatsoever nature they may be:

ARTICLE IV.

The succours mentioned in the second article of this treaty of defensive alliance, shall consist, on the part of his Britannic majesty, of eight thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line; and eight frigates, which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at its disposal during the whole continuance of the war in which it shall be engaged, whilst those succours (whether ships and frigates, or troops) shall be paid and maintained by the power of whom they shall be required, wherever its ally shall employ them.

ARTICLE V.

In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the power requiring them, the power to whom requisition shall be made shall successively augment them, according to the wants of its ally, whom it shall assist, even with its whole force, if circumstances should render it necessary; but it is expressly agreed, in all cases, that the contingent of the lords the states general shall not exceed ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, sixteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates:

ARTICLE VI.

But as it may happen (considering the distance of several of the possessions of the two high contracting parties) that the advantages, which ought to result to them reciprocally

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from

from the conclusion of the present treaty, may become illusory, unless measures can be taken for the mutual defence of those possessions, before their respective governors could receive orders from Europe for that purpose; it is stipulated and agreed, that in case either of them should be hostilely attacked, or even menaced with an hostile attack, in its possessions, whether in Africa or in Asia, by any European power, the governors of their settlements in those parts of the world shall be enjoined to concert together the succour to be furnished, and, in case of need, to furnish such succour, in the most speedy and effectual manner, to the party attacked; and that orders to that effect shall be expedited to the said governors immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty: and in case the two high contracting parties should be obliged to furnish the aforesaid succours, they shall not permit the ships of war, of what nature they may be, of the power attacking, to enter into any of their ports in the aforesaid settlements, until peace shall be restored between the party attacking, and the ally of the contracting party, unless the said vessels be forced to take refuge there, to avoid perishing, or being shipwrecked.

#### ARTICLE VII.

If it should happen that the two high contracting parties shall be equally involved in a war against a common enemy, they reciprocally promise each other not to disarm but by common consent; and they shall communicate to each other confidentially the proposals for a peace, or truce, which may be made.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

If the high contracting parties prefer furnishing their succours of troops in money, they shall be at liberty on each side so to do; and then such succour shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of like value, for one thousand cavalry, per annum, and in the same proportion by the month.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The power requiring shall be obliged, whether the ships, frigates, and troops with which it shall have been furnished, remain for a long or short time in its ports, to provide whatever they may want, at the same price as if they belonged to such power itself. It has been agreed, that the said troops or ships shall not in any case be at the expence of the party requiring, but that they shall nevertheless remain at its disposal, during the whole continuance of the war in which it shall be engaged. The succours above mentioned shall, with respect to discipline, be subject to the orders of the chief officer who commands them; and they shall not be employed separately, or otherwise than in concert with the said commanding officer: with regard to the operations, they shall be wholly subject to the orders of the commander in chief of the power requiring.

#### ARTICLE X.

It is agreed, that until the two powers conclude a treaty of commerce with each other, the subjects of the republic shall be treated, in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland,



Ireland, as the most favoured nation; and the same shall be observed in the United Provinces towards the subjects of his Britannic majesty. It is, however, to be understood, that this article is not to extend to a diminution of the import duties payable upon linens.

ARTICLE XI.

Whereas by the fourth article of the treaty of peace, signed in the month of June, 1784, his Britannic majesty engaged to treat with the lords the states-general for the restitution of Negapatnam, with its dependencies, in case the said lords the states-general should in future have any equivalent to give; and whereas their high mightinesses have now renewed their request for obtaining that restitution, as well as settling and determining precisely the sense of the sixth article of that treaty, concerning the navigation of British subjects in the eastern seas; his Britannic majesty, in order to manifest his good-will towards the republic, is disposed to concur in these desires of their high mightinesses, and even to secure to the republic additional and real commercial advantages in that part of the world, as soon as an equivalent for those objects can be agreed upon; in return for which his Britannic majesty will require nothing but what is favourable to the reciprocal interests and security of the contracting parties in the Indies: and, to prevent the negotiations for such arrangements from retarding the conclusion of the present treaty, it

is agreed that they shall be begun as soon as possible, and be concluded in the space of six months from the date of the present treaty; and that the convention to be made thereon shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the treaty itself.

ARTICLE XII.

The present treaty shall be ratified on each side, and the exchange of ratifications shall be made in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

Done at the Hague, the fifteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L. S.) JAMES HARRIS.

(L. S.) J. W. CONTE DE WELDEREN.

(L. S.) W. F. H. VAN WASSENAER.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

(L. S.) GUILLAUME DE CITRERS.

(L. S.) W. N. PESTERS.

(L. S.) CHARLES BIGOT.

(L. S.) M. B. C. VAN VIERST VAN BORGEL.

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*Copy of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance\*, between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the King of Prussia.*

THEIR majesties the king of Great Britain, and the king of Prussia, being animated with a sincere and equal desire to improve and consolidate the strict union and

\* The provisional treaty, upon which this was grounded, was signed at Loo, by the Sieur P. C. d'Avenfleben, on the part of his Prussian majesty, and Sir James Harris (now lord Malmfbury) on behalf of his Britannic majesty, on June 15th, 1788.

friendship which, having been transmitted to them by their ancestors, so happily subsist between them, and to concert the most proper measures for securing their mutual interests, and the general tranquillity of Europe, have resolved to renew and strengthen these ties by a treaty of defensive alliance; and they have authorized for this purpose (to wit) his majesty the king of Great Britain, the sieur Joseph Ewart, his envoy extraordinary at the court of Berlin; and his majesty the king of Prussia, the sieur Ewald Frederick count de Hertzberg, his minister of state, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Black Eagle; who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers to each other, have agreed upon the following articles:

#### ARTICLE I.

There shall be a perpetual, firm, and unalterable friendship, defensive alliance, and strict and inviolable union, together with an intimate and perfect harmony and correspondence, between the said most serene kings of Great Britain and Prussia, their heirs and successors, and their respective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and subjects, which shall be carefully maintained and cultivated, so that the contracting powers shall constantly employ, as well their utmost attention as also those means which Providence has put in their power, for preserving at the same time the public tranquillity and security, for maintaining their common interests, and for their mutual defence and guaranty against every hostile attack; the whole in conformity to the treaties already subsisting between the two high con-

tracting parties, which shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be deemed to be renewed by the present treaty, as far as the same shall not be derogated from, with their own consent, by posterior treaties, or by the present treaty.

#### ARTICLE II.

In consequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two high contracting parties shall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity; and in case either of them should be threatened with a hostile attack by any power whatever, the other shall employ his most efficacious good offices for preventing hostilities, for procuring satisfaction to the injured party, and for effecting an accommodation in a conciliatory manner.

#### ARTICLE III.

But if those good offices should not have the desired effect, in the space of two months, and either of the two high contracting parties should be hostilely attacked, molested, or disturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, possessions, or interests, or in any manner whatever, by sea or land, by any European power, the other contracting party engages to succour his ally without delay, in order to maintain each other reciprocally in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, and places, which belonged to them before the commencement of such hostilities: for which end, if his Prussian majesty should happen to be attacked, his majesty the king of Great Britain shall furnish to his majesty the king of Prussia a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; and if his Brit-

tannic

tantric majesty should happen to be attacked, his majesty the king of Prussia shall likewise furnish to him a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at his disposal during the whole continuance of the war in which he shall be engaged. These succours shall be paid and maintained by the required power, wherever his ally shall employ them; but the requiring party shall supply them, in his dominions, with such bread and forage as may be necessary, upon the footing to which his own troops are accustomed.

It is nevertheless agreed between the high contracting parties, that if his Britannic majesty should be in the case of receiving the succour in troops from his Prussian majesty, his Britannic majesty shall not employ them out of Europe, nor even in the garrison of Gibraltar.

If the injured and requiring party should prefer succours in money to land forces, he shall have his choice; and in case of the two high contracting parties furnishing to each other the stipulated succours in money, such succours shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of the like value, for one thousand cavalry, per annum, or in the same proportion by the month.

#### ARTICLE IV.

In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the requiring power, the required power shall augment them,

according to the exigency of the case, and shall assist the former with his whole force, if circumstances shall render it necessary.

#### ARTICLE V.

The high contracting parties hereby renew, in the most express terms, the provisional treaty of defensive alliance, which they concluded at Loo, on the 13th of June in the present year, and they again engage and promise to act, at all times, in concert, and with mutual confidence, for maintaining the security, independence, and government of the republic of the United Provinces, conformably to the engagements which they have lately contracted with the said republic; that is to say, his Britannic majesty, by a treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788, and his Prussian majesty, by a treaty signed the same day at Berlin, which the said high contracting parties have communicated to each other.

And if it shall happen that, by virtue of the stipulations of the said treaties, the high contracting parties should be obliged to augment the succours to be given to the states-general, above the numbers specified in the said treaties, or to assist them with their whole force, the said high contracting parties will concert together upon all that may be necessary relative to such an augmentation of succours to be agreed on, and to the employment of their respective forces for the security and defence of the said republic.

In case either of the said high contracting parties should, at any time hereafter, be attacked, molested, or disturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, possessions, or interests, in any manner whatever, by

sea or by land, by any other power, in consequence and in hatred of the articles or stipulations contained in the said treaties, or of the measures to be taken by the said contracting parties respectively, in virtue of these treaties, the other contracting party engages to succour and assist him against such attack, in the same manner, and by the same succours, as are stipulated in the 3d and 4th articles of the present treaty; and the said contracting parties promise, in all similar cases, to maintain and guaranty each other in the possession of all the dominions, towns, and places, which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of such hostilities.

#### ARTICLE VI.

The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by each party, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, being authorized by the full powers of their majesties, the kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and have thereto set the seals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the thirteenth of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L.S.) JOSEPH EWART.

(L.S.) EWALD FREDERIC COMTE  
DE HERTZBERG.

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*Act of Guaranty of the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces, by their High Mightinesses the States General.*

THE lords the states of the provinces of Guelderland, Holland, and West Friesland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overysse, and Groningen, and of the county of Drenthe, having reflected upon the causes of the intestine divisions by which the republic, and each province in particular, have of late years been distracted; and having found that these divisions have, for the greatest part, arisen from the false and dangerous idea entertained by certain persons, whether real or pretended, respecting the constitution and form of government of these provinces, and especially with regard to the importance and necessity of the high and hereditary dignities of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, which idea they had instilled into the minds of other inhabitants not so well informed; and having moreover considered, that at the time of the happy restoration and confirmation of the Hereditary Stadtholdership in 1747 and 1748, the confederates regarded the union of all those dignities in the person of one prince only, both with respect to the several provinces, and to the countries of the generality, as a singular advantage to the republic, being convinced that the bond of the union would derive from it renewed vigour and solidity; that consequently these dignities having, from that period, obtained a closer and more intimate connection with the whole confederacy, they ought not only to be considered as an essential part of the constitution and form of government of each province, but likewise of the republic at large, and so attached to the union, that it cannot possibly subsist and prosper without these dignities; and that therefore,



therefore, as the confederates are bound to assist each other at the risk of their lives and fortunes, for the preservation of the bond of union, it necessarily follows, that they are obliged, under a mutual obligation, to support each other respecting the first and principal means by which the union may be preserved and maintained, and to protect it with their united force against all enterprizes; the more so, as experience has shewn, during the late troubles, that from beginnings of slight importance, which appeared at first to have only trifling alterations in view, a general confusion ensued, which brought the confederacy to the eve of its dissolution: the deputies of the above-mentioned provinces do solemnly declare, in the name and by order of the lords the states of their respective provinces, by the present act, that the said lords the states regard and consider the dignities of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives thereunto annexed, in manner and upon the same footing as they were conferred in the several provinces, and possessed by the present prince Stadtholder in the year 1766, as an essential part of their constitution and form of government, and they mutually guaranty the same to each other, as a fundamental law of the state, promising that they will not suffer this fundamental law, so absolutely necessary for the repose and safety of the republic, to be deviated from in either of the provinces of the confederacy.

In testimony whereof, we the underwritten being, by virtue of the resolutions of their high mightinesses of this day, expressly authorized

thereto, have each of us, in the name of our respective states, and in conformity to their respective resolutions, signed this instrument.——  
Hague, June 27, 1788.

A. R. VAN HECKEREN VAN ZUYDERAS.

W. F. H. VAN WASSINAER.

L. P. VAN DER SPIEGEL.

W. v. CITTERS.

W. N. PESTERS.

M. v. SCHELTINGA.

R. SLOST TOT DE HAAR B. DE V. IDSINGA.

The underwritten, in consequence of the accession of the county of Drenthe, and by virtue of full powers transmitted to him for that purpose, has signed the above act, July 3, 1788.

P. A. VAN HEIDEN, Droffard of the county of Drenthe.

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*The Emperor's Declaration of War against the Porte, Feb. 10, 1788.*

ALL Europe have been witness to the good faith with which the court of his imperial majesty has for many years cultivated peace with the Ottoman empire; the sincere dispositions it has manifested on every occasion to preserve their good neighbourhood; its disinterested and indefatigable endeavours to avoid any interruption of their mutual harmony; and its readiness to lend every office of mediation, to prevent any rupture between the Porte and the neighbouring courts.

These pacific intentions were lately displayed in the differences which arose between the Porte and the empress of all the Russias, when the emperor, uniting his endeavours with those of his ally the

king of France, omitted nothing which was likely to effect an amicable adjustment of their disputes. And whereas the grievances and demands of the court of Russia did not exceed a requisition for the just execution of the existing treaty between them and the Porte, and whereas the former court shewed the most favourable disposition to accommodate the differences, his imperial majesty was not without hopes that his endeavours, joined to those of the court of Versailles, would succeed in preventing a rupture, and the calamitous consequences that must inevitably attend it.

But the Porte soon shewed the inefficacy of this attempt of the united courts, and, shutting their eyes against their salutary advice and pressing exhortations, had the injustice to refuse the Russian envoy the necessary delay for a courier to return with fresh instructions from Petersburg, and required him to sign a formal deed, revoking and declaring void the treaty of commerce concluded between the Porte and Russia, as well as every stipulation respecting the Crimea. And, in consequence of his refusal to accede to a proposition, which, independent of its impropriety, exceeded the powers of an envoy, the Porte did not hesitate to confine this minister, contrary to the most sacred laws of nations, in the prison of the seven towers, and to declare war against Russia at the same time.

By so violent a proceeding, things were brought to the most critical extremity; yet the emperor did not lose hopes, that hostilities might still be prevented. He flattered himself that the Porte, yielding to the representations of all the foreign ambassadors residing at Constantinople,

would be persuaded to release the envoy, and give her imperial majesty a satisfaction proportionate to the violation of the law of nations offered to the person of her minister, and thus a possibility occur of renewing conciliatory negotiations.

But all these hopes were entirely destroyed by the Porte commencing open acts of hostility against all remonstrances, and obliging Russia to have recourse to arms in her defence.

The Porte were not unacquainted with the strict bands of amity and alliance which unite the courts of Vienna and Petersburg. Of this occurrence they were informed, as well by verbal insinuations as by a memorial presented towards the close of the year 1783. This was accompanied with an energetic representation of the nature of this alliance, and the danger of provoking it.

The Ottoman court have therefore themselves only to blame, if the emperor, after so many years employed in the preservation of peace, and in his endeavours to live with them on the best terms, and after having seized upon every opportunity of amicable intervention, finds himself at length obliged by their conduct to comply with his engagements with the empress, and take a part in the war into which she finds herself so forcibly drawn.

The emperor, by these facts and circumstances, conceives himself authorised to rely with the utmost confidence on the approbation of all the courts of Europe, and flatters himself that they will unite their wishes for the success of his arms against the common enemy of Christianity.

At Vienna, Feb. 10, 1788.

*Address of the Parliament of Paris, presented to his Most Christian Majesty at the Assembly of the Bed of Justice, May the 8th, 1788, on the Arrest of Messieurs d'Espremenil and de Montanbert, two Counsellors of their Court\*.*

"Sire,

"YOUR parliament is confirmed, by every proceeding, of the intire innovation which is aimed at in the system of monarchy. At the moment even when your parliament was offering their suspicions and remonstrances at the foot of the throne, an act of absolute authority is exercised in your name against two magistrates, whose conduct is irreproachable, and who should rather deserve your majesty's protection for their support of the rights of monarchy.

"At the time that the deputies of parliament were soliciting an audience at the foot of the throne, which public circumstances seemed to require, the seat of sovereign justice was invested by a body of armed people, who committed acts of violence in the middle of the night, and at the time your parliament was sitting.

"Your majesty has been advised not to receive the deputation of your parliament, because you had not been made acquainted of their coming by a special message. The efforts that have been made to conceal truth from your knowledge, but too plainly indicate the changes in the constitution which the enemies of magistracy have endeavoured to effect since 1771; and which they flatter themselves to attain by a specious plausibility.

"Your majesty, in summoning your parliament to the throne, was about to conciliate the love of your people by a measure conformable to ancient practice. But, sire, the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures which you are advised to, and whose effects alarm the most faithful of your magistrates. We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled on, and that your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice.

"It is the interests of the nation which has determined each and every member not to take any part, either as a body or as individuals, in any functions which may be the consequences of new regulations, nor will they assist in any measures which are not the unanimous resolutions of parliament, endued with all its privileges. Such is the nature of the French monarchy; and we beseech your majesty not to suffer apparent or momentary advantages to divert your attention, as they may only produce unhappy consequences.

"This objection is of such importance to the public tranquillity, that the consideration of it absorbs every other sentiment, and scarcely leaves us power to beseech your justice in favour of the two magistrates who have been recently torn from us, attended by circumstances which we dare not describe.

"Your majesty will, sooner or later, discover the justice of our representations; and, in whatever si-

\* See State Papers in our last volume, relative to the arrest of the Duke of Orleans, and two other counsellors of the parliament of Paris.

tuation your parliament may find itself, it will feel the pleasing and conscious satisfaction of having used its best endeavours for the *service of the king and the nation.*"

*Speech of his Most Christian Majesty, on opening the Bed of Justice, May the 8th.*

"THERE is no point in which my parliament has not, for this year past, deviated from its duty. Not satisfied with raising the opinion of each of your members to the level of my will, you have presumed to say, that a registry, to which you could not be forced, was necessary for confirming what I should determine, even at the request of the nation.

"The parliaments of the provinces have adopted the same pretensions, the same liberties. From hence it results, that some laws, as interesting as desirable, have not been generally executed; that the best operations have become weak; that credit is destroyed; that justice is either interrupted or suspended, in order that the public tranquillity might be shaken.

"I owe to my people, to myself, and to my successors, to put a stop to these extravagant proceedings. I might have restrained them, but have preferred rather to prevent the effects of them.—I have been forced to punish some magistrates; but acts of rigour are contrary to my nature, even when they are indispensable.

"My intention is not to destroy my parliaments; I mean only to bring them back to their duty, and their original institutions; to convert the moment of a crisis into a

salutary epocha for my subjects; to begin a reform in the judicial order, by that of the tribunals, which are the base of it; to procure to the suitors in our courts a justice more speedy and less expensive; to trust the nation again with the exercise of their lawful rights, which must always be united with mine. I mean, above all, to set in every part of the monarchy that unity of views, and that *tout ensemble*, without which a great kingdom is but weakened by the number and extent of its provinces.

"The order I intend to establish is not new: there was but one parliament when Philip le Bel fixed his residence at Paris. In a great state there must be one king, one law, one registry; courts of a jurisdiction not too extensive, entrusted with the power of judging the great number of law-suits, and parliaments to which the most important suits must be referred; one only court in which the laws common to the whole kingdom shall be enregistered and preserved; in short, an assembly of the general states, not once only, but whenever the exigencies of the state may require it.

"Such is the re-establishment which my love for my people has prepared, and which it now announces for their happiness; the only object of my wishes is to render them happy. My keeper of the seals will now enter into a particular detail of my intentions."

*(The rest of the business was conducted by the keeper of the seals, who produced the different ordinances which his majesty commanded to be registered.)*

*The first ordinance relates to the administration of justice. The object of this is to establish two courts of justice*



justice in each of the different districts therein specified: the one to decide all affairs not exceeding 4,000 livres; the other, such as shall not exceed 20,000 livres, reserving to the parliaments, when they resume their functions, the right of judging matters of greater importance; each in its own province.

The second ordinance is for the suppression of some particular courts, which had a kind of jurisdiction independent of the other courts.

The third ordinance relates to the manner of condemning criminals.

The fourth is an edict for reducing the number of the members who have a right to sit in parliament: among 120, only 67 will remain.

The next is for the re-establishment of the *cour pleniére*, or supreme assembly. This court will be composed of the chancellor or keeper of the seals, the great chamberlain of the parliament of Paris, the peers and great officers of state, with several others from different parts of the magistracy, who will hold their places for life. The great object of this court, is the registry of the laws and imposts.

His majesty's last declaration, relates to the vacation of the parliament. By this, the parliament remains suspended in all its functions till further orders. In the mean time, the proper measures are taking for carrying the above ordinances and declarations into execution, and a prohibition is laid on the parliament, and all its members, to assemble, or deliberate on any affair, public or private.

His majesty then pronounced the following short speech, and closed the assembly for the day.)

“ You have just heard my will; the more moderate it is, the more firmly it shall be executed. It

tends in every thing to the happiness of my subjects. I depend on the zeal of those who are immediately called to compose my *cour pleniére*; the others will, I doubt not, merit by their conduct to be successively called to it.—I am now going to name the first, and order them to remain at Versailles, and the others to withdraw.”

(In consequence of the foregoing edicts of the king, le grand assemblee du parlement (the great assembly of parliament) met on Friday last. Their protest is dated May the 9th, 1788, seven o'clock in the morning. It contains a representation to his majesty, that their silence in his presence, on the day preceding, must not be construed as an acquiescence of their consent to his majesty's edicts; that, on the contrary, they wholly disclaim taking any part in what passed at that sitting, or giving their assistance to it. That they further decline accepting any seat in the new court his majesty wishes to erect, called la *cour pleniére*; and they cannot accept of it, as being contrary to their oath, their duty, and fidelity to his majesty.

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His Most Christian Majesty's Ordinance, declaring the Protest and Deliberations above-mentioned, of the Parliaments and Courts, seditious and libellous.

IT having been represented to the king, that several writings had been clandestinely published, and that his indulgence has been much abused by no notice having been taken of them:—that besides, fictitious signatures have been made use of to give them consequence:

These

These and other weighty reasons have determined his wisdom to prohibit and suppress them.

Those writings, under the title of resolutions, or protests, of different bodies and communities, carry with them an air of disobedience and revolt, contrary to the duty of subjects, and especially of the officers of those bodies, whom the king forbids to hold any further assembly or deliberation, and from whom alone they hold the authority of exercising their professions.

These writings are in their form—illegal; in the effect they are intended to produce—fallacious: the contents are equally reprehensible, and assume a superiority over the royal authority. Some declare the king's acts—absurd in their form—despotic in their principles—tyrannical in their effects—destructive of monarchy, and the rights and capitulations of the provinces.

It is his majesty's wish to hold out to the nation its true interest—in the same manner to bring it back to its proper powers.

His goodness has delayed him hitherto from taking notice of those writings, hoping that his subjects would reflect, and repent of their errors, and induce his majesty to forget their conduct.

His majesty owes to his own authority—he owes it to his faithful subjects—he owes it to the people at large, to prevent for the future such acts, which made without power—out of the places of the ordinary fitting—against the express commands of the king, escape the notice of a formal proceeding to annul them, by the very vice of their formation, since to annul them, would be to suppose they had a regular existence;—but which, spread

abroad as they have been, to mislead the nation from the true intentions of his majesty, do not less deserve his entire displeasure, as they are capable of troubling the public tranquillity, by their spirit of independence and rebellion.

From this report, made to his majesty—the king being in his council, Orders, that the deliberations and protests of his courts and other assemblies, made since the publication of his laws of the 8th of May last, and tending to prevent their execution and effect, are and shall remain suppressed, as seditious—treasonable to the royal authority—made without power, and with a design to mislead his people. Prohibits all persons, particularly officers of his courts, or other judges, to assist in future at such assemblies, or make such protests, on pain of forfeiture and loss of estate, commission, civil or military appointment, against all those who shall assist at, or sign them. Prohibits in like manner, and under the same penalties, all and every officer, in the different tribunals throughout the kingdom, to pay any regard to such decrees and protests, or the impressions they may have made.

His majesty declares likewise, that he will take under his especial protection, for the present and to come, all those tribunals and others of his subjects, who, submitting to such laws, stand forward to put them in execution; and holds himself to guaranty them on every occasion, against any feeble and seditious menaces which might alarm their fidelity. Commands, in the same manner, all officers and commandants of provinces to pay strict attention to the execution of the present ordinance, which shall be printed and stuck up wherever it shall

shall be found necessary, and notified, by the express order of his majesty, to all the grand bailiwicks and presidencies throughout the kingdom.

Made at Versailles, the 20th of June 1778.

(Signed)

BARON DE BRETEUIL.

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*Note delivered the 18th of June, by the Russian Ambassador at Stockholm, to the Swedish Ministry.*

**I**N consequence of the various objects which the under-written envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Russia has lately conferred upon his excellency count d'Oxenstern, he has now the honour to present to him a succinct recapitulation of the same in the present note.

Whatever may have been the surprise of the empress my sovereign, when she was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majesty, not seeing any just motives which could occasion them, resolved to be silent as long as those motions should be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being apprised of the motives alleged by the senator count d'Oxenstern to the minister of Denmark, and which he, in consequence of the intimacy subsisting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majesty has resolved to break silence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swedish majesty's ministers.

During twenty-six years of her reign, the empress has not ceased to give constant testimonies to the king,

and to the whole Swedish nation, of her wish to cultivate the most perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, such as at the last peace was established between the two states; if, therefore, in the midst of the repose which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majesty has never conceived the least idea of disturbing or altering, in any shape, the order of things, it would be arguing against every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when she finds herself in a war which has been unjustly instigated against her by a powerful enemy, and to which she cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to display all the means which she holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, she has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the Christian powers, particularly she observed this conduct when she resolved to arm a fleet to send into the Archipelago; which intention the under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swedish ministers. All these dispositions and preparations being therefore visibly and singly directed to the circumstance which Russia found herself in, were in no shape of a nature to alarm any neighbour, that did not nourish some secret intention to multiply her embarrassments, and take advantage of them. But, admitting for a moment that the court of Russia had supposed such designs, that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of treaties which bind them, sound reasoning, as well as the interest of the first, would have confined all her measures to prevent its effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, such as prudence dictated, and were adopted,

ed, after the rumours which were spread on all sides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the Russian troops in Finland, and the destination of the usual squadron that annually cruises in the Baltic to exercise the seamen; a custom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occasioned any umbrage.—Nevertheless, her armaments were daily advancing and increasing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Peterburgh; and then at last they were prepared. The senator, count d'Oxensteirn, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the minister of a court strongly allied to Vienna, and consequently, it may be presumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that those preparations were directed against Russia, on a supposition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this situation, the empress, on her side, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swedish majesty's ministry, and to all those who have any share in the administration, that her imperial majesty could not give them a more solid proof of her pacific dispositions towards them, and of the interest she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity, than by assuring them, on her royal word, that all the opposite intentions which some might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if assurances so formal and so positive, joined to arguments so plain and convincing, are not sufficient to re-establish a calm and tranquillity, her imperial majesty is resolved to await the event with that confidence and security which the

purity and innocence of her intention inspires her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands; and which she has never employed but for the glory of her empire, and the happiness of her subjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed)

COUNT ANDRE RAZAMOFFSKY.

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*Answer of the Court of Stockholm to the foregoing Rescript.*

**H**IS majesty could not avoid being surpris'd when he saw, in the note delivered on the 18th June, by Mr. le comte de Razoumoffsky, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia, the manner in which it was attempted to distinguish between the king and the nation; and the assurances given by the empress of her disposition in their favour, and of the interest which she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Russia in other countries, his majesty cannot reconcile such friendly sentiments on the part of the empress, with an insinuation that tends directly to draw a distinction between him and his people, and, firmly resolved never to admit such a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Russia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their minister only, residing at his court; but, surpris'd as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hostile to the



the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razoumoffsky as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at his court, reserving himself, until his arrival in Finland, to answer the empress of Russia on the other articles of the declaration, by his minister at Petersburg. Meanwhile his majesty finds himself obliged to require the departure of comte de Razoumoffsky, by announcing to that minister that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the Swedish government and failed in the respect due to the person of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this minister, ever since he knew him, strongly marks the regret felt by his majesty in commanding his departure; and nothing less than the powerful reasons, of his dignity being personally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be disturbed by those principles it was not scrupled to avow, could have influenced his majesty to wish the removal of a person who has such claims upon his regard, that, in signifying his intentions to the comte de Razoumoffsky (whom he no longer acknowledges a public minister) his majesty allows him a week to make the necessary preparations. The king has also given orders for ships, and every other accommodation that can render his passage to St. Petersburg convenient, that being the only mark of attention that the present circumstances leave it in his power to shew to the comte de Razoumoffsky.

*Copy of a Circular Note delivered by the Court of Sweden to all the foreign Ministers, dated Stockholm, June 23, 1788.*

WHILE the king, anxious to preserve a good understanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the same with the court of Russia; he has been astonished to observe the little effect which his sentiments have produced on the minister of that power; whose language, for some months past, in his public conduct, still appears to bear the marks of that system of dissension which his predecessors transmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himself on this point, and wished he could doubt the existence of the efforts made by the Russian envoy, to induce the Swedish nation to return to those errors which led it astray during the time of anarchy, and to disseminate anew, in the heart of the state, that ancient spirit of discord, which Heaven, and his majesty's paternal care, have happily extinguished; till at length count Razoumoffsky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguished all those doubts the king was still desirous of preserving on this subject. Amidst the declarations of the empress's friendship for the king, with which the note is filled, this minister has not hesitated to appeal to others besides the king. He addressed himself to all the members of administration, as well as to the nation itself, to assure them of the sentiments of his sovereign, and how much she has their tranquillity at

at heart. This Sweden, however, derives solely from its proper union; and the king could not but see, with the greatest surprise, a declaration expressed in such terms, discerning therein but too much of the policy and language used by that minister's predecessors; who, not content with sowing divisions among his majesty's subjects, wanted to set up other authorities in opposition to the legitimate power, and to undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their assertions, witnesses which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majesty sought to reconcile the assurances of the friendship of the empress of Russia on the one side, with the appeal to the subjects of Sweden on the other. Every minister being charged to declare the sentiments of his master, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the sovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witness superfluous. Such is the law, such is the constant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceased to be observed, unless when by captious insinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to set up those barriers which form the distinction between the nation and their sovereign. Thus hurt, in a way most nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razoumoffsky the language of a minister, hitherto charged to convey the friendly sentiments of the empress; but, at the same time, unable to conceive, that expressions so contrary to the fun-

damental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the state, would render every subject culpable, were prescribed to him, the king chuses rather to attribute them to the private sentiments of the Russian minister, of which he has given sufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has passed, after declarations as contrary to the happiness of the kingdom, as to the laws and respect due to the king, his majesty can no longer consider count Razoumoffsky in the quality of a minister, and finds himself obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambassador at the court of Russia, the answer to the other points which have been just communicated.

Nothing less than so direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razoumoffsky, could induce his majesty to insist on the departure of one, whom he has honoured with particular regard. But seeing himself reduced to such necessity with regret, his majesty, in consequence of his former goodwill, has endeavoured to soften the disagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razoumoffsky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Petersburg.

His majesty wishing that the diplomatic body should be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the senator count Oxenstern has the honour of communicating the same.

(Signed)

OXENSTERN.

*Declaration*

*Declaration of the Empress of all the Russias, against the King of Sweden, June 30, 1788.*

IT was towards the end of the last winter that the armaments by sea and land began to shew themselves in Sweden.—Whispers were purposely circulated in the kingdom, as if Russia meditated an attack. In proportion as these preparations advanced, and as they believed they had made an impression on some national spirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the same kind, even to foreign courts. The empress has the satisfaction to learn that these insinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Russia, after having for so long a time maintained a pacific system in regard to Sweden, had chosen to depart from it in the moment when she was engaged in a war so serious as that in which the Ottoman Porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empress, attentive to every thing which passed in a place so adjacent to her territories, judged it necessary, on the information and advice which she received, not to neglect to take measures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, she contented herself with ordering to Finland a slight reinforcement of troops, and with establishing in this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indispensably necessary to their subsistence. In fine, reposing on the innocence and rectitude of her in-

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tentions, on the religious tenure of the perpetual treaty subsisting between the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Sweden, and above all, not knowing of any one subject of discussion, open or concealed, between the two courts—the amicable correspondence, on the contrary, continuing as usual between them—she had undoubtedly every right to think, that, strong as might be the ambition, the uneasiness, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the Swedish monarch to make war on her must be repressed by the respect to good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of sovereigns more even than of other men; by the impossibility of giving any colour of equity to the slight which he wished to give to his passions; and, in fine, by the obstacle, equally strong, that of the solemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without assembling, consulting, and obtaining the consent of his subjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the satisfaction which should have been placed in her imperial majesty's various assurances, than the resolution which she took of detaching from the fleet destined for the Archipelago a squadron of only three ships, which she sent to sea in the beginning of this month, notwithstanding the positive advices she had of all the Swedish fleet being cruising in the Baltic. These ships, three days after their departure from the port of Cronstadt, fell in, off the Isle of Dago, with the Swedish fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ship of the vice-admiral Vanderseer; who commanded this little

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squadron.

squadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the presence of the duc de Sudermania, the king's brother, the commander of the Swedish fleet, and required the salute. The vice-admiral replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no salute could take place between the Russian and Swedish fleets, but that respecting, in the person of the duc de Sudermania, the cousin-german of the empress, and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to these distinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a salute with thirteen guns, and sent an officer on board the duke's ship to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the same time, that it was to his person only that the honours were addressed. The answer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Russia, in regard to the salute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unless it was given to the Swedish flag, as he had received the most precise orders from the king, his brother, to make that flag respected in every place, and on every occasion.

The empress had hardly time to make her complaints on the injustice and irregularity of this proceeding, to the court of Stockholm, when she was informed of the proceeding, still less expected, of the dismissal of her minister from the Swedish court and territories. The pretended reasons of this measure are exposed in the declaration of the king made to the ministers of foreign courts. These reasons are not calculated to impose

on the most unenlightened, and they therefore require no answer; but one cannot help observing, that it is the first example of the kind by which a sovereign assured his subjects of the pacific and benevolent sentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empress, resolved to continue to the last in the principles of moderation she had professed, confined her resentment of this proceeding to the reciprocity which she was naturally authorized to use in regard to the minister of the king of Sweden. She signified to him to quit her court in the same space of time which had been fixed for her minister at Stockholm. The only difference in the proceeding was, that all false and insidious imputation was carefully avoided—This difference has been established and demonstrated indeed by the good faith which has accompanied the cause of the empress, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithstanding these scenes, which threatened an almost inevitable war, the empress was pleased to cherish hopes that the amicable explanations which the Swedish monarch had himself promised the foreign powers, might yet tend to preserve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reason of state on either side tended to interrupt. But this hope is totally vanished. She learns that on the 21st or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden having fallen hastily on the frontiers of Russia, have carried off the money deposited in several custom-houses, have  
a penetrated



penetrated to the environs of Nießlat, and have even opened the siege of its castle.

It is by a series of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the most generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance against Russia, hath at length pushed to the uttermost the moderation of the empress, and has obliged her to have recourse to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that she issues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and sea. In making known this resolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, she protests to them, that the king of Sweden is alone responsible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injustice may give rise.

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*Exhortation of the King of Sweden  
to his Subjects.*

**WE**, Gustavus, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful subjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourselves again attacked by enemies on another side of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our states and the independence of our dear country, no less than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear subjects will with the arms assume the

courage of their ancestors, with firmness and unanimity to repulse the enterprises of our enemies—more especially as ourselves shall set the example, like our illustrious predecessors, to defend, to the very last man, the independence of a kingdom, that boasts so remote an antiquity. Nevertheless, we must not conceal from you, my subjects, all the means which the enemy wishes to employ, in order to subjugate a people, whose valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin solely by open force, they are striving to excite discord, as well between yourselves, as between you and us, fomenting jealousies by secret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full persuasion that a Swedish king, united with the Swedish nation, could not easily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and states, that you will not listen to treacherous insinuations, but that you will constantly persevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during sixteen years of our reign, we have no less experienced than deserved. We have also to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which interest themselves in the independence of the Swedish nation, are this present moment endeavouring to accomplish our wishes in the restoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, soon be established. We trust, that so soon as that salutary end shall be attained, we shall have

have the satisfaction to meet our subjects, united in the strictest bonds of concord, in a general diet of the states, where we may offer up our thanksgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection accorded to us, and to our kingdom. In the mean while, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand; and we remain in the utmost affection towards you all, of whatsoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlstadt,

Sept. 26, 1788.

(and lower)

HERM. VON. LAASTBONE.

treaty; and it is his earnest desire, that all friendly and commercial intercourse between the two nations, and the good understanding between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed)

COUNT DE BERNSTORF.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengtporten, his Swedish majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen.

Sept. 23, 1788.

## COUNTER-DECLARATION.

*Declaration, and Counter-Declaration, between Denmark and Sweden.*

### DECLARATION.

**H**IS Danish majesty has ordered the under-signed to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Petersburg and Copenhagen, in furnishing the former with the number of ships and troops stipulated by several treaties, and particularly that of 1781; he yet considers himself in perfect amity and peace with his Swedish majesty: which friendship shall not be interrupted, although the Swedish arms should prove victorious, either in repulsing, defeating, or taking prisoners, the Danish troops, now in the Swedish territories, acting as Russian auxiliaries under Russian flags. Nor does he conceive that his Swedish majesty has the least ground to complain, so long as the Danish ships and troops now acting against Sweden do not exceed the number stipulated by

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernstorff, to the under-signed, in which his Danish majesty conceives that his Swedish majesty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the Danish ships and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Russia, is a doctrine which his Swedish majesty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations, and rights of sovereigns, and against which his majesty has ordered the under-signed to protest.

Nevertheless, to prevent an effusion of blood between the subjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly the moment when a negotiation has began to restore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleasing prospect of a general peace; his Swedish majesty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a speculative discussion, whether or not there is a cause or ground of complaint, on his side, and rests perfectly satisfied with the assurances contained in his Danish majesty's declaration, that his Danish majesty has no hostile views against Sweden, and

and that the friendly and commercial intercourse between the subjects of both kingdoms, and the good understanding between the two courts, shall remain uninterrupted.

His Swedish majesty puts the strongest faith and utmost confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has represented to him on this important occasion.

His majesty, therefore, to prevent the horrors of war, and the calamities impending the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union restored between them; embraces with satisfaction his Danish majesty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negociation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Prussia, and the good success of which is the greatest object of his majesty's ambition, and which his majesty has fully declared to the aforesaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the Russian auxiliaries is not considered as hostilities against his Danish majesty, agreeable to the declaration delivered by count Bernstorff.

(Signed)

Baron de SPRENGTPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, Oct. 6,  
1788, and delivered to  
the count Bernstorff, at  
Copenhagen.

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*Copy of a Declaration delivered to the confederated States of Poland by the Prussian Minister at Warsaw, dated October 12, 1788, on the Subject of an intended Alliance between Russia and Poland.*

## DECLARATION.

**I**F the projected alliance between Russia and Poland has for its first object the conservation of the states of Poland, the king does not see the necessity or utility of it, because the safety of Poland is sufficiently guaranteed by the last treaties. It cannot be supposed that her majesty the empress of Russia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It must then be supposed the king has such a design; and, in consequence, this alliance is directed against him.

Thus the king cannot but object and protest solemnly against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

If, in the second place, this alliance is directed against the common enemy, and if under this qualification is included the Ottoman Porte; the king, out of friendship for the republic of Poland, cannot but represent, that the Porte having always religiously observed the peace of Carlowitz, and that during the whole course of the present war they have carefully avoided the states of the republic, there will infallibly result the most dangerous consequences, as well for the states of the republic, as for those of his Prussian majesty which are neighbouring, if Poland contracts alliances which authorise the Porte to see an enemy in Poland. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will see at once how difficult and impossible it will be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so unruly.

The king cannot then be indiffe-  
rent

rent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greatest danger towards the republic, but to his own states, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object against the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a respectable state. But he leaves to the consideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is absolutely foreign to it, and consequently leading to grievous consequences. The king is flattered, that his majesty the king of Poland, and the states of the serene republic assembled in the present diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majesty now represents, in the way and through motives of the most sincere friendship, and for the true welfare and common interest of the two states, so closely united by the indissoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majesty also hopes, that her majesty the empress of Russia will not refuse her approbation to motives so just, and so conformable to the welfare of the Polish nation; and he expects also with confidence, from one part and the other, that they desist from the project of an alliance so little necessary, but always so dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majesty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent danger with which their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majesty will grant them the necessary assistance, and the most powerful

succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, the  
12th of Oct. 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.

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*Answer of the Diet at Warsaw to  
the King of Prussia's Declaration.*

THE under-signed, by the express orders of the king and the confederate states of the diet, has the honour to transmit to M. de Buckholz the following answer:

The reading of the said declaration of his Prussian majesty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impressed the states assembled with a lively sense of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in assuring to Poland the safety of its possessions.

The project of an alliance between Russia and Poland, not having been proposed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the business of the diet, conformable to the general will of the nation; and the propositions coming from the throne respecting the augmentation of imposts, and the military of the republic, are not in the system of an offensive force, but solely for defending and preserving its possessions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the states assembled receive a proposition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the same nature of a diet, in so public a step will never veil its proceedings, but act conformable to the independence of its sovereignty,



to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of his majesty the king of Prussia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the spirit of the deliberations of the present diet, the states assembled unanimously seek to fix in the opinion of his Prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their understandings, and their patriotism.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOWSKY,

Refendary of the crown, marshal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed)

CASIMIR PRINCE SAPHLEHA,  
General of artillery of Lithuania, marshal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warsaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

no knowing the character, who know not how to keep their word, and who only can *tell lies*, does not deserve that we should speak or write any thing to them; for, according to our religion, a *lie* is the most abominable of all vices. Their ambassador, Curtis, told us that he had orders from his court, that the ships built on our slips, and which we were to send to Gibraltar, should be there completely refitted. In consequence of which, we sent those ships to Gibraltar, provided with every thing necessary, and with money; but he sent back our ships, and nothing was done to them: but what offends us most is, that he even sends back the ships which we had sent to conduct them to our brother the sultan Abdulhamed, whom God preserve! After this, it is not necessary to add more.—On the 17th of the moon Jumadilala, of the year 1702—that is, Feb. 25, 1788.”

*The following circular Letter was sent, by Order of the Emperor of Morocco, to all the European Consuls resident within his Dominions.*

“ **I**N the name of God! To all the consuls: Peace to him who followeth the right way.

“ Know ye, that for these thirty years we have observed the conduct of the English, and studied their character; we have always found that they *never keep their word*. We never could dive into their character, because they have no other than that of *telling lies*. We are acquainted with the character of other Christian nations; we know that they keep their word; but a nation like the English, of which there is

*Lords Protest against the India Declaratory Bill.*

Die Mar. 19th March, 1788.

*Dissentient,*

**B**ECAUSE we object altogether to the very style and form of the present bill, inasmuch as it purports to be a declaratory bill of a kind as dangerous in its application as it is certainly unusual, if not new, in its principle. If the act of the 24th of his majesty be clearly expressed, any declaration of its sense is evidently unnecessary; if it be worded, whether from accident or design, in dark equivocal terms, we conceive, that, in order to do away every ambiguity,

biguity, the mode most open and candid in itself, as well as most regular and conformable to the usage of parliament, would have been by a bill to explain and amend, and not to declare. And we cannot but behold this extraordinary bill with yet greater alarm, when it has been avowed that it is intended to operate as an act of indemnity for past measures not explicitly stated. Surely it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to call upon this house to declare what was and is law, subject to provisions which shall be. A declaration so qualified is a new species of bill of indemnity, which, unlike all others, does not content itself with holding forth terms of protection against the penal consequences of an illegal act committed, but retrospectively alters and reverses the nature and essence of the action itself from its very origin, if certain prospective conditions be subsequently observed.

2dly. Because the preamble of the present bill, which must be presumed to set forth the legal grounds of the proposed declaration, does not appear to us in reality to contain any such grounds. It offers nothing more than partial and pieced extracts from various sections of the 24th of his present majesty, two of which evidently convey only general powers, to be exercised "in such manner as in the said act is directed," that is, subject to limitations and modifications not recited in the preamble; and the third of these extracts, which is taken from the conclusion of the 11th section of the act above mentioned, is in truth part of the clause imperative on the directors, not enabling to the commissioners;

binding the former to obey the orders of the latter, (that is, all such orders as they may lawfully issue under other parts of the act) but not conferring on the latter any portion of distinct power. Their powers, whatever they may be, must be sought in the enabling clauses of the act, by which alone this imperative clause can be construed, but of which not a trace is to be discovered in the preamble.

3dly. Because the limitations and restraints on the power of the commissioners, which are now imposed for the first time in this bill, carry with them an intimation highly derogatory to the honour and wisdom of this house; inasmuch as they imply, that in the very moment when this house felt the most tender apprehensions for the safety of chartered rights, and when they were most anxiously alarmed for the consequences of transferring the power and patronage of the company, even for a time, they consciously and deliberately passed an act, by which those rights were to be superseded, and that power and patronage in effect vested in the Board of Control for ever, without sufficient checks and guards to protect the one, or to prevent the corrupt use of the other. The authors of these limiting and restraining clauses have left to the majority of this house no other refuge from the imputation of this inconsistency, but in an ignorance of that meaning, which we are now called upon to declare.

4thly. Because, if any such limitations and restraints be indeed necessary, the provisions of this bill, we are persuaded, must prove nugatory and inefficient.

5thly. Because coupling the act  
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of the 24th of his majesty with all its accumulated explanations and amendments, and understanding the powers there conferred on the commissioners to the extent implied in the preamble and limiting clauses of the present bill, the system established by that act, in truth, realizes all the dangers which were ever attributed to another measure then recently rejected by this house, and is certainly fruitful of formidable mischiefs proper to itself, friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal, hostile to all good government, and especially abhorrent from the principles of our popular constitution.

The patronage of the company (and this seems to be the most serious terror to the people of England) the commissioners enjoy in the worst mode, without that responsibility which is the natural security against malversation and abuse. They cannot immediately appoint, but they have that weight of recommendation and influence, which must ever inseparably attend on substantial power, and which in the present case has not any where been attempted to be denied.

Should this fail them in the first instance, they can intimidate and encourage; they can suppress the approbation and the censure of the directors on their own servants; they can substitute blame for praise, and praise for blame, or they may instantly recall whomsoever the directors may appoint, against their will; and this they may repeat, till they ultimately compel the directors, harrassed and over-awed, to nominate the man whom the commissioners may wish to favour. Nor is this disposal of patronage without responsibility, the only evil that characterises the system; all the

high powers and prerogatives with which the commissioners are vested, they may exercise invisibly, and thus, for a period at least, invade, perhaps in a great measure finally baffle, all political responsibility; for they have a power of administering to their clerks and other officers an oath of secrecy framed for the occasion by themselves; and they possess in the India House the suspicious instrument of a secret committee, consisting only of the chairman, the deputy chairman, and one other director, all bound to them by an oath. Through these they have sent an arrangement for paying the debts of the nabob of Arcot, beneficial to individuals, injurious to the company, and fundamentally contradicting the plain principle of an express clause in that very act by which their own board was instituted: and through these they have concurred to transmit a dispatch, altered too by themselves, on a subject of mere trade, over which they profess to disclaim all right of management. After such examples, we must confess that our imaginations cannot figure to us any description of business, which may not be sheltered behind the thick veil of the secret committee; and from our past experience, relative to the first of these transactions, we are so justly sensible of the great advantages with which the servants of the crown must argue on such topics before an assembly constitutionally disposed to a general confidence in them, that we should be sanguine indeed, did we but expect any considerable check to be given to the possible misconduct of the board of control, by the fears of a parliamentary inquiry.

6thly. Because the operation of

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this bill, and of the act, the meaning of which it is to declare, ought to have been limited to the duration of the existing charter. Whatever may be the right of the legislature to subject the trade and the general revenues of the company to the inspection and control of the board of commissioners, nominated by the crown, so long as the company continue in the enjoyment of an exclusive trade, and in the management of great territorial revenues, we must, however, maintain, that to perpetuate such inspection, and to render the signatures of that board necessary to all the company's dispatches of every kind, when they may carry on their trade merely as a commercial corporation, without any monopoly, and when they may remain in the management only of their own proper estates, is a measure of injustice wholly unprecedented, and an example liable to much reasonable jealousy in a commercial country like Great Britain.

On all these grounds of objection; to the style and form of the bill, as a declaratory bill; to the incongruities, absurdities, and deficiencies of the bill itself; to much of the principle, and to all the distinguishing characters of the system which it is meant to declare, as well as to the perpetual operation which it gives to that system, we think it incumbent upon us here solemnly, on the journals of parliament, to record our hearty dissent, for the satisfaction of our consciences, and for our justification to our fellow-citizens, and to posterity.

PORTLAND,  
CARLISLE,

DEVONSHIRE,  
PORTCHESTER,  
DERBY,  
SANDWICH,  
CHOLMONDELEY,  
POWIS,  
CARDIFF,  
CRAVEN,  
BEDFORD,  
LOUGHBOROUGH,  
FITZWILLIAM,  
SCARBOROUGH,  
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Dissentient for the first reason only,  
HAY.

*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament passed in the Year 1788.*

**A**N\* act for charging an additional duty on spirits manufactured in Scotland, and imported into England.

An act for regulating the trade between the subjects of his majesty's colonies and plantations in North America, and in the West India islands, and the countries belonging to the united states of America; and between his majesty's said subjects and the foreign islands in the West Indies.

† An act for removing any doubt respecting the power of the commissioners for the affairs of India, to direct, that the expence of raising, transporting, and maintaining, such troops as may be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies, should be defrayed out of the revenues arising from the said territories and possessions; and for limiting the application of the said

\* See Supplies, and Ways and Means, ante.

† See Lords Protest to the India Declaratory Bill, ante.



revenues in the manner therein mentioned.

An act for reducing the duties on the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the European dominions of the states general of the United Provinces, into this kingdom.

An act to enable the East India Company to borrow a further sum of money upon bond.

An act to enable justices of the peace to license theatrical representations occasionally, under the restrictions therein contained.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses of all such persons who have suffered in their properties, in consequence of the cession of the province of East Florida to the king of Spain.

An act to repeal the duties and drawbacks of customs and excise, payable on the importation and exportation of wine (except wine the produce of the European dominions of the French king, Rhenish, Germany, and Hungary wine, Portugal and Madeira wine, and wine of the produce of Spain, or of any of the dominions of the king of Spain) and for granting other duties and drawbacks in lieu thereof; to repeal the duty of excise upon foreign green glass bottles imported, and for charging an additional duty of customs in lieu thereof; for ascertaining the duty on carriages, the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported directly from thence; for obviating a doubt with respect to the duties on white woollen cloths exported; and for reserving to his majesty the hereditary and other revenues of the crown in Scotland.

An act to enable his majesty to make such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the inconvenience which might arise from the competition of his majesty's subjects, and those of the most Christian king, in carrying on the fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland.

An act for the better securing the rights of persons qualified to vote at county elections.

An act for allowing the importation of rum, or other spirits, from his majesty's colonies or plantations in the West Indies, into the province of Quebec, without payment of duty, under certain conditions and restrictions.

An act for giving relief to such persons as have suffered in their rights and properties, during the late and unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government; and for making compensations to such persons as have suffered in their properties, in consequence of the cession of the province of East Florida to the king of Spain.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

An act for the better regulation of chimney-sweepers, and their apprentices.

An act for the further regulation of the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament.

An act for providing certain temporary

temporary regulations respecting the transportation of the natives of Africa, in British ships, to the West Indies, or elsewhere.

*Abstract of this Act.*

It states, That it is expedient to prevent, as far as may be, inconveniences attending the conveying, in British ships, the natives of Africa to the West Indies, and other foreign parts; it therefore enacts, that, after the 10th of June 1788, it shall not be lawful for any master, or other person taking the charge or command of any ship or vessel whatever, belonging in the whole or in part to any port in this kingdom, to have on board, at any one time, or to convey or transport the natives of Africa from the coasts thereof, to any island in the West Indies, belonging to his majesty, or to any other place in parts beyond sea, in any greater number than in the proportions following; (that is to say) In every ship, where the space between the two decks shall not be less than five feet in height, and where the cabin shall be fitted for the accommodation of the negroes;

in the proportion of five persons for three tons, if the burthen of the ship does not exceed 160 tons; and of three persons for two tons, if the burthen of the ship does exceed 150 tons; and in every ship where the space between the two decks shall be less than five feet, or where the cabin shall not be fitted for the accommodation of the negroes, in the proportion of one person for every ton burthen of the ship or vessel in or on board which such natives shall be so conveyed, carried, brought, or transported as aforesaid; which tonnage shall be deemed and taken to be the tonnage described and set forth in the respective certificate of the registry of each ship or vessel, granted in pursuance of an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his majesty, intituled, "An act for the further increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation," under the penalty of the forfeiture of 20*l.* for every native exceeding in number the proportion directed; one moiety of which shall be to the use of his majesty, and the other moiety to those who shall prosecute for the same.

## C H A R A C T E R S.

*An erroneous Account of the late Bishop of London, taken from one of the Monthly Publications, having been inadvertently inserted in the Annual Register for 1787, we have been favoured with the following Particulars, which, as they are received from the best Information, may be depended on.*

*A short Account of the Life and Character of Robert Lowth, D. D. late Bishop of London.*

**H**IS Father was William Lowth, Fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, and Chaplain to Dr. Peter Mew, Bishop of Winchester, who had been President of that College. Under his patronage he became Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, 1696, and Rector of Buriton, in the county of Southampton, 1699. He was a studious and learned man, and the author of *Commentaries on the Prophets, Directions for the profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures*, and some other theological pieces \*.

By Margaret, daughter of Robert Pitt, of Blandford, in the county of

Dorset, Esq. he left two Sons, and three Daughters. The elder of the Sons is William Lowth, Prebendary of Winchester, now living; and the other was Robert, late Bishop of London. Margaret, the eldest Daughter, was married to John Sturges, M. A. Prebendary of Winchester; Mary, the second, died unmarried; and Martha, the third, is the relict of Robert Eden, D. D. Archdeacon of Winchester, and Prebendary of the Cathedral.

The Bishop was born on the 27th of November, 1710. He was educated at Winchester College, and from thence succeeded to New College in Oxford, 1730. He was elected Professor of Poetry in that University 1741, and re-elected 1743. To the patronage of Bishop Hoadly he owed the Rectory of Ovington, 1744, and afterwards of East Woodhay, 1753, both in the County of Southampton, having been appointed by him Archdeacon of Winchester, 1750. In 1754, the University of Oxford honored him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred by Diploma. In 1755 he went to Ireland, as first Chaplain to

\* For a more particular account of Mr. William Lowth's Family, Writings, and Character, see a short *Life* prefixed to the 6th edition of his *Directions*, printed 1788.

the late Duke of Devonshire, then Marquis of Hartington, Lord Lieutenant. In consequence of this appointment, he had the offer of the Bishopric of Limeric, which he exchanged with Dr. Leslie, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgefield near that place, for those preferments. In June, 1766, he was made Bishop of St. David's; and in the October following he removed, by the King's command, to the See of Oxford, from whence he was translated to that of London, April 1777.

He accompanied to Berlin, Mr. Legge, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, who went to that court in a public character, 1748; and with whom, from his earliest years, he lived on terms of the most intimate and uninterrupted friendship.

His connection with the late Duke of Devonshire arose from his having attended, 1749, the Duke's Brothers, Lord George and Lord Frederick Cavendish, on their travels, and especially at Turin; which place was their principal residence during their absence from this country.

He married, 1752, Mary, the daughter of Lawrence Jackson, of Christ-church, in the county of Southampton, Esq. by whom he had two Sons, and five Daughters. Of these children, two only survived him; Robert, now Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Vicar of Halstead, Essex; and Martha. He had the misfortune to lose, 1778, his eldest Son, Thomas Henry\*, Fellow of New College in Oxford; a young man of the most promising expectations, and distinguished abilities.

At length, after an ill state of health, continued during some years, and attended with the most severe sufferings, all which he bore with the greatest resignation and fortitude, he died at Fulham on the 3d of November, 1787.

In an account of his works, we may begin with his *Prelections on the Hebrew Poetry*. To this work, the duties of his Professorship gave occasion; and the choice of his subject, which lay out of the beaten paths of criticism, and which was highly interesting, not only in a literary but a religious view, afforded ample scope for the poetical, critical, and theological talents of the author. In these Prelections, the true spirit and distinguishing character of the Poetry of the Old Testament are more thoroughly entered into; and developed more perfectly, than ever had been done before. Select parts of this Poetry are expressed in Latin composition, with the greatest elegance and force; the *general* criticism which pervades the whole work, is such as might be expected from a writer of acknowledged poetical genius and literary judgment; and the *particular* criticism applied to those passages of the original Hebrew, which he has occasion to introduce, in order either to express the sense, or correct the words of it, is a pattern for that kind of Sacred Literature: nor are the Theological subjects which occur in the course of the work, and are necessarily connected with it, treated with less ability.

To the Prelections is subjoined, a *Short Confutation of Bishop Hare's System of Hebrew Metre*; in which

\* Mr. T. H. Lowth, obtained one of the Prizes given annually by the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1773, and again, 1776.



he shews it to be founded on false reasoning, on a *petitio principii*, that would equally prove a different and contrary system to be true. It is here mentioned chiefly for the purpose of taking notice of what followed it; namely, a Latin letter of the Rev. Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge, in vindication of the *Harian metre*, and a *Larger Confutation* of it addressed in answer to that gentleman, 1766. This *Larger Confutation*, which from the subject may be supposed dry and uninteresting to the generality of readers, is yet as a piece of reasoning, extremely curious; for there never was a fallacy more accurately investigated, or a system more completely confuted, than this of Bishop Hare's; who was perhaps not conscious of the fallacy himself.

In 1758, was published his *Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester*, and Founder of the Colleges, in which he had received his education. It is collected from authentic evidences, and thereby affords the most certain information concerning the manners, and some of the public transactions of the period in which Wykeham lived; as well as concerning matters of a more private and local kind, respecting chiefly the two Societies of which he was the Founder.

His *Short Introduction to English Grammar*, was first published in 1762, and has since gone through numerous editions. It was originally designed only for domestic use; but its utility in recommending a greater attention to grammatical form and accuracy in our language, than had hitherto been observed in it, and the many judicious remarks which occur there, together with the favourable reception it has met

with, fully justified its being given to the public.

About the year 1765, happened his controversy with Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, which at the time afforded much matter of conversation, and the memory of which is still recent. If we do not now wish to dwell on the particulars of this controversy, it is because violent literary contention is an evil, like other war, and though perhaps sometimes unavoidable, yet is always to be regretted; and because the characters of learned, ingenious, and amiable men never appear to less advantage, than under the form, which that state of hostility obliges them to assume.

The last work of his life was the *Translation of Isaiah*; a work for which he was eminently qualified, by his critical knowledge of the original language, by his understanding more perfectly than any other writer the character and spirit of its poetry, and by his general erudition, both literary and theological. In the Preliminary Dissertation, the form and construction of the poetical compositions of the Old Testament are examined more particularly and at large, than even in the *Prelections* themselves; and such principles of criticism are established, as must be the foundation of all improved translations of the different, and especially of the poetical books of the Old Testament. The translation of the prophecies of an author, who is almost always sublime or elegant, yet often obscure notwithstanding all the aids of criticism, was executed in a manner adequate to the superior qualifications of the person who undertook it; and marked out the way for other attempts of a like kind, at

a time when the hopes of an improved Version of all the Holy Scriptures was cherished by many, when Sacred Criticism was cultivated with ardor, and new sources of it were opened by the labors of the indefatigable and learned Kennicott.

Several Occasional Discourses, which the Bishop was by his station at different times called upon to deliver, were of course published, and are all worthy of the excellent author of them; but there is one on the *Kingdom of God*, on the extension and progressive improvement of Christ's Religion, and on the means of promoting these by the advancement of religious knowledge, by freedom of enquiry, by toleration, and mutual charity, which may be distinguished above the rest, as exhibiting a most comprehensive view of the successive states of the Christian Church, and containing the truest principles of Christianity.

From various poetical pieces, may be selected as deserving peculiar notice, *the Choice of Hercules*, from the fable of Prodicus, which was written very early in his life, and has several times appeared in print; and a spirited and manly Imitation of the 6th Ode of Horace, Book the 3d. applied to the alarming situation of this Country at the time of the Rebellion, 1745, and first printed in the *Museum*, a periodical publication.

With these abilities, equally applicable either to elegant littera-

ture, or professional studies, Bishop Lowth possessed a Mind, that felt its own strength, and decided on whatever came before it with promptitude and firmness; a mind, fitted for the high station in which he was placed. He had a Temper, which in private and domestic life endeared him in the greatest degree to those who were most nearly connected with him, and towards others produced an habitual complacency and agreeableness of manners; but which was susceptible of considerable warmth, when it was roused by unjust provocation, or improper conduct. To these abilities and dispositions were added, qualities still more valuable, the virtues of a good Man, and of a sincere Christian.

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*Character of the Emperor Justinian; from Vol. 4, of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Esq.*

“IT would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian, is maliciously urged\*; with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous

\* The *rubor* of Domitian is stigmatised, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus (in Vit. Agric. c. 45.); and has been likewise noticed by the younger Pliny (Panegyr. c. 48.) and Suetonius (in Domitian, c. 18. and Casaubon ad locum.) Procopius (Anecd. c. 8.) foolishly believes that only *one* bust of Domitian had reached the 6th century.

and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous, than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge\* and the dispatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian

sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death.† The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed: and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armour of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass co-

\* The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecd. c. 8. 13.), still more than by the praises (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31. de Edific. l. i. Proem. c. 7.), of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Justinian by Ludewig (p. 135—142.)

lumn and a stone pedestal of seven steps: and the pillar of Theodosius, which weighed seven thousand four hundred pounds of silver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to *his* memory; the elder Andronicus, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue: since the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks\*.”

*Character of Mahomet; from the same.*

“**A**T the conclusion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain: at the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally ap-

ply to the solitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition: so soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy, would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God †. From enthusiasm to imposture, the step is perilous and slippery: the daemon of Socrates ‡ affords a me-

memorable

\* See in the C. P. Christiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24. N<sup>o</sup> 1.), a chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the 6th, to Gyllius in the 16th, century.

† The Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Christianæ,) his Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, inquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confessed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themselves. Lest it should provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is suppressed in the Arabic version; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.)

‡ Εγώ δὲ τούτῳ εἶναι παῖδος ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γιννομένη ἢ ὅταν γεννᾶται αἰεὶ ἀποτρέπει μὴ γὰρ τι ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ ὅποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121



morale instance, how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes, might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government, he was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of

cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts, the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes\*. A philosopher will observe, that *their* credulity and *his* success, would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion, that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and

122. edit. Fischer.) The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan,) are beyond the reach of human foresight; and the divine inspiration (the *Δαίμων*) of the philosopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the most rational Platonists are expressed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54.) and in the 14th and 15th Dissertations of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172. edit. Davis.)

\* In some passage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: “qui detache la chaine de son cou pour en donner sur les oreilles à ses confreres.”

justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest, I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children; may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian\*.

The good sense of Mahomet † dispised the pomp of royalty: the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family: he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he observed without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty; but in his domestic life, many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey: but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were

the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid: and Mahomet affirmed, that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity ‡. Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran: their incestuous alliances were blamed, the boundless license of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either sex, was punished with an hundred stripes §. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator: but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet. A special revelation dispensed him from the laws which he had imposed on his nation; the female sex, without reserve, was abandoned to his desires; and this singular prerogative excited the

\* Gagnier relates, with the same impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.)

† For the domestic life of Mahomet, consult Gagnier, and the corresponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288.); his children (p. 189. 289.); his wives (p. 290—303.); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160.); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309.); the false accusation of Ayesha (p. 186—199.) The most original evidence of the three last transactions, is contained in the 24th, 33d, and 66th chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (*Prodrom. Alcoran*, part. iv. p. 49—59.) have maliciously exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

‡ Incredible est quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque solvitur sexus (*Amnian. Marcellin.* l. xiv. c. 4.)

§ Sale (*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c.; and the curious reader of Selden's *Uxor Hebraica* will recognize many Jewish ordinances.

envy, rather than the scandal, the veneration, rather than the envy, of the devout Musulmans. If we remember the seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the wise Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal society. What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker. She was doubtless a virgin, since Mahomet consummated his nuptials (such is the premature ripeness of the climate) when she was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha, gave her a superior ascendant: she was beloved and trusted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful."

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*A short Account and Character of Sophia Charlotte, first Queen of Prussia, extracted from Memoirs of Frederick the Third, of Prussia, by Jos. Towers, L.L.D.*

"SHE was sister to George I. king of England, was beautiful in her person, loved music, was much attached to literature, and a great encourager of professors of the fine arts. She was well read in history, natural philosophy, and theology, and spoke most of the European languages with ease.

Her grandson, Frederick III, in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, says of her, that 'she was

' a princess of singular merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her sex, with the graces of wit, and the solidity of reason. In her younger days she had travelled into Italy and France, under the care of her relations. She was designed for the crown of France, Lewis XIV. having been struck with her beauty; but political reasons defeated this marriage. This princess brought along with her the spirit of sociability, true politeness, and the love of arts and sciences into Prussia. She founded the royal academy. She invited Leibnitz, and several other learned men to her court; her curiosity leading her to inquire into the first principles of things. One day, as she pressed Leibnitz very hard upon this subject, this philosopher replied to her, "Madam, there is no possibility of satisfying you: you want to know the why and the wherefore." Charlottenburg (where she resided) was the rendezvous of the people of taste; and the great variety of diversions and entertainments contributed to render this abode delightful, and the court most splendid. Sophia Charlotte had a great and noble soul: her religion was pure, her temper sweet, and her mind was improved by the reading of good books both in French and Italian. She died at Hanover among her own relations. They wanted to introduce a Calvinist minister into her apartment; but she said to them, "Let me die in peace, without disputing." Upon this occasion one of the ladies of honour, whom she was very fond of, was dissolved in tears. "Do not cry for me, says she, for I am going now to satisfy my curiosity

" on

"on the principles of things, which Leibnitz could not explain to me, on space, infinity, on being, on nothing; and I am preparing for the king my husband the shew of my funeral, where he will have another opportunity to display his magnificence."

Pollnitz says, that M. de la Bergerie, the minister of the French church, who assisted her in her last moments, was so surprized at her courage and calmness, that he was more attentive to hear than to exhort her. "I have," said she, "for twenty years seriously studied my religion, and have read the books that treated of it with too much application to be in any doubt as to my principles. You cannot mention any thing to me but what I have read, and what you can say to me will certainly add nothing to my opinion."

She died at Hanover, on a visit to her mother, the electress of Hanover, on the first of February, 1705, in the 37th year of her age. Her body was conveyed to Berlin, where it was interred with great magnificence. This princess had formed ideas of government so equitable, and so extremely different from those which prevailed in Prussia, that she was often styled by the Germans THE REPUBLICAN QUEEN."

I MENTIONED the natives of Montagna Negro, as a parcel of banditti. They are, in all probability, the aborigines of the country; and when Greece declined from her former greatness, mouldered by degrees from the Roman hands, and became a prey to the barbarous nations, these wretched remains of a celebrated people, forsook their fertile plains and vallies, and took refuge amidst barren and almost inaccessible mountains. They preserved, indeed, their liberty by this desperate step; but lost, what is, perhaps, of more consequence to the happiness of mankind—the manners, the morals, the laws, which form and preserve, unbroken, the bonds of society. The Montagnegrines have returned to the state of nature; and in a few ages have undone a system, which their forefathers could not accomplish, during the revolution of a thousand years! There is a wide difference between them and the savages of the new world; but the balance is in favor of the savage. He has virtues mixed with the vices of an unlettered mind; and virtues of a quality, that often serve as a vail for his crimes. But the Montagnegrines, after having gradually forfeited the principles of honor, and the sentiments of humanity, retained and nursed every dark and unbridled passion, that reduces men to the level of brutes. This ferocious tribe acknowledge no master; and being equally out of reach of the Venetians and Turks, serve as an impenetrable barrier to those nations in this quarter. By the most accurate accounts I could obtain, they can bring 14,000 fighting men into the field; which is the only mode, by which their actual numbers can be guessed. Supposing that every male, capable of bearing

*Some Account and Particulars relative to the Natives of Montagna Negro, on the Coast of Dalmatia, at the Head of the Gulf of Catarro; from a Voyage from Venice to Lutichea, being a Supplement to a Series of Adventures in the Course of a Voyage up the Red Sea, &c. By Eyles Irwin, Esq.*



arms, is ranked as a soldier—and this is no unreasonable conclusion among a barbarous race—we may reckon the women and children at triple the number. This calculation will bring the Montagnegrines to 50,000 souls and upwards; who subsist on the footing of primeval independance, and own no law, but the sword. Like the Americans and Arabs, they elect a chief, to whom they pay obedience in public matters; but reserve to themselves the right of execution in private concerns. The murderer's life is not only answerable for that he has taken away, but should he escape, the life of one of his family is the forfeit; a piece of justice, that nearly corresponds with the account, which I have had occasion to give of the Arabs. With the Montagnegrines, however, the thirst of revenge seems to be far more bloody and unquenchable. Should the deceased leave a son at his mother's breast, the satisfaction required, is but deferred for awhile. The disconsolate widow preserves the bloody shirt, in which her husband was assassinated, as a memorial of the dead. With the sight of this she kindles, and keeps alive, the implacable flame in her offspring's breast, which breaks out when he arrives at early manhood, into an act of savage retribution. She exhorts him, in the language of the Spartan matrons, when they more nobly sent their sons against the public enemy——

“Return victorious—or return no more!”

Like a famished pard, the young enthusiast issues from his den; and the blood of a devoted and unsus-

pecting victim gluts his revenge. What a dreadful atonement! How contrary to the dictates of reason and humanity! and yet, according to the records of nations, and our own experience, not repugnant to the principles of human nature. I feel myself mortified in being surprised out of a reflexion, that does no honor to our dispositions; and shews, in the clearest light, the virtue of education, and the beauty of philosophy!

Though the Venetian republic hold not these people in subjection, she derives every advantage from their vicinity, which the cultivation of arts affords a political state. She rebuilt the fortrefs of Catarro, on a steep and barren rock, as a bridle on their fierce and ungovernable tempers. Behind this rock is the only passage up to the mountain; and, it is not to be supposed, that the Montagnegrines presume to make incursions into the Venetian territories, when their retreat would be infallibly cut off, by the commanding situation of the castle battery. Hence the inhabitants of the valley live secure; and those of the mountain are constrained to bring down the produce of their region, to barter, for what necessaries they may stand in need of. Beef, mutton, poultry, game, eggs, and garden stuff, are exchanged by them for linen, woollens, beads, gunpowder, &c. All their meat is excellent in its kind, and very cheap. Sunday is their market-day, when the road is seen crouded with men and women, who are laden with eatables, or drive down their cattle for sale. The women only are allowed to enter the gate, which opens to the pass. While these are bartering their wares in the city, the men assemble

semble without the walls, to divert themselves in drinking or smoking; courting round the plain, wrestling, or hurling the quoit, as inclination leads them. There were two field-pieces, loaded with grape, on the draw-bridge, that were pointed on this tumultuous assembly; which, as I contemplated from the wall, recalled to my memory, the idea of the infernal groupe of fallen spirits, whom Milton so dreadfully describes in their pastimes,

“ Part on the plain, or in the air  
sublime,  
Upon the wing, or in swift race  
contend—  
Others, with vast Typhæan rage  
more fell,  
Rend up both rocks and hills—  
—— hell scarce holds the  
wild uproar.”

Amid one of these assemblies my fellow travellers and I were tempted to venture ourselves, accompanied by a Venetian officer, Comte le Zarawich, who is a native of Catarro, and has an estate bordering on the mountain. We were under the cannon of the fort; but, without such a conductor, it would have been held imprudent here, even for strangers to have trusted themselves in such hands; as no Venetian, in a public character, chuses to sleep out of the fort, or to expose himself to the enmity of these mountaineers. On our passing the draw-bridge, we were presently surrounded by a croud, who observed, by our mustaches and habits, that we were foreigners. When they understood we were English, their satisfaction encreased; and one or two who spoke Italian, told us, they had gone to England during the last war in a Venetian frigate, where

they served as marines. When I looked around me, I fancied myself once more among my Arabian acquaintance. Their mien, their dress, their arms, their manners, were nearly the same; and I could not condemn the caution of the state, which suffers not men with such arms, and such inclinations, to enter their walls. And yet, we had so little apprehension of danger from them, that we should have eagerly followed the suggestions of curiosity, and closed with their proposal, of visiting their country for a few days, had our situation admitted of it. But the difference was wide between the Venetians and us. We had never offended them; nor were we the objects of their jealousies or apprehensions; and had we travelled in their domain, divested of finery or money to tempt injustice, there would have been no chance of meeting it, unprovoked, either in the desarts of Arabia, or the mountains of Greece! On our return to the fort, we met the females of this tribe, who, either from hard labor—which from their subserviency to their husbands falls all to their share—or from other causes, are uncommonly hideous and disagreeable. Their lot, indeed, appears an hard one. Even gallantry, which respects the sex in other places, is reversed here; and the wife salutes her husband by kissing his hand; of which I was an eye-witness.

We heard several anecdotes, that mark the genius of this extraordinary people; but the account of one, which was related at the governor's table, will serve as a specimen of the rest. The present chief of the Montagnegrines having lately learnt, that his sister was engaged in an intrigue during her husband's absence,

absence, hesitated not a moment on the part he was to take. He went direct to the house of the unfortunate culprit; and, without betraying the least signs of remorse, after assuring himself of the fact, severed her head from her body with one stroke of his sword. The sentence, it is true, for such a trespass, was only anticipated; as the unrelenting husband would have exacted her head at his return: but the cool, though cruel behavior of this chief, who, unstimulated by jealousy, and actuated by no other motives, than the honor of his family, and the rights of society, could perpetrate such a deed, fills the mind with a mixture of horror and admiration! We were shewn more than one of this tribe, who was known to have killed a dozen men with his own hand; but as their lives were supposed to have been forfeited by offences, or taken in fair fight, it did not derogate from the character of the warrior."

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*A particular Account of the Persons, Character, Manners, and Customs of the Natives of the Coast of Africa, from the River Rionomas to the Cape St. Ann: from a Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, on the Coast of Africa, by John Matthews, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy; in a Series of Letters during his Residence in that Country in the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787, &c. &c.*

**I**T is a general remark all along the coast of Africa, that those nations bordering upon the sea, or inhabiting islands, are a much stouter, better made, a braver, and more active people than those who

reside in the interior parts of the country. This, perhaps, may be in some measure accounted for by the difference of food, those upon the sea-coast living a good deal upon fish, and breathing a more salubrious air.

The Bullams, Timmaneys, and Bagoes, are a stout, active, and personable race; of a good black, straight limbs, and pleasing features; and rather above the middle size. The Timmaneys, in particular, are remarkable for an open, ingenuous countenance; and many of their women are really handsome.

During my residence here I have only seen two deformed people, and their misfortunes were occasioned by accidents in their infancy.

The Suzeés are of a yellow cast; and in person much inferior to those I have just mentioned; though they are generally straight limbed, they have thick lips and flatter noses.

The Mandingoes seem to be a distinct race from any of the others: they are tall and slender, of an indifferant black, and remarkably small eyes: they wear their beards like the Jews in Europe.

The Suzeés, Bullams, &c. shave while they are young; but, when their hair begins to turn grey, they suffer their beards to grow; for the silver tokens of age with them denote wisdom: and, indeed, some of their old men, with long white beards, seated in council, make a most venerable appearance.

The striking difference between the free people I have described, and the appearance of the plantation slave, is so great, that I was never mistaken in my opinion respecting their situation even at first sight.

The

The free man, elated by his liberty, walks with dignity and conscious pride, and looks with an eye of confidence on all around—while the slave, on the contrary, oppressed by the consideration of his situation, moves on with humble step and down-cast eye.

The persons of the slaves (except such as were born on the sea-coast) are generally less in stature, and not so robust or well made as the native free men; and come from the interior part of the country.

The Foolahs, who inhabit the country on the back of the nations I have described, appear to be an intermediate race between the Arab and the black, and very like the East Indian Lascar, having long, straight, black hair, yellow complexion, thin face, and long Roman noses. They are strict followers of the Alcoran; and, by their wars for the propagation of their religion, furnish a great number of the slaves which are sold in these parts.

Voltaire, in his preliminary discourse, mentions a race of people inhabiting the interior parts of Africa, whom he calls Albinos, and represents them as being of a milky white colour, and diminutive stature. I have made the most diligent inquiry of the natives, and travelling black merchants, but never could gain the least information that such a people existed. But I have seen several white negroes in different parts of Africa of a milky, or chalky whiteness, and white wool; but these do not propagate their likeness, but have black children, and are only considered as *lusus naturæ*. I remember to have seen one of the same kind in Georgia, South Carolina, and one in England, they were both females.

The Suzee language seems to be the root from which the Bagoe, Bulam, and Timmaney is sprung; it is soft, and abounds with vowels and labial sounds. The Mandingo language is, as the people are, perfectly different from any of the others; and appears to me to be a corrupt Arabic, though not the same as they teach in their schools, which they term the language of prayer.

The disposition of the natives is nearly similar every where, extremely indolent, unless excited by revenge, of implacable tempers, full of treachery and dissimulation, where they conceive the least resentment; nor do they ever let slip an opportunity of gratifying their thirst of vengeance when they can do it with impunity. To their particular friends indeed, they are hospitable and kind; but are addicted to pilfering, and are remarkable for the fickleness of their conduct on almost every occasion.

The Mandingoes, from religious motives, hate a Christian, and vilify those Europeans who reside among them, and whom they frequently see drinking and rioting, with the appellation of dog. But when I formerly resided among them, by pursuing a contrary conduct, and by being enabled to converse with them on the tenets of their religion, I received such treatment from them in the time of the utmost distress, when I was dangerously ill, as I could have expected only from my best and dearest friends.

Their methods of salutation are various; when a slave approaches his master to pay him obedience he bends the right knee almost to the ground, and stretches out his right arm, with the hand shut, which he supports with the left hand under the



the elbow. When two friends, or equals, meet, they put their right hand upon their breasts and wish each other good day; and sometimes embrace, or shake hands, and snap the finger and thumb. When a stranger comes upon a visit to a friend, no notice is taken of him till he announces his visit in form, which is often four or five days after his arrival; during which time he is provided with every thing necessary for himself and people, apart from the family: the same custom is observed by their ambassadors, or public messengers, upon business of importance. When the women meet upon visits, they join their right hands and curtsy; but the young and unmarried embrace with the most seeming affection. When a son visits his mother after an absence, and the first salutation is over, he lies at her feet, and, while she carefully examines his head for the purpose of destroying vermin, he relates the adventures of his journey.

The women are exceedingly clean in their persons, and are strictly attentive to domestic duties; and none can be more fond or careful of their offspring, or make better nurses. They never wean their children till they are able to walk, and to carry a calabash of water to their mother, which they instruct them to do as soon as possible; for, during the time a child is at the breast, the woman is not permitted to cohabit with her husband, as they suppose it would be prejudicial to their milk. Barrenness they dread as the greatest reproach; and Nature has exempted them from the pain and sorrow our fair countrywomen experience in child birth, as they are seldom confined more than a few hours.

In their domestic amusements they in some respect imitate the good country housewife in England. In the evening the head wife, surrounded by the rest of her husband's women, and her female attendants, is employed in spinning and carding cotton, while one of the company amuses the rest with telling stories upon the plan of *Æsop's fables*: to these tales I have often listened with infinite pleasure. They have several games of chance, at which the men and women play separate; but both sexes are passionately fond of dancing, which they never fail to enjoy when they have a light moon and fair weather, from an hour after sun-set, till midnight. Besides this, the birth of a child, or the arrival of a friend or relation, furnishes them with an opportunity of enjoying their favourite amusement of singing and dancing, which they term a *cullunjee*. When a *cullunjee* is performed on any great occasion, they introduce dancers dressed in a grotesque style; on their heads they wear a high cap made of rushes, stuck round with feathers, and their faces are painted about the eyes, nose, and mouth, with chalk, or white clay, and they wear a petticoat of rushes round their waist, which in dancing spreads in every direction. In their hands they have pieces of flat wood, which they clap together, and with which they keep time during the dance.

The death of a child, friend, or relation, adds no less to the enjoyment of this pastime, by performing the *wha'*, or cry: but, from the manner in which it is performed, a stranger to their ceremonies would rather term it a rejoicing.

On the evening of the day appointed the friends and relations of the

the deceased assemble together, and proceed, by a slow and solemn movement, to an open space before their houses. Here they begin singing the praises of the deceased, and dancing to the music of a drum. In the dance they frequently vary the figure; sometimes forming one great circle round the music, and clapping hands at every period or repetition of their song. Sometimes one person performs the dance, the rest, sitting or standing round in a circle, joining chorus and clapping hands as before: at other times two, three, or four, will dance together till they are weary, and then are relieved by others; the rest singing and clapping hands. This, with firing of guns, continues from evening till near daylight, without intermission; but they frequently regale themselves with liquor and tobacco. This ceremony is repeated three nights successively.

For people of consequence, whose friends can afford it, the cry is repeated once or twice a year for several years; but the poorer sort are sometimes two or three years before they can procure means to purchase rum and tobacco sufficient for the purpose: but whatever time they may be before they are enabled to put it in execution, it is never omitted.

This may be termed the public mourning after the death of their friends or relations, in which both sexes join; but there is also another kind, of a more private nature, practised by the women only, and is peculiar to the Bullams and Timmanays only.

The mourners wear a white linen or cotton cap, which is drawn over their eyes in such a manner as to prevent their seeing any thing,

except on the ground, without turning their heads quite up, and several strings of large country beads are fastened round their neck and waist. — If married women, they are stripped of their cloth, and allowed to wear the *tutungeé* only.

They are not suffered to eat or drink with any other person, or cook their own victuals, but at meal times beat a drum and dance before the person's door who is to give it them; and nobody is allowed even to eat or drink out of the vessels they make use of.

The time this kind of mourning continues is not fixed, but regulated by the whim and caprice of the person who orders it, who is generally the mother, aunt, or some elderly relation; and is commonly performed by girls approaching the age of marriage, in order to preserve their chastity; for should any intercourse between the sexes be discovered, during the continuance of this ceremony, the woman would become infamous, and the man be liable to a severe punishment.

A woman also, when she supposes her husband neglects her, has the privilege of putting his favourite mistress into mourning. When this, however, happens, after a short probation and a peace-offering, to the wife, of a goat or six fowls, a jar of liquor, and a little tobacco, to be used in a cullungeé, she is restored to his arms.

Indeed this appears no bad policy on the part of the elderly wives, to preserve some degree of consequence with the men; for during the time the young woman is in this mourning, the husband is deprived of her society.

They have various kinds of national music; but the drum seems to be

be the principal instrument, of which they have three sorts, but they are of different sizes, according to the use for which they are intended; one is made of a hard wood, which is hollowed, the ends of it stopped close, and a longitudinal opening made on the side: they beat upon them with two sticks, and the loud and shrill noise these drums give are, in a still evening, heard to a great distance, and are used to spread an alarm: the others are made of light wood, hollowed throughout, and the ends covered with dried goat or sheep skin, laced tight over with cords. Some of these are very large, from six to eight feet long, and two or three feet diameter; in others the heads are only two or three inches apart, and shark's teeth or bits of copper are tied round the rim, which make a jingling noise.

The trombone and tamborine, used in England, appear to have been borrowed from the Africans. They have also two kinds of string instruments; one is a sort of guitar, and is the same as the bangou in the West Indies; the other is in the form of a Welsh harp, but not above two feet long: the strings are made of the fibres of a plant and the hair of an elephant's tail.

The women and children also have several sorts of rattles made of gourds, into which they put small hard berries; and in Sherbro' they have a kind of pipe made of reed, with four stops for the fingers; and a horn, or trumpet, made of an elephant's tooth.

The customary food of the natives is rice, which they always boil quite dry, and either eat it with palm-oil poured over it, or a strong gravy made of fish, flesh, or fowl, and ve-

getables boiled together, highly seasoned with pepper and spices, and palm-oil. They use very little animal food, and in general prefer it smoke-dried rather than fresh; but are good cooks, and make many savoury dishes.—The men and women always eat apart, and never drink any thing but water at their meals. They eat only twice in the day; the first time about ten in the morning, and the second about sunset; but the principal men who can indulge, generally enjoy a slight repast early in the morning, which is prepared by the favourite of the preceding night.

The only trades in use amongst them are those of the carpenter, blacksmith, and griggory maker; and their workmanship, considering the tools they use, often display neatness and ingenuity. Every family spin and weave their own cloth, and make their own clothes; the men weave and sew, and the women spin and card the cotton. Their dress is very simple and easy. The boys and girls never wear any thing but a *tuntungeé*, which is a thin slip of cloth passed between the legs. The different manner of wearing it denotes the sex. The girls have a string tied round their waist, and the ends of the *tuntungeé* are tucked under it, and left to hang down before and behind, with a belt or girdle of beads, or loose strings of them tied round their waist; the boys have the short end forward, the other part is brought round their loins, tucked under, and left to hang down behind only. After marriage the women lay aside the *tuntungeé*, (except among the Nalloes, who never wear any thing else) and wear a cloth round their waist, which reaches down about the middle of

the leg; though they are very fond of wearing it over their breasts, not in order to hide them, but to make them flat, which (as it is a sign of womanhood) gives them additional consequence. They are also very fond of ornaments, such as beads formed into necklaces, bracelets, &c. silver rings, lockets and chains, manillas, (which are hoops of silver made flat or round to wear on the wrists), strings of coral, and use a variety of paints. An African lady, when full dress, makes no contemptible figure:—over her common country cloth, which we may term her under petticoat, she wears one of red taffaty; a black silk handkerchief tied by two corners round her neck, hangs down before like a child's bib, and covers her bosom; another of the same colour is tied round her head: she has gold earrings in her ears; round her neck a string of large coral; and a silver or gold locket and chain. On each wrist two or three manillas, and five or six silver rings on each finger; her forehead is painted with various angles and triangles of white or red, and her hair neatly and curiously plaited; and sometimes close shaved in small circular or crescent-formed spots.—Behind her follows her waiting-maids, (who are generally the prettiest girls she can procure, from ten to fifteen years old), decorated with coral and beads, and a piece of taffaty or fine chintz thrown over their left shoulders like a highlander's plaid.

The dress of the men is a loose shirt without a collar or wristbands, and very wide sleeves, with drawers which reach about the middle of the leg, and a hat or small close cap made of country cloth; though they generally go bare-headed and

bare-footed, except the head men, who imitate as much as they can the dress of the whites, and the Mandingoes, who are always distinguished by wearing a red cap and sandals, and who also ornament their shirts and drawers with worsted embroidery; in manufacturing of which they are very ingenious.—The men never go without their belmós, which are large straight knives, hung in a sheath on the right thigh, exactly like the patou-patou of the Sandwich Islands, described by Captain Cook; they have two of these, one small for the purpose of eating, and the other as a weapon of defence.

The custom of *tattooing*, or marking the body, which is called *soccalá*, is pretty general all over Africa, and I fancy was originally intended to distinguish the different tribes from each other: it is still practised here on that account, but does not appear to be so necessary as it might have been formerly. The back, loins, belly, and breast, are the parts upon which they carve in this neighbourhood; and the manner in which it is done not only denotes the tribe, but the condition of the person, as a slave is not allowed to be marked in the same manner as a free man.—The operation of tattooing must be extremely painful, and is often dangerous; it is performed when the child is only a few months old. Some nations raise the skin in such a manner as to make it appear like embossed work; others perform it by puncture, with a sharp-pointed instrument dipped in a liquid, which leaves an indelible mark: but it must be observed, that those who use this method are of a yellow complexion. In the more southern and eastern



eastern parts of Africa, they mark the face as well as the body.

The situations which the natives chuse for their towns, are generally on the bank of a creek or river, for the benefit of fishing, and are always distinguished by large pullam trees; which kind of trees are a certain criterion of a dry soil. They never take the trouble to clear more ground than is sufficient to build their houses upon; as they cannot conceive that cutting down the wood, so as to admit a free circulation of air, would render it more healthy: neither do they observe any order in the disposition of streets; but every man chusing a spot most convenient or agreeable, erects a number of small houses, according to the number of his wives and people (for every wife has a separate house); the whole forming a circle, which are inclosed within a trapada, or fence, made by driving stakes into the ground; which, in a few months, (so quick is vegetation in this climate) become living trees, and produce a very pretty effect.

A number of these inclosed buildings erected near each other form a town, which is generally surrounded with a mud wall or a strong palisade, and often cover a considerable extent of ground.

When the natives are at war they have several barriers, which are always shut at sun-set, and guarded, during the night, with a good watch; nor are they opened again, upon any occasion, till the sun rises next morning.

Their houses are only one story, and are either round or an oblong square; the sides built with upright posts, wattled and covered with a stiff clay. The floors are also clayed and beat hard; and the roofs

are supported with long poles, and thatched with grass. They have generally two doors, on opposite sides, which cause a draught of air through; and, together with their height, make them very cool in the hottest weather: and they white-wash the outside with white clay, which they get in some particular places from the bottom of the river, or a white saponaceous earth found in Sherbro'.

Though I have mentioned doors, they very seldom have any in the European manner, except those who imitate the manners of the whites; but, instead of doors, have a mat fastened to the upper end of the door frame; when that is dropped nobody presumes to enter without a previous inquiry; when it is rolled up that ceremony is unnecessary. The eaves of the roof project six or eight feet over the walls, and are supported with posts; the space between the walls and the posts is raised a foot or eighteen inches, which form a kind of piazza, and makes an admirable lolling-place, as it screens them from the sun and rain.

In the interior parts of the country they build very large houses of brick baked in the sun, which stand many years, if the top of the walls are preserved from the weather.

They never have chimnies to their houses; yet the natives always keep fires in the morning and evening, to drive away the musketos.

The common people, slaves, and children, sleep on mats or dried skins spread upon the ground before the fire; but people of consequence have bed places, made by driving four stakes into the ground, with a bottom of split cane or bamboo; and mats hung round supplies the place

place of curtains. The men's apartments are furnished with a chest to contain their clothes and valuables, a mat or skin to sit upon, and their arms. The women's contain all their domestic utensils, mats, and stools, and never without a looking-glass.

Near the centre of every town there is a circular building, open at the sides, which they term a *burreé* (i. e. court house); where all palavers are talked, and public business of every kind transacted.

In the Mandingo country, where they profess the Mahometan religion, there is in every town a public mosque, from the top of which the people are called to prayers, in the same manner as in Turkey.

There are also several small *burreés*, which serve as public schools; where their youth are taught to read and write Arabic.

Polygamy is allowed and practised here in its utmost latitude; and women, as in more civilized countries, are frequently among the great the bond of peace and friendship. If two tribes have been at war, or wish to contract a more close and intimate connexion with each other, a mutual exchange with the chiefs, of each other's daughters, is the basis of every treaty: it is the same also with individuals, and from this cause is chiefly the reason of the head men having so many wives. In order to connect their families together, a female child is frequently given to a man as soon as she is born; but among the *Suzeés* the child remains with the mother till of a proper age, which is judged of rather from the external appearance, than from the age of the party; they are then delivered in form. On the day appointed for the marriage, the bride-

groom stations relays of people on the road the bride is to come, with liquor and refreshments; for if these articles are not plentifully supplied, the bride's attendants will not proceed a step, even though the supplies should fail them in the midway. When they approach near the town, they halt, and are joined by the bridegroom's people, and friends, who make great rejoicing by shouting, drinking, firing guns, and other demonstrations of joy.

The lady is then taken upon the back of an old woman, and covered over with a fine cloth, for from this time she is not allowed to be seen by any male person, till after consummation. Mats are spread on the ground, that the feet of the person who carries her may not touch the earth; in this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, attended by the friends of both parties, shouting, dancing, and firing guns. In the evening the bridegroom retires to his wife's apartment. If he finds room to suspect she has before admitted the embraces of a man, he immediately leaves her, which is no sooner known by her friends than they instantly abscond, shouting and howling with shame and confusion; but if he is satisfied, he remains with her all night. Great rejoicings are then made by her friends, who carry the tokens of her virginity, according to the Mosaic institution, in wild procession through the streets. In either case he is at liberty to retain her, but should he send her back, he must send every thing she brought with her.

Among the *Bullams*, *Bagoes*, and *Timmanays*, they frequently receive their future wives when quite children, and bring them up in their

own houses. On these occasions, when they receive the child, a present is made according to the receiver's ability, to the child's parents, which they term drawing wine for her; but if the child should be ill-treated before consummation takes place, her parents have a right to demand her on refunding the wine. On the other hand, if the man sends back his intended bride to her parents, they must receive her, but keep the wine.

From these circumstances one would naturally imagine chastity was highly valued, but in fact it is no longer the case than to the time of marriage; for it is reckoned extremely unpolite and ill-bred for a married woman to reject the offers of a lover; though she is sensible she is liable to a severe punishment if discovered, yet it does not at all affect her *reputation*. Almost every married woman has, according to the country custom, her *yangeé cameé*, or *cicisbeo*, whom she first solicits. This connexion she is at little or no pains to conceal, and her husband is often obliged to be silent, as otherwise he would have reason to dread worse consequences; for although the laws of the country are severe against adultery, it requires the arm of power, even among themselves, to put them in force. But it should be observed that it is among the great who keep a number of wives, that this practice more particularly prevails. The common people are in general contented with one, or at most with two wives. Yet there is one singular circumstance which should not pass unnoticed respecting their women's private amours.—They never attempt to impose on their husbands by introducing a spurious offspring into his

family, but always declare before they are delivered who is the father. But if the husband wishes to have children by a favourite woman, he obliges her, though it is sometimes done voluntarily, to make a vow, that she will not for a certain time go astray; and should she during that period be induced, either by force or persuasion, to break her vow, she immediately tells her husband, and both the offending parties undergo a most shameful punishment, and are ever after reckoned infamous, and held in contempt.

They deposit their dead in the ground in the European manner, and generally either in the evening or morning; but the ceremony of interrogating the corpse is curious, and deserves a particular description.

When the deceased is designed for interment, the corpse is laid upon an open bier, decently wrapped in a white cloth, and borne upon the heads of six young people, either male or female; for that is a matter left entirely to the choice of the corpse, who signifies his approbation or disapprobation of the bearers, by his inclination or disinclination to move (which they firmly believe it is capable of exerting) to the place of burial. This place is always in the bush out of the town. When arrived there, a person, who is generally a relation or friend of the deceased, places himself five or six paces before the bier, with a green bough in his hand, and addresses the deceased in this manner—"You are now a dead man—you know you are no longer alive and as one of us—you know you are placed upon the sticks (i. e. the bier) of God Almighty, and that you must answer truth."—And then

then he asks him what made him die—whether he knew of his own death, or whether it was caused by witchcraft or poison; for it is a firm and universal belief among them, that no person dies without having a previous knowledge of his death, except his death be caused by witchcraft or poison, or the more powerful charms of another person over those he wears.

If the corpse answers in the affirmative to any of the questions proposed, it is signified by forcibly impelling the bearers several paces forward, by a power which they say they are unable to resist—if, on the contrary, it is signified by a rolling motion, which they also say they cannot prevent.—If, by the sign given, a suspicion arises that the death of the party was occasioned by poison or witchcraft, they proceed to question him who was the person, and name several people to whom they suppose he was not attached in his life-time; but they first begin with his relations. If it should happen to be any of them the corpse remains silent for some time, as if ashamed to accuse his own kindred, but at last is obliged to answer. He is then more particularly questioned whether he is certain of the person; if he is, it is requested that he will strike that hand which holds the bough, (the person before the corpse holding the bough up in his hand). Upon this the corpse immediately impels the bier forwards, and strikes the bough. In order to convince the spectators, they repeat this two or three times.

The culprit is then seized, and if a witch sold without further ceremony: and it frequently happens if the deceased were a great man, and the accused poor, not only he

himself but his whole family are sold together. But if the death of the deceased was caused by poison, the offender is reserved for a further trial; from which, though it is in some measure voluntary, he seldom escapes with life.

After depositing the corpse in the grave, which is hung round with mats, and his most valued clothes and necessaries put in with him—they confine the accused in such a manner that he can release himself; which signifies to him he has transgressed the laws of his country, and is no longer at liberty. As soon as it is dark he escapes to the next town, and there claims the protection of the head man, who is supposed to be an impartial person; informs him that the corpse of such a person has accused him of causing his death by poison; that he is innocent, and desires that to prove it he may drink red water. This request is always allowed, and the friends of the deceased are sent for to be witnesses.

At the time appointed the accused is placed upon a kind of high chair, stripped of his common apparel, and a quantity of plantain-leaves are wrapped round his waist. Then in presence of the whole town, who are always assembled upon these occasions, he first eats a little colá or rice, and then drinks the poisoned water. If it kills him, which it is almost sure to do, he is pronounced guilty; but if he escapes with life, after drinking five or six quarts, and throwing up the rice or colá unchanged by the digestive powers of the stomach, he is judged innocent, but yet not intirely so till the same hour next day. During the interval he is not allowed to ease nature by any evacuations; and should



should he not be able to restrain them, it would be considered as strong a proof of his guilt as if he had fallen a victim to the first draught. And to prevent the least possibility of the medicine's not operating, should any remain in the stomach, they oblige the accused to join in the rejoicings made for his escape, which consists in singing and dancing all night.—After being fairly acquitted by this ordeal trial, he is held in higher estimation than formerly, and brings a palaver, or, to speak in the professional language of my friend, an action against the friends of the deceased, for defamation or false imprisonment, which is generally compromised by a payment adequate to the supposed injury.

But if the deceased says he knew of his death, and that it was premeditated; they ask him what induced him to die and leave them, and propose several questions, such as, Was any one possessed of a fine gun, or a fine cloth, that he could not acquire the same? or, Had any body offended him that he could not be revenged of? but on these accounts they cannot bring any palaver against the object of his resentment.

It sometimes happens that the corpse will accuse a person of causing his death by witchcraft, that they cannot sell on account of their age, or dare not sell on account of their family or connexions, as it leaves a stain upon the family; in that case, after the guilt of the person accused is proved, he is carried to a field out of the town and obliged to dig his own grave, the people who are with him as a guard frequently reviling him, saying “You deal in death, and can make other people die, you must now

“taste of it yourself.” Notwithstanding he goes on with his work with an appearance of the utmost unconcern, retorting, “’Tis true I did kill such a one, and many others, and if I lived I would kill many more,” and often during his work measuring the length and width of the grave, by the dimensions of his own body. When the grave is judged deep enough, they direct the prisoner to stand at the edge of the foot of it, with his face towards it, then a person behind strikes him a violent blow upon the nape of the neck, which causes him to fall upon his face into the grave; a little loose earth is then thrown upon him, and a sharp stake of hard wood is drove through the expiring delinquent, which pins him to the earth; the grave is then filled up, and his or her name is never after mentioned.

Though the ceremonies above related are constantly practised, yet the different tribes have different methods of performing them. The Suzeés carry the whole body, but the Timmaneys and Bullams only the clothes the deceased had on at the time of his death, and the nails of his hands and feet, which they cut off immediately after he is expired, and which they hold to have the same power to answer the questions proposed, as if the whole body was present, in which no doubt they are right.”

“In the power and efficacy of charms, which they call griggories, they have an unlimited faith.—These are made of goat’s skin, either with the hair on, or dressed like Morocco leather, into various shapes and sizes, from the bigness of a shilling to the size and form of a sheep’s heart, and stuffed with

some kind of powder, and bits of paper, on which are written, in Arabic, sentences from the Alcoran; these they wear tied round their neck, waist, legs, and arms, and in such numbers that when a man is properly equipped for the field, the very weight of them with his gun is an exceeding heavy burthen.

Every griggory is assigned its particular office; one is to preserve him from shot, one from poison, another from fire, others from being drowned; and when a man happens to be killed, burned, or drowned, they only say his griggory was not so good as the person's who occasioned his death; but this must be understood when it happened from an enemy: but they pretend not to any griggory that can preserve them from shot out of great guns and swivels."

"In the accounts of most uncivilized countries that we read of, we find the office of physician is generally annexed to that of priest or conjurer; but here it is carried on by old women, and the cures they perform are truly astonishing; particularly in external wounds, by the use of simples, which their woods and fields afford in abundance.

The diseases they are most subject to are intermitting fevers and the hydrocele; the latter is supposed to be caused by the too frequent use of palm wine, and excess of venery. —The venereal disease is frequent, but never attended with those dreadful symptoms which too often accompany it in Europe, and is always easily cured; neither can they be convinced that it proceeds from impure coition. The small-pox is endemial, but is not so frequent on the sea-coast as in the interior country."

*The following Letter describes, in a short, but in so distinct and natural a Manner, the general Outlines of the Character, Habits, and Manners of the People whose History is contained in the Work to which it is affixed, that it is with great Pleasure we lay it before our Readers.*

*A Letter from a noble Hungarian Lady, on the Subject of the Gipsies in Hungary; extracted from the Appendix to a Dissertation on the Gipsies, &c. translated from the German of H. M. G. Grellman, by M. Raper, Esq; F. R. S. and A. S.*

"I READ the Paper called, News from all the Imperial, Royal Hereditary Dominions: for, as I live in the country, where, besides my own domestic affairs, I have no employment but reading and writing, I receive particular satisfaction from these sheets, as they supply matter for investigation, for reflection, and also for practice. You know I have only one daughter, you are also not ignorant, that I educate other young ladies of quality, and keep them with me till they marry. In order that, in addition to domestic oeconomy, they may acquire some general knowledge, it is my custom to keep a sort of school, that they may not misapply their capacity for improvement; but, as much as possible, turn it to the greatest advantage. Among other things, we are now discussing the narrative in your paper, about the Gipsies. There are a great number of them, on my estates, but I have permitted two families in particular, to establish themselves at the place of my own residence, under the express condition, that no others shall come here and join them. I took all possible pains

pains to make them reasonable creatures. I set the elder ones to work; the younger ones tend the cattle. I observed that they were more fond of horses, than any thing else; for which reason I placed a Gipsy under each groom. I had their children clothed, that none of them might be running about naked, according to their usual practice. It appeared, however, that custom was become nature with them. The old ones worked diligently, so long as any body stood over them; the moment their back was turned, they got all together in a circle, their legs across, facing the sun, and chattered. Thus they cannot possibly earn more, indeed hardly so much, as would find them bread, although very cheap with us; for the bread I give them does not stand me in half a kreutzer the pound. Even in winter they cannot bear a hat on their head, nor shoes on their feet. The boys run like wild things, wherever they are sent, either on foot or on horseback: but they spoil horses unmercifully, beat them on the head, jerk the bits in their mouths, so as to make them run down with blood. They cannot be brought, by any means whatever, to dress horses. Cloath them as you will, they always sell or lose their cloaths. In a word, one cannot but consider them as void of reason; it is really shocking to see even well-grown children, put whatever they find into their mouths, like infants before they can speak; wherefore they eat every thing, even carrion, let it stink never so much. Where a mortality happens among the cattle, there these wretched beings are to be found, in the greatest numbers. This winter, I was so unfortunate as to have an infection among my

hogs; immediately, instead of my two families, I had ten, insomuch that I was forced to drive them away; fearing they would rob me, that being their chief occupation. I sometimes stand by them, for an hour together, and enquire concerning their religion. They profess to be Roman Catholicks, but know nothing of the matter. I asked them, if they knew there is a God? They said Yes. How they knew it? I perceived; by their confused answers, that according to the apostle Paul, in the first chapter of his epistle to the Romans, they know the Creator, from seeing the things created. I first asked if they love him? As their answer seemed to indicate, that they more fear than love him, I enquired, Whether they had not sufficient proofs of his goodness? They then answered, Because he killed them: for they are extremely afraid of death. It would take up much time, to convey to them an idea of a life to come, I therefore declined the attempt, and only endeavoured to convince them, that when, with advanced age, nature became weak, and the strength impaired, a good death was one of the greatest benefits God could confer upon mankind. They burst into a general laugh, saying, what they had was something, but when they died all was gone. From whence we may infer how ignorant they are. It would be a blessing to them, if they had human, rational principles. As they are, their great necessity makes them thieves, robbers, and liars. Their mode of life is downright brutish; their marriages are not holy, and in general, the accounts lately published, make it appear, that even the Hottentots possess more religion, than we find among these

these poor people. It is true that orders come from the Royal Office, concerning them, but they pass unobserved. They are driven from one place to another, without being allowed a chance of getting a maintenance, or making provision for the better education of their children. This does not concern me; but excites compassion when I reflect on it.

I have compared their language with the Gazettes, but that spoken by my Gipsies is different, and bears more resemblance to the Latin. They call God, Di . . . bread-pan . . . water-apa. This seems to be corrupt Latin, and they have many more such words. They mix Sclavonian and Hungarian words with their own, but give them quite a different signification."

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*Particulars relative to the imprisonment and escape of Baron Trenck from the fortress of Glatz; from Memoirs by himself, translated from the German original.*

"I WAS now left to myself, surveyed my destiny on the dark side, and thought only of the means to fly or perish; for the narrow prison began at last to be insupportable to my impatient temper. The garrison was always on my side, consequently it was impossible to deprive me of friends and support; people knew that I had money, and I could do any thing with a poor Prussian garrison regiment, where the officers lived discontented, and were mostly sent there by way of punishment from the other regiments; my first project was this! My window was in the alarm fort about fifteen fathoms high, and opposite the side

of the town, therefore I could not escape from the citadel, without first seeking a refuge in the town; this was already assured me, by means of an officer in the house of an honest soap-maker. With my penknife, which was notched, I cut through three very thick iron bars: but as this took up too much time, and there were no less than eight of them that opposed my passage in front of the window, an officer conveyed a file to me, with which, I was obliged to work very cautiously for fear of being heard by the sentry.

As soon as this was finished, I slit my leather port-manteau into strings, knotted them together, took my bed-cloaths to my assistance, and let myself fortunately down from this astonishing height.

It rained bitterly! The night being dark and gloomy, every thing was favorable; but I was under the disagreeable necessity of wading through the sink of the common sewer before I could reach the town. This I had not foreseen. Although I was not above my knees, it was impossible for me to proceed; I did all I could, but stuck so fast, that at last I lost all strength, and called to the sentry who was on the alarm fort—"Tell the commandant, that *Trenck* is sticking in the mud." To increase my misfortune, general *Fouquet* was, at that time, commandant at Glatz; he was a well known misanthrope, who had duelled with my father when a captain, and been wounded by him. The Austrian *Trenck* had taken his baggage in 1744, and laid the county of Glatz under contribution; on these accounts, he was a bitter enemy to the name of *Trenck*, and took every opportunity of making me feel the effects of his animosity.

He



He suffered me to remain, in this condition, as a public spectacle for the garrison, till noon, then ordered me to be taken out, and shut in my prison again, but would not allow me any water the whole day to wash myself. The figure I made, was truly pitiable; my long hair had, in the struggle, fallen into the mire, and nothing could be more obnoxious than my situation, till I was granted a couple of prisoners, who cleaned me.

My arrest was now increased, with as much rigour as possible. I had, however, eighty louis d'ors in my pocket, which were not taken from me, and from those I found essential service afterwards.

But at once all my passions began to storm, and my young blood mutined against every reasonable resolve; I saw all hopes vanish; looked upon myself as the most unfortunate creature upon earth, and my monarch, as an implacable judge, now further provoked by my unsuccessful efforts to regain my liberty. The day was insupportable, and the night sleepless; a desire of renown tortured my soul; and the consciousness of my innocence proved only an incitement to put an end to my miserable existence. The youth, unexperienced in the world, and unacquainted with the accidents of life, sees every evil through a magnifying glass, and despairs in every difficulty, especially when balked in any attempt he has made to extricate himself. Death I was always taught to despise.

I was not deprived of books to

divert my melancholy hours. I read a great deal during my confinement in Glatz, and extended my knowledge; the hours did not always appear tedious, but when the desire of liberty awoke within me, when love, and longing called me to Berlin, and my ambition painted my disagreeable situation in the most disgusting colors; when I reflected, that my beloved sovereign and country would look upon me as an abject traitor, and probably condemn me as such, then I was every moment ready to rush upon the bayonets of my guards, whom I considered as my enemies, because they barred my way to freedom.

Big with such thoughts, scarce eight days were past, since my last unsuccessful attempt to fly, when a circumstance occurred, that would seem improbable in history, if I did not write it myself, and publicly make it known, at a time, when I, the chief actor, am still living, and could call upon all Glatz, the whole Prussian garrison, as eye, ear, and local witnesses. This anecdote will however show, that sometimes a bold or rash resolution, and incredible undertakings, become possible, and that a desperate resolve, may easier prove fortunate to a commander, than a plan laid with all care and foresight.

I attempted that, which the fool-hardy *Charles XII.* enterprised in Turkey: but our views were different, he sought fame; I on the contrary, liberty, or death.

The town-major, *Doo*\*, came into my prison, accompanied by the adjutant

\* This is the *Doo* who commanded in Glatz during the seven years Prussian war, was surprised and taken by general *Louden*, by which means Glatz was lost. The king cashiered him, *cum infamia*, and drove him as a villain out of the country: in the year 1764, he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms.—He was an Italian by birth, a base selfish man, who, when town-major in *Fouquet's* regiment,

adjutant and officer of the guard; he visited every corner, and entered into conversation with me, in which he stiled my attempt to escape, a *double crime*, that would rouse the monarch's wrath against me. The word crime, had already made my blood boil. He talked of patience. — I asked — “How long the king had sentenced me?” He answered — “A traitor to his country who corresponds with the enemy, has no other appointed time than the king's will.” At that instant, I tore his sword from his side, on which I had already fixed my eye; flew out of the door, threw the terrified sentry down stairs, found the guard under arms at the door below, which had at that moment been called out for the relief, ran upon them sword in hand—every one started with surprise, and made way. I laid about me, right and left, wounded four men, run through the middle of them, sprang upon the breast-work of the principal rampart, and directly down from that astonishing height without the smallest damage, even kept my sword in my hand. I got as luckily over the second lower rampart, no pieces were loaded, nobody would leap after me, and there was no other way to pursue me, than by going through the town and out of the gate, so that I had near a mile and a half start. In a narrow passage in one of the out-works, a sentry ran towards me and opposed my

flight; in an instant, his firelock and bayonet was parried, and he received a cut on the face; the other sentries of the out-works attacked me in rear; I sprang with all haste over the palisades, but unfortunately one of my feet remained sticking betwixt them; I was wounded by a bayonet in the upper lip; and held fast by the leg until the others came to help. They sent me back to my prison, bruised and beaten, for having defended myself like a desperate man.

Certain it is, that if I had leapt with more caution over the palisades, and sent the sentry who opposed me into the other world, so as to have gained the mountains, I should have escaped from the fortification of Glatz, through sentries and works, at eleven o'clock in the day, and arrived safe in Bohemia. Single pursuers I should not have feared, sword in hand, and at that age, I could have kept pace with any courier.

Fortune which had wonderfully assisted me as far as the palisades, was not favorable to me in the final execution of my desperate attempt. My hopes had now an end; my confinement was more rigid, and a non-commissioned officer and two men were placed in my room, which was also strictly guarded on the outside. I was shockingly treated, my right ankle was disjointed, I spit blood, and my wound was not healed during a month\*.

I soon

giment, ruined many people. He was a creature of *Fouquet's*, without birth or merit; an artful handsome fellow, who got *Fouquet's* daughter with child, and married her; this at last proved his ruin. He was not possessed of the smallest military abilities, and was easily corrupted, being naturally avaricious.

\* I have since learnt, that the king had only sent me to Glatz for one year, to prove if his suspicions were justly grounded. My mother had interceded for me; and received for answer, “Your son must remain a year as a punishment for his imprudent correspondence.” This I did not know; and it was reported in Glatz,

I soon found (for I was ever on the watch) new opportunity for a fresh enterprise. I studied the disposition of the men who guarded me; I did not want for money; with that, and excited compassion, any thing may be done with a discontented Prussian soldier. In a short time, I had a party of thirty-two men on my side, who were ready, at a wink, to undertake every thing; none, except two or three, knew of each other's engagement, consequently, they could not all be discovered; and the non-commissioned officer, *Nicholai*, was my chosen conductor.

The garrison of the citadel consisted at that time, only of one hundred and twenty men from the different regiments that were divided in the county of Glatz. Four officers relieved each other alternately at the main guard, three of whom were in my secret; every thing was prepared: cartridges, pistols, and a sword, were concealed in a hole in my jail. We meant to release all the other prisoners, and march with flying colours to Bohemia; but an Austrian deserter, in whom *Nicholai* confided, discovered the whole affair, and the governor sent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders for the officer of the guard immediately to confine *Nicholai*, and with his men to surround the barracks.

*Nicholai* was then upon the main guard, and the lieutenant, who was my friend and knew the plot, gave

him a sign that all was discovered; he alone knew the parties concerned, some of whom were upon guard with him. In a moment, this intrepid man's resolution was made; he ran to the barracks, cried out, "Brothers, to arms!! we are betrayed;" they all followed him to the *stock-house* guard; the officer on duty there, had but eight men with him, whose pieces were not loaded. My adherents took their cartridges, threatened to shoot every one who opposed them, sprang to my iron door, but that was too strong, and the time too precious to allow them to do more. He called to me to endeavour to get out—It was impossible! and thus marched this brave man with nineteen more, who followed him with shouldered arms to the field-door; the non-commissioned officer and six men who had the guard, were forced to join him, and in this extraordinary manner he arrived safe at Braunau, in Bohemia; for before the alarm was given in the town, and a strong party could be mustered ready to follow him, he had got halfway undisturbed. I discovered this brave fellow, with inexpressible joy, about two years afterwards, as a clerk in *Ofen*; he immediately entered into my service, and at the same time was my confidential friend, but died, in a few months, of a violent fever, at my quarters in Hungary.—I shed a grateful tear at his death, and his memory will never cease to be respectable and dear to me.

Glatz, that I was confined for life. I had only to wait three weeks to gain my liberty with honor, when I undertook this desperate enterprise. What must the monarch think of me? Was he not forced to act as he did? And what reasonable man can imagine, that for three weeks arrest, which required so little patience, I would have risked so much, and suffered my all to be confiscated? But my singular fate turned every thing to my disadvantage, and one probability connected itself in such a manner with another, that I at last must have perfectly the appearance of a criminal.



The form which had been for some time gathering around me, began now to rage with violence. It was proposed to carry on a criminal process against me as a schemer and seducer of his majesty's officers and soldiers; I was called to name those concerned who stayed behind. I gave no answer to their questions, but boldly and firmly declared, "I am an innocent prisoner, condemned without a hearing; a discarded officer, who can never again be called upon to serve his country; the law of nature gave me a right to vindicate my injured honor, and procure my liberty at all risks; this was the object of all my desperate resolves; I wished, either to attain my noble aim, or in the attempt to die boldly, regardless of all dangers or obstacles."

All possible rigours of confinement ensued, excepting, that I was not put in irons; for, in Prussia, no gentleman, or officer, can be chained, unless he be delivered into the hands of the executioner for some infamous crime. The sentries were taken from my chamber; but the worst of all evils was that my money began to fail, and my female friend in Berlin, with whom I always carried on a secret correspondence, wrote,

*"Je pleure avec vous, votre mal est sans remède; voici ma dernière; je n'ose plus risquer—sauriez vous si vous pouvez; je suis pour vous la même en tout événement lorsqu'il est possible de vous être utile. Adieu, malheureux ami, vous méritez un autre sort."*

This was the severest stroke that could have reached me; but it was a comfort for me to think, that the officers were not suspected, and as

they came every day, according to orders, to visit me, and see if I was quiet, I did not lose all hopes of freeing myself.

At a time when every expectation began to vanish, and all probability to escape seemed vain, the following wonderful circumstances occurred:

Lieutenant Bach, by birth a Dane, who every four days mounted guard upon me, was the terror of the whole garrison, a quarrelsome fellow, who had fought with, and marked all his comrades, on which account he had been changed into two different regiments, and at last, by way of punishment, put into one of the battalions garrisoned at Glatz; this man was sitting upon my bed, and telling me, that the day before he had wounded lieutenant Schell in the arm. I said to him, jestingly, "If I was free, I think you would scarce wound me." Immediately his blood flew in his face, and in a hurry, we made a pair of foils from an old split door, which served me as a table; I touched him on the breast.—He ran in a passion out of door—but how was I astonished to see him return with two musqueteer's sabres under his coat! He offered me one, and said, "Now, boaster, show what thou can'st do." I protested against it, wished to convince him of the danger—it was in vain—he attacked me, and I wounded him in the right arm. He instantly flung down his sword—threw himself round my neck—kissed me, and remained crying in that position—at length, with an odd kind of joy, visible in his face, he said, "Friend! thou art my master, and thou shalt obtain thy liberty through me, as sure as my name is Bach." We bound up the wound in his arm, which, though not mortal, was nevertheless.



vertheless deep. He went away, sent for a surgeon, who dressed him properly, and at night he came to me again.

Here he suggested, that there was no other way of escaping, unless the officer of the guard accompanied me, he himself would willingly lay down his life for me, but he could not perform any villainous deed, or desert his guard; however he gave me his word of honour to find me a man, in a few days, and assist himself as much as possible. At night he returned again, and brought lieutenant Schell with him; the first word was, "Here's thy man." Schell embraced me, pledged his faith, the bargain was concluded, and I was assured of my liberty. We began now to think of preparations for our departure. Schell was just come to Glatz from the garrison of Habelschwert, and was in a couple of days to mount his first guard in the citadel. Every thing was deferred till then. But, as I have already mentioned, I received no more money from my female friend, and my private purse consisted but of six pistoles, it was agreed upon that Bach should go to Schweidnitz, and there bring me a supply from a particular friend.

I must here inform the reader, that I was perfectly acquainted with every officer in garrison. Roeder, the only captain, was severe and austere, and chicaned, whenever he had an opportunity. Major Quaad was a relation of my mother's, a good, humane, friendly man, who wished me but a lucky opportunity to escape, since matters had gone so great a length. The four lieutenants, who watched me in turn, were Bach, Schroder, Lunitz, and Schell—the first laid plans and made pre-

parations; Schell fled with me from the main guard, and Schroder and Lunitz followed us in about two or three days after.

It is not to be wondered, if officers of the garrison regiments, are so easily seduced to desert; they are generally clever lively fellows, involved in debt and scrapes, or entirely unfit for the service, sent there to such regiments as are called the refuse of the army; not content with their situation, having much less pay than the rest, and despised by other troops, such people are easily corrupted when they see an advantage; none of them can obtain a discharge, and they are poor and needy; they each thought to make their fortune with me, having always money. What was easier than to find friends among men dissatisfied with their condition, and who only wished for an opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of slavery?

Schell was a man of uncommon abilities, spoke and wrote six different languages, and possessed the essence of all fine arts: he had been in Fouquet's regiment: his colonel, who was from Pomerania, had used him very unfairly; Fouquet could not bear a learned officer, had him put into a garrison regiment; he had demanded his retreat, and the king threatened to confine him in a fort; on this account, he resolved to desert and revenge himself by procuring me my liberty in spite of Fouquet.

I will hereafter say more of this extraordinary man; that I may not at present interrupt this remarkable scene of my life. We agreed, that at his next guard every thing should be settled, and our design put into execution the ensuing one. He mounted every

every fourth day; consequently, in eight days every thing was to be effected.

But it now began to be suspected that the officers were too familiar and intimate with me; and an order was given for my door to be always locked, and my victuals delivered to me through a window; the major kept the key, and it was forbid to eat with me on pain of being cashiered. The officers, however, got a false key made, and generally spent the best part of the day and night with me.

Opposite to my room, in the prison, was a captain Damnitz: this man had deserted from the Prussian service with the company's money, and was made a captain of his cousin's regiment, in Austria; but in the campaign of 1744, he acted as a spy, was taken in the dress of a peasant by the Prussian army; known, and deservedly condemned to be hanged, but received his pardon, at the intercession of the Swedish volunteers, who were at that time with the army, and was sentenced, *cum infamia*, to remain in Glatz the remainder of his life.

This worthless man, who through interest, not only obtained his freedom, after two years imprisonment, but was even made lieutenant-colonel of his cousin's regiment, was at that time, secretly employed by the town-major, as a spy over the other prisoners, and had given information that, notwithstanding the strict orders to the contrary, the officer of the guard passed most of his time with me.

On the 24th of December, Schell was upon guard; he came immediately to my room, and stayed some time with me; every thing was this day to be settled how we were to

make our escape next time he mounted.

Lieutenant Schroder was that day invited to dine with the commanding officer, and heard accidentally from the adjutant, that he had orders to relieve lieutenant Schell, and immediately to put him in arrest. Schroder, who was in the secret, instantly conjectured that we were betrayed; although, as I afterwards understood, it was owing to nothing else but the spy Damnitz having given notice that Schell was in my room.

Schroder ran terrified to Schell in the citadel, crying, "Friend! save thyself, all is discovered, thou wilt be immediately confined."

Schell himself might have escaped without the least danger, for Schroder proposed to take horse directly and ride towards Bohemia. But the gallant man, instead of following this salutary advice, entered my prison, drew a non-commissioned officer's sabre from below his coat, and said, "Friend, we are betrayed, follow me, and do not let me fall alive into the hands of my enemies." I wanted to speak to him—he seized me hastily by the hand, saying, "Follow—there is not a moment to spare." I instantly threw my coat on my shoulders, pulled on my boots, but had not even time to take my little concealed cash along with me.

We went out, and he said to the sentry, "Your prisoner is going with me into the officer's room, stay here." We actually did go in, but immediately retired unperceived, by a side door. My friend was willing to go with me under the arsenal to the covert-way, then get over the palisades, and save ourselves the best way we could.

We

We had scarce gone a hundred paces, when we were met by Major Quadt and the adjutant.—Schell started! stepped upon the rampart, and leaped over the parapet, which at that part was not very high. I followed, and sprung after him, without receiving any other injury but a slight hurt on my shoulder; my friend had the misfortune to dislocate his ankle, which gave him the most excruciating pain; he immediately drew his sword, intreated me to run him through the body, and endeavour to save myself.

He was a small, weak man; I took him in my arms, helped him over the palisades, aided him to get upon my back, and run with him without knowing where. It is worthy of remark, how fortune favoured us in so desperate an enterprise; the sun was then just setting, and the air exceedingly cold, raw, and cloudy; nobody durst attempt to leap after us; the alarm was great—every one knew us—but before any body could come from the citadel into the town, and from thence through the gate to follow us, we had got at least half a league.

The alarm cannons were fired, as in all cases of desertions, before we were one hundred paces distant; this terrified my friend still more, as he very well knew, that there was seldom an instance of a deserter escaping who had not at least two hours start before the guns were fired, because all passages are immediately beset by peasants and hussars, who are particularly strict and watchful. As soon as a man is missed, the gunner of the main guard runs immediately to the fort, and fires the guns from three sides of it, which are kept loaded day and night. We were not above five hun-

dred yards distant from the fortifications, before every thing was in motion both behind and before us; we fled in day-light, and luckily escaped; for which I partly thank my presence of mind, and the character I had established. Add to this, that nobody imagined we had undertaken so weighty an enterprise in so desperate a manner without being properly armed; no person knew that we had been so over-hasty, or that Schell had nothing but his sword, and I but a poor non-commissioned officer's sabre. Amongst the officers ordered to follow us, was lieutenant Bart, my friend, and Captain Zerbst, of Fouquet's regiment, who always loved me with fraternal affection, we met him not far from the borders of Bohemia, where he called to me, "Brother, keep more to the left, and endeavour to gain yonder house which stands by itself, that is the border"—the hussars are gone to the "right!" He moved sideways, as if he had not observed us; we had not much to fear from the officers, they always assisted each other, where they had it in their power; for brotherly love, or the mutual affection of comrades was, at that time, so great in Prussia, and a word of honour had such force, that even while prisoner in Glatz, I had been hunting with two officers at the baron Stilsfried's, in Néurode, during thirty-six hours; lieutenant Lunitz remained in bed at the prison, in my stead, and the major knew it. In those days, they would always trust to each other's word of honour; and so well was Trenck known in Glatz, that he was even taken out of jail, and suffered to amuse himself at the chase on the borders of Bohemia. The governor was the deceived

person, in spite of all his command.

This anecdote will serve to show the character of the nation at that time; and it was easy for the great Frederick to conquer his enemies with such officers, who built so much upon a word of honour. At present despotic power has introduced the rod of slavery, and mechanical subordination has banished those noble sentiments and concord; at the same time, has increased suspicion, which has consequently weakened the animated soul of the Brandenburg soldier. And it is to be lamented, that all other states of Europe seem falling into the same decline.

Scarce had I carried my friend three hundred paces till I set him down, looked about me, but the air was so thick, that I could neither see the town, nor the citadel, of course we ourselves were invisible. My presence of mind never left me a moment; death, or liberty, was my positive determination. I asked my friend Schell, Where we were? Where lay Bohemia? Where flowed the Neisse? The good man had not yet recovered himself enough for recollection, but begged that I would not leave him behind me alive; and seemed to despair of all probability of escaping. After having solemnly promised, that in case there was no other resource, I would deliver him from the ignominious death of a gibbet; I endeavoured to cheer up, and encourage him by my own example and high spirits; he then looked around, and recollected, he observed, that we were at no great distance from the field *parre*. I again asked, Where is the Neisse? He pointed sideways, "Friend," said I, "we have been seen moving towards the Bohemian moun-

tains, where it will be impossible for us to pass, for there the corridor is beset, and the hussars, and all our pursuers have taken that route." I took him again upon my back, and carried him towards the Neisse; we now heard a dreadful noise in all the neighbouring villages, and the boors who had surrounded the desertion cordon, were running about, and giving the alarm on all sides. The manner of acting in Prussia, on such occasion, may not be known to every reader. I will here give a short account of it.

As soon as the alarm guns begin to thunder, the officers for pursuit, who are always named in daily orders, must be immediately ready. — In each village, there are countrymen appointed to take possession of all posts round about the town. The officers immediately see if all these posts are properly guarded, and if the peasants do their duty; by these means it is scarcely possible for a soldier to escape, unless he has at least been an hour upon his way before the three first cannons are fired.

The Neisse was but a little frozen; I took my friend and conducted him as far as I could wade. In the deepest part, which was not quite three fathoms broad, he was obliged to hold fast by my hair, and in this manner we landed safe on the other side.

My father had us all taught to swim, and him I have to thank, that this art, which is so easily learnt in youth, has many a time saved my life, and made me more determined in great dangers. Every prince, who has occasion for soldiers, should be attentive to this advice, that children who should not fear



fear powder, ought not to be afraid of water; how useful would it often prove! if they could swim, a battalion, or at least fifty volunteers; over a river; and neither want bridges for a surprise, nor a retreat.

Conceive how pleasant it must have been to swim on the 24th of December, and then to remain eighteen hours without shade or shelter, under the canopy of heaven! About seven o'clock in the evening, every cloud disappeared, and it grew moon-light and frosty. I had my friend to carry, therefore was warm, but fatigued; he, on the other hand, endured cold; the pain of a dislocated ancle, which I endeavoured in vain to reduce; and thereby had danger and death before my eyes at every step.

As soon as we had reached the opposite shore of the Neisse, we were out of danger of the pursuit, for nobody looked for us on the road to Silesia. I walked a good mile and a half by the side of the river, but when we got to the first villages in our rear, which bounded the alarm cordon, and were by experience well known to Schell, we found, by accident, a small fishing-boat, broke the lock, ferried over, and in a short time gained the mountains. There we sat ourselves down upon the snow; our courage increased, and we held a council of what was further to be done. I cut a stick for Schell, with which he now and then helped himself forwards on one leg, and let me rest a little; this was a work of much difficulty, the snow being very deep, and its surface exceeding hard.

Thus past the night, whilst we tumbled about and over our knees in snow, without making much way; the lofty mountains were here and

there insurmountable; the day began to break, and we fancied ourselves near the borders, which were four German miles distant from Glatz; but to our great terror and surprise, we heard the Glatz clock strike. I now felt myself unable any longer to endure the extreme fatigue and cold; the pain of my friend's leg became almost insupportable. In this situation, and tortured by craving hunger, we thought it impossible to survive the day. After a long consultation, we arrived, in about an hour and a half, at a village which lay at the foot of the mountain. About three hundred yards on this side of the village stood two separate houses; therefore we took the following resolution, which we immediately put into execution.

We had both lost our hats in getting over the ramparts of Glatz; Schell, as officer of the guard, had still his gorget and sash about him, which might procure us some respect from the country people. I cut my finger, and besmeared my face, shirt, and coat, with blood; like a man shockingly wounded, at the same time bound up my head. In this condition, I carried Schell to the end of a thicket, not far from the houses, where he tied my hands behind my back, but in such a manner that I could easily disengage them, pretended to be in a great passion, beat about with his stick, and called for help. Two old peasants came running towards us—Schell immediately cried out—“Run to the village; let the judge get a cart and horses ready in a moment—I have got the rascal—he has stabbed my horse, by which I have sprained my leg—however I have flashed him—make haste—a cart  
D 2 “—that

“—that he may be hanged before  
“he dies.”

Thus I suffered myself to be dragged into a room; one of the boors ran into the village. An old woman, and a pretty young girl, took compassion upon me, and brought us some bread and milk. But how was I astonished, when the old countryman called Schell by his name, and assured us, that he knew we were the two deserters whom an officer came after the night before, had named in the public house, and described our dress, with the whole story of our flight. This peasant knew Schell personally, for his son served in the same company, and he had often spoke to him at Habelschwerd, when he was quartered there. Nothing now remained, but an immediate resolution and presence of mind; I ran quickly into the stable, and Schell kept the old boor in the room, who was a very honest man, and even told us the way towards Bohemia; we were not above a mile and a half from Glatz, and had wandered backwards and forwards near six miles in the mountains. The girl followed me; I found three horses in the stable, but no bridles; I beseeched her, in a piteous manner, to help me; she was moved, and immediately gave me two. I took the horses out—called to Schell—he appeared with his lame leg—I helped him to mount—the old countryman cried and begged for his horses; but, fortunately, had neither the courage nor inclination to oppose us; for, defenceless as we were, he might at least have detained us with a pitchfork till the village was alarmed. We rode off without either saddles or hats; Schell, in uniform, with his sash and gorget; and I in my red garde du corps uniform; but our hopes were nearly

frustrated, for my horse would not stir from the place; as a good rider, however, I found means to make him go on. Schell rode first; but scarce were we a hundred paces distant, before we saw the inhabitants hastening out of the village; fortunately for us, it was a holiday, every one was at church, and the peasant, whom we had sent, was obliged to call them out; it was about nine o’clock, and had they been at home, we must inevitably have been lost. I was fatigued, and Schell lame, we could not possibly have escaped. The road led directly to Wunschelburg; there was no way of getting through this town, Schell had been quartered there about a month before; every body knew him, and our equipage, without either saddle or hat, looked like nothing else but desertion. The horses, however, went tolerably well, and we escaped safe, although there were eighty infantry and twelve hussars posted to take up deserters. We went round the town, through the suburbs, and as he knew the way to Bummorn, we arrived safe there about eleven o’clock. It was hereabouts, as I have already observed, we met captain Zerbst; the joy we felt that day, is not to be described.

An honest man, who undeservedly pined in a prison, and by his own exertions escapes the chains of slavery, who has, in spite of the might of kings and of mankind conspired against him, procured his own liberty, feels, on such an occasion, so great an abhorrence against all despotic power; that I cannot yet conceive how I ever could determine to live in a monarchical state, where freedom, fortune, honour, and contentment, depend upon the will of a ruler.

In all the labours I ever undertook  
in

in this world, I never was overpowered with such a heart-felt joy, or experienced such glorious and pure delight, as at that time, when I saved the man, who, for my liberty, had risked an ignominious death, and carried him, upwards of twelve hours, upon my shoulders; alive, we never would have been brought back to Glatz."

*Anecdotes of Lee Boo, Second Son of Abba Thulle, King of the Pelew Islands, from the Time of his leaving Canton in the Morfe East Indiaman to the Time of his Death: from an Account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean. Composed from the Journals and Communications of Captain Henry Wilson, and some of his Officers, who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked, in the Antelope, a Packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company, by George Keate, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A.*

"I SHALL close this work with such anecdotes of Prince Lee Boo, as I have received from some of my particular friends who often saw him, added to those I have myself been witness of:—insignificant as the amount of the whole may be, yet I think them worth recording;—from a trifling sketch, or a mere outline, enough may be gained of character, to convey to the mind no fallacious idea of the object aimed at.—In the present case, no more than an outline can be delineated. Had not this youth, who came here almost a stranger to our language, and who lived little more than five months with us, been snatched away so soon to fill an early grave, I

might have been enabled to offer the public a more finished picture of him."

"He was extremely desirous of knowing the name and country of every ship he met at sea, and would repeat what he was told over and over till he had fixed it well in his memory; and, as each inquiry was gratified, he made a knot on his *Line*; but these knots now having greatly multiplied, he was obliged to repeat them over every day to refresh his memory, and often to recur to Captain Wilson, or others, when he had forgot what any particular knot referred to. The officers in the *Morfe*, with whom only he associated, when they saw him thus busied with his *Line*, used to say he was reading his journal. He frequently asked after all the people of the *Oroolong*, who had gone aboard different ships at China, particularly after the Captain's son and Mr. Sharp.

He had not been long on the voyage before he solicited Captain Wilson to get him a book, and point out to him the letters, that he might, when he knew them, be instructed in reading; all convenient opportunities were allotted to gratify this wish of his young pupil, who discovered great readiness in comprehending every information given him.

On arriving at Saint Helena, he was much struck with the soldiers and cannon on the fortifications; and the coming in soon after of four English men of war, afforded him a sight highly delighting, particularly those which had two tier of guns. It was explained to him that these kind of ships were intended only for fighting, and that the other vessels which he then saw in the

Bay were destined for commerce, to transport and exchange from one country to another its produce and manufactures.—Captain Buller, the Commander of his Majesty's ship the *Chaser*, had the goodness to take him on board his own, and another ship, to let him see the men exercised at the great guns and small arms, which exceedingly impressed his imagination.

On being carried to see a school, he expressed a wish that he could learn as the boys did, feeling his own deficiency in knowledge.

He desired to ride on horseback into the country, which he was permitted to do; he sat well, and galloped, shewed no fear of falling, and appeared highly pleased both with the novelty and pleasure of the exercise."

"Before the *Morse* quitted Saint Helena, the *Lascelles* arrived, by which occurrence Lee Boo had an interview with his first friend, Mr. Sharp; he had a sight of him from a window, and ran out with the utmost impatience to take him by the hand; happy, after so long a separation, to meet him again, and evincing by his ardour the grateful sentiments he retained of the attention that gentleman had shewn him.

As he drew near the British Channel, the number of vessels that he observed pursuing their different courses, increasing so much, he was obliged to give up the keeping of his journal; but was still very inquisitive to know whither they were sailing.—When the *Morse* got to the Isle of Wight, Captain Wilson, his brother, the Prince, with several other passengers, quitted her, and coming in a boat between the Needles, arrived safe at Portsmouth the

*fourteenth* of July 1784.—On landing, the number and size of the men of war then in harbour, the variety of houses, and the ramparts, were all objects of attraction; he seemed so totally absorbed in silent surprize, that he had no leisure to ask any questions.—The officer of the *Morse* charged with the dispatches setting off immediately for London, Captain Wilson, impatient to see his family, accompanied him, leaving his young traveller under the care of his brother, to follow him by a coach, which was to set off in the evening. As soon as he reached town, he was conveyed to the Captain's house at Rotherhithe, where he was not a little happy to rejoin his adopted father, and in being introduced to his family.

Though part of his journey had passed during the night, yet, with returning day, his eyes had full employment on every side; and when he had got to what was now to be, for some time, his destined home, he arrived in all the natural glow of his youthful spirits. Whatever he had observed in silence, was now eagerly disclosed. He described all the circumstances of his journey; said it was very pleasant—that he had been put into a little house, which was run away with by horses—that he slept, but still was going on; and, whilst he went one way, the fields, houses, and trees, all went another—every thing, from the quickness of travelling, appearing to him to be in motion.

At the hour of rest he was shewn by Mr. M. Wilson up to his chamber, where, for the first time, he saw a four-post bed; he could scarce conceive what it meant—he jumped in, and jumped out again; felt and pulled aside the curtains; got into bed,



bed, and then got out a second time, to admire its exterior form. At length, having become acquainted with its use and convenience, he laid himself down to sleep, saying, *that in England there was a house for every thing.*

It was not, I believe, more than a week after his arrival, when I was invited, by my late valued friend Robert Rashleigh, Esq. to dinner, where Captain Wilson, and his young charge, were expected.—Lee Boo then possessed but very little English, yet, between words and action, made himself tolerably understood, and seemed to comprehend the greater part of what was said to him, especially, having the Captain by him to explain whatever he did not clearly comprehend.—He was dressed as an Englishman, excepting that he wore his hair in the fashion of his own country; appeared to be between nineteen and twenty years of age, was of a middling stature, and had a countenance so strongly marked with sensibility and good-humour, that it instantly prejudiced every one in his favour; and this countenance was enlivened by eyes so quick and intelligent, that they might really be said to announce his thoughts and conceptions without the aid of language.

Though the accounts I had previously received of this *new man* (as he was called at Macao) had greatly raised my expectations, yet when I had been a little time in his company, I was perfectly astonished at the ease and gentleness of his manners; he was lively and pleasant, and had a politeness without form, or restraint, which appeared to be the result of natural good-breeding.—As I chanced to sit near him at table, I paid him a great deal of

attention, which he seemed to be very sensible of.—Many questions were of course put to Captain Wilson by the company, concerning this personage, and the country he had brought him from, which no European had ever visited before; he obligingly entered on many particular circumstances which were highly interesting, spoke of the battles in which his people had assisted the King of Pelew, and of the peculiar manner the natives had of tying up their hair when going to war; Lee Boo, who fully understood what his friend was explaining, very obligingly, and unasked, untied his own, and threw it into the form Captain Wilson had been describing.”

“I went to Rotherhithe, a few days after, to see Captain Wilson; Lee Boo was reading at a window, he recollected me instantly, and flew with eagerness to the door to meet me, looked on me as a friend, and ever after attached himself to me, appearing to be happy whenever we met together.—In this visit I had a good deal of conversation with him, and we mutually managed to be pretty well understood by each other; he seemed to be pleased with every thing about him, said, *All fine country, fine street, fine coach, and house upon house up to sky*, putting alternately one hand above another, by which I found (their own habitations being all on the ground) that every separate story of our buildings he at that time considered as a distinct house.”

“After he had been awhile settled, and a little habituated to the manners of this country, he was sent every day to an Academy at Rotherhithe, to be instructed in reading and writing, which he was him-

self eager to attain, and most assiduous in learning; his whole deportment, whilst there, was so engaging, that it not only gained him the esteem of the gentleman under whose tuition he was placed, but also the affection of his young companions;—in the hours of recess, when he returned to the Captain's house, he amused the whole family by his vivacity, noticing every particularity he saw in any of his school-fellows, with great good-humour mimicking their different manners, sometimes saying he would have a school of his own when he returned to Pelew, and should be thought very wise when he taught the great people their letters."

"Wherever this young man went, nothing escaped his observation; he had an ardent desire of information, and thankfully received it, always expressing a wish to know by what means effects which he noticed, were produced. I was one day in company with him, where a young lady sat down to the harpsichord, to see how he was affected with music; he appeared greatly surprized that the instrument could throw out so much sound; it was opened, to let him see its interior construction; he pored over it with great attention, watching how the jacks were moved, and seemed far more disposed to puzzle out the means which produced the sounds, than to attend to the music that was playing. He was afterwards requested to give us a Pelew song; he did not wait for those repeated intreaties which fingers usually require, but obligingly began one as soon as asked; the tones, however, were so harsh and discordant, and his breast seemed to labour with so much exertion, that his whole coun-

tenance was changed by it, and every one's ears stunned with the horrid notes. From this sample of Pelew singing, it is not to be wondered, that a chorus of such performers had the effect (as hath been related) of making our countrymen at Oroolong fly to their arms;—it might, in truth, have alarmed a whole garrison.—Though when he had been some time here, he readily caught two or three English songs, in which his voice appeared by no means inharmonious.

Lee Boo's temper was very mild and compassionate, discovering, in various instances, that he had brought from his father's territories that spirit of philanthropy, which we have seen reigned there; yet he at all times governed it by discretion and judgment.—If he saw the *young* asking relief, he would rebuke them with what little English he was master of, telling them, it was a shame to beg when they were able to work; but the intreaties of *old age* he could never withstand, saying, *must give poor old man—old man no able to work.*

I am perfectly convinced, that Captain Wilson, from the confidence which the King had reposed in him, would have held himself inviolably bound to protect and serve this young creature to the utmost extent of his abilities; but, independent of what he felt was due to the noble character of Abba Thulle, there was so much gentleness, and so much gratitude lodged at Lee Boo's heart, that not only the Captain, but every part of his family, viewed him with the warmest sentiments of disinterested affection.—Mr. H. Wilson, the Captain's son, being a youth of a very amiable character, and a few years younger than

than Lee Boo, they had, during their voyage to, and stay in China, become mutually attached to each other, and meeting again under the father's roof, their friendship was still more cemented; the young Prince looked on him as a brother, and, in his leisure hours from the Academy, was happy to find in him a companion to converse with, to exercise the throwing of the spear, or partake in any innocent recreation.

Boyam, the Malay, whom the King had sent to attend on his son, proving an unprincipled, dishonest fellow, Lee Boo was so disgusted with his conduct, that he intreated Captain Wilson to send him back to Sumatra (which he had learned was the Malay's own country); and Tom Rose, a man of tried fidelity, and who had picked up a great deal of the Pelew language, being at this time in England, was engaged to supply his place; an exchange which gave great satisfaction to all parties.

Captain Wilson being now and then incommoded with severe headaches, which were sometimes relieved by lying down on the bed; on these occasions the feelings of Lee Boo were ever alarmed. He appeared always unhappy, would creep up softly to his protector's chamber, and sit silent by his bedside for a long time together, without moving, peeping gently from time to time between the curtains, to see if he slept, or lay easy.

As the anecdotes of this singular youth are but scanty, being all unfortunately limited to a very short period, I would unwillingly, in this place, withhold one, where his own heart described itself. The captain having been all the morning in Lon-

don, after dinner asked his son if he had been at some place, he had, before he went to town, directed him to call at, with a particular message? The fact was, the two young friends had been amusing themselves with throwing the spear, and the business had been totally forgotten.—Captain Wilson was hurt at the neglect, and told his son it was very idle and careless; this being spoken in an impatient tone of voice, which Lee Boo conceiving was a mark of anger in the father, slipped unobserved out of the parlour. The matter was instantly forgotten, and something else talked of, when Lee Boo being missed, Harry Wilson was sent to look after him, who finding him in a back room quite dejected, desired him to return to the family; Lee Boo took his young friend by the hand, and on entering the parlour went up to the father, and, laying hold of his hand joined it with that of his son, and pressing them together, dropped over both those tears of sensibility, which his affectionate heart could not on the occasion suppress.

Captain Wilson and the young Prince dining with me early after his arrival, I was asking how he was affected by painting; on mentioning the subject, Dr. Carmichael Smyth, whom I had requested to meet this stranger, wished me to bring a miniature of myself, that we might all thereby observe if it struck him; he took it in his hand, and instantly darting his eyes toward me, called out, *Miss Keate—very nice, very good.*—The captain then asking him, if he understood what it signified? he replied, *Lee Boo understand well—that Miss Keate die—this Miss Keate live.*—A treatise on the utility and intent  
of

of portrait-painting could not have better defined the art than this little sentence.

Mrs. Wilson desiring Lee Boo, who was on the opposite side of the table, to send her some cherries, perceiving that he was going to take them up with his fingers, jocosely noticed it to him, he instantly resorted to a spoon; but, sensible that he had discovered a little unpoliteness, his countenance was in a moment suffused with a blush, that visibly forced itself through his dark complexion."

"He was fond of riding in a coach beyond any other conveyance, because, he said, people could be carried where they wanted to go, and at the same time sit and converse together. He seemed particularly pleased at going to church, and, though he could not comprehend the service, yet he perfectly understood the intent of it, and always behaved there with remarkable propriety and attention.

Captain Wilson kept him from going abroad, except to visit friends, for the reason already assigned\*, as also from another prudential consideration, that his mind might be tranquil, nor too much drawn off from the great object in view, the attaining the language, which would enable him to comprehend fully every purposed information, and to enjoy better whatever he should then be shewn. The river, the shipping, and the bridges he was forcibly struck with; and he was several times taken to see the guards exercised and march in St. James's park, a sight which gratified him much, every thing that was military

greatly engaging his attention. To a young creature, situated as he was, and whose eye and mind were ever in quest of information, circumstances perpetually occurred, that *at the time* interested those who were about him, but which *at present* would be trespassing too much on the reader to mention.

I went to see him the morning after Lunardi's first ascent in the balloon, not doubting but that I should have found him to the greatest degree astonished at an exhibition which had excited so much curiosity even amongst ourselves; but, to my great surprize, it did not appear to have engaged him in the least. He said, *he thought it a very foolish thing to ride in the air like a bird, when a man could travel so much more pleasantly on horseback, or in a coach.*—He was either not aware of the difficulty, or hazard of the enterprize, or it is not improbable that a man flying up through the clouds, suspended at a balloon, might have been ranked by him as a common occurrence, in a country which was perpetually spreading before him so many subjects of surprize."

"He was now proceeding with hasty strides in gaining the English language, and advancing so rapidly with his pen, that he would probably in a short time have written a very fine hand, when he was overtaken with that very disease, which with so much caution had been guarded against. On the 16th of December he felt himself much indisposed, and in a day or two after an eruption appeared all over him. —Captain Wilson called to inform

\* Left he should accidentally catch the small-pox, for which it was intended that he should be inoculated.



me of his uneasiness, and was then going to Dr. Carmichael Smyth, to request he would see him, apprehending that it might be the small-pox.

Dr. Smyth, with whose professional abilities are united every accomplishment of the scholar and the gentleman, and whose friendship I feel a pride in acknowledging myself long possessed of, desired me to go with him to Rotherhithe. When he descended from Lee Boo's chamber (where he rather wished me not to go) he told the family that there was not a doubt with respect to the disease, and was sorry to add (what he thought it right to prepare them for) that the appearances were such as almost totally precluded the hope of a favourable termination; but that he had ordered whatever the present moment required. Captain Wilson earnestly solicited the continuance, if possible, of his visits, and was assured, that, however inconvenient the distance, he would daily attend the issue of the distemper.

When I went the second day, I found Mr. Sharp there, a gentleman so often mentioned in the foregoing narrative, who, hearing of his young friend's illness, had come to assist Captain Wilson, nor ever stirred from the house, till poor Lee Boo had yielded to his fate.

The Captain having never had the small-pox himself, was now precluded going into Lee Boo's room, who, informed of the cause, acquiesced in being deprived of seeing him, still continuing to be full of inquiries after his health, fearing he might catch the disease; but though Captain Wilson complied with the request of his family in not going into the chamber, yet he never ab-

sented himself from the house; and Mr. Sharp constantly took care that every direction was duly attended to, and from him I received the account of our unfortunate young stranger during his illness, which he bore with great firmness of mind, never refusing to take any thing that was ordered for him, when told that Dr. Smyth, (to whose opinion he paid the greatest deference) desired it.—Mrs. Wilson happening to have some indisposition at this time, which confined her to her bed, Lee Boo, on hearing of it, became impatient, saying, *What, Mother ill? Lee Boo get up to see her: which he did, and would go to her apartment, to be satisfied how she really was.*

On the Thursday before his death, walking across the room, he looked at himself in the glass (his face being then much swelled and disfigured); he shook his head, and turned away, as if disgusted at his own appearance, and told Mr. Sharp, that *his father and mother much grieve, for they knew he was very sick*; this he repeated several times.—At night, growing worse, he appeared to think himself in danger; he took Mr. Sharp by the hand, and, fixing his eyes steadfastly on him, with earnestness said, *Good friend, when you go to Pelew, tell Abba Thulle that Lee Boo take much drink to make small-pox go away, but he die;—that the Captain and Mother (meaning Mrs. Wilson) very kind—all English very good men;—was much sorry he could not speak to the king the number of fine things the English had got.*—Then he reckoned what had been given him as presents, which he wished Mr. Sharp would distribute, when he went back, among the Chiefs; and requested

quested that very particular care might be taken of the blue glass barrels on pedestals, which he directed should be given to the King.

Poor Tom Rose, who stood at the foot of his young master's bed, was shedding tears at hearing all this, which Lee Boo observing, rebuked him for his weakness, asking, *Why should he be crying so because Lee Boo die?*

Whatever he felt, his spirit was above complaining; and Mrs. Wilson's chamber being adjoining to his own, he often called out to inquire if she was better, always adding, lest she might suffer any disquietude on his account, *Lee Boo do well, Mother.* The small-pox, which had been out eight or nine days, not rising, he began to feel himself sink, and told Mr. Sharp *he was going away.* His mind, however, remained perfectly clear and calm to the last, though what he suffered in the latter part of his existence was severe indeed; the strength of his constitution struggled long and hard against the venom of his distemper, till exhausted nature yielded in the contest."

"Captain Wilson notified to the India House the unfortunate death of this young man; and received orders to conduct every thing with proper decency respecting his funeral. He was interred in Rotherhithe church-yard, the Captain and his brother attending. All the young people of the Academy joined in this testimony of regard; and the concourse of people at the church was so great, that it appeared as if the whole parish had assembled to join in seeing the last ceremonies paid to one who was so much beloved by all who had known him in it.

The India Company, soon after, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave, with the following inscription, which I have transcribed from it:

To the Memory  
of Prince LEE BOO,  
A native of the PELEW, or PALOS Islands;  
and Son to ABBA THULLE, Rupack  
or King  
of the Island COOROOBAA;  
who departed this Life on the 27th of December 1784,  
aged 20 Years;  
This Stone is inscribed,  
by the Honourable United EAST INDIA  
COMPANY,  
as a Testimony of Esteem,  
for the humane and kind Treatment afforded  
by HIS FATHER to the Crew of their Ship  
the ANTELOPE, Captain WILSON,  
which was wrecked off that Island  
in the Night of the 9th of August 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop!—let NATURE claim a  
Tear—  
A Prince of Mine, LEE BOO, lies bury'd  
here."

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*Some Remarks and Anecdotes relative  
to the late Duchess of Kingston;  
from An Authentic Detail of Particulars  
relative to her Grace, during her  
Connection with the Duke,  
her Residence at Dresden, Vienna,  
St. Petersburg, Paris, &c.*

"SHE was a woman, the leading features of whose character are more discoverable from a review of her conduct, than from any delineation in the power of the pen to give. If she might be allowed to know herself, her own description of the mutability of her nature should pass for the truth. Her words were these: "I should  
"detest myself, if I were two hours  
"in the same temper." What she said, she verified; for she was alternately

nately changing from humour to humour. This instability it was which, in the early part of life, occasioned her to be surrounded more with admirers, than friends; and from the hour of her conviction, to the moment of her death, she had not one friend attached to her from a principle of cordial esteem. The Empress of Russia was much disposed to favour her; but, after the novelty of the meeting was over, there was even too much of sameness in the interviews with her Majesty, to be endured. Those to whom the Duchess shewed any thing like steadiness, were companions of her own selection, and she was ever sure to err most grossly in her choice. Her benefits, and her friendships, were bestowed on the unworthy. Of the latter assertion, the following anecdote is a proof:

In one of her peregrinations, the Duchess met with a person, habited as a pilgrim. His figure was a good one. In his eye there was penetration, and in the whole of his countenance there was marked expression. He was much inclined to cultivate an intimacy with the Duchess; but he rather chose to correspond, than converse with her. This arose from a consciousness of a brilliancy of style of which he was master; and, instantly perceiving how open to flattery the lady was, he thought it could be more delicately conveyed in an epistolary way. He carried his point—left her Grace, when she strongly solicited him to remain with her. The correspondence commenced. The letters teemed with professions of admiration of so illustrious a character as the Duchess. She was more than woman! The wonder of the age! and deserving celebrity

to the end of time! This incense was the more acceptable, because offered by a total stranger. Her Grace became enamoured with the pilgrim, and, as there was something of mystery in his manner and garb, she was solicitous to have the whole explained. This favour, however, was denied, and the only thing which she could obtain was, an appointment to meet her at a future time. The correspondence, in the interim, continued; and the letters were in the same adulatory vein. The appointed time arrived; and the Duchess, instead of a pilgrim, met an *abbé*. It then became necessary to throw the veil a little aside. The stranger gave an account of himself, and thus ran his story:—That he was by birth an *Albanian Prince*. That he had travelled through Europe, under different disguises, and had only formed attachments with the most exalted personages. At Berlin, Prince Henry of Prussia had honoured him with his intimacy; at Rome, most of the cardinals were his familiars; their Neapolitan majesties particularly esteemed him; and with the Emperor of Germany, he was most intimate! This style was the very thing. It operated like a charm. The name of the stranger was required; and he announced his travelling one to be “Worta.” Who Worta really was, the Duchess never inquired. She took it on trust that he was a very great man; and as for his honesty, it was a quality entirely out of the question. The diamond box was exhibited to Worta, and he admired as the Duchess directed. A ring of value was presented him; and he being a *prince*, it was deemed very gracious in him to accept it. At last, the object in view was disclosed.

disclosed. Wortá having satisfied himself with the visits he made to the different courts of the reigning powers, proposed returning to his own country; and could his bed be honoured with a partner like the Duchess, a scene of connubial felicity would be completed. To this language the Duchess listened with infinite pleasure; and, had there not been an insurmountable obstacle, she actually would have given her hand and fortune to an adventurer. This Wortá very lately committed several forgeries in Holland, and being apprehended, he dispatched himself by a dose of poison\*.

As a contrast to this instance of imposture and credulity, there was a *real* prince, who made the Duchess an offer of his hand, and that after an attachment which had subsisted twenty years. On a visit to the court of Saxony, the Duchess first met Prince Radzivil, an illustrious personage, who had pretensions to the crown of Poland†. This high character lived in a style of dignified splendor, which excited the admiration of those who knew not the amount of his immense revenues. The Duchess, struck with the grandeur of his state, practised every ingratiating art which might attract

esteem. In this, she proved to be successful as to engage the heart of the Prince in her favour. This was all she wanted; for, the consequences of the engagement were, magnificent presents, and a correspondence carried on, during a succession of years. When the Duchess was about to make a second visit to Petersburg, proposing to travel thither by land, she signified, in a letter to Prince Radzivil, her intention of taking his dominions in her route. The Prince, the force of whose affection had not been abated by time, received the determination as an announcement of his approaching happiness. The place of meeting was fixed, and, as there was something singularly romantic in the style in which the interview was conducted, a description of it, as detailed by a foreign gentleman, who was of the party, may not prove unentertaining to the reader.

Berge, a village in a duchy belonging to Prince Radzivil, was assigned for the rendezvous. It is situated about forty miles from *Riga*. The Duchess being there arrived, was waited on by an officer in the retinue of the Prince, who was commissioned to inform her Grace, that his master proposed to dispense with the ceremonials of rank, and visit

\* Wortá, whoever he might be, was entitled to praise, as a man of talents. During the contest between Great Britain and America, he wrote several little pieces, in support of what he termed "The honourable cause of *les pauvres Américains*." Beside this subject, there is a small tract by Wortá, intitled, "*L'Homme à scope Politique*." In this he extols the character of Prince Henry of Prussia, whom he styles his dear and intimate friend. There is also another small production, containing a selection of Poetic Pieces, professedly translated from a Turkish author, but really written by Wortá. His language, in prose, is energetic in the extreme; in poetry, it is mellifluous, and full of tenderness. He had certainly strong feelings, and a very superior understanding. To each of his publications, there is an engraving of himself prefixed, which is encircled by stars, and rays, from a small represented sun, darting on the top of his head. He was, altogether, a most extraordinary character.

† This illustrious Pole is now living, and about sixty-five years of age.

her



her as a friend. The next morning was the time specified for this visit taking place. In the interim, the Ducheſs was entreated to permit herſelf to be eſcorted to an hotel, ten miles diſtant, whither the Prince had diſpatched his own cooks, and other attendants, to wait on her Grace. The next morning, the *viſit, without ceremony*, took place, and thus was it conducted. Prince Radzivil came with forty carriages, each drawn by ſix horſes; and the different vehicles contained his nieces, the ladies of his principality, and other illuſtrious characters. In addition to theſe, there were ſix hundred horſes led in train, a thouſand dogs, and ſeveral boars; a guard of huſſars completed the ſuite. Such an aſſemblage, in a country ſurrounded by wood, gave an air of romance to the interview, which was ſtill more heightened by the manner in which the Prince contrived to amuſe his female gueſt. He made two feaſts, and they were ordered in the following ſtyle. The Prince had cauſed a village to be erected, conſiſting of forty houſes, all of wood, and fancifully decorated with leaves and branches. Theſe houſes formed a circle; in the middle of which, three ſpacious rooms were erected, one for the Prince, a ſecond for his ſuite, and the third for the reſta. Entering the village, in the way to the rooms, all the houſes were ſhut, and the inhabitants appeared to have retired to reſt. The entertainment, at the rooms, opened with ſplendid fire-works, on an adjoining piece of water, and two veſſels encountered each other in a mock engagement.

The feaſt ſucceeded.—Every thing was ſerved on plate, and ſumptuous were the diſhes. The Ducheſs, who was fascinated by a reception ſo ſuperb, entered with all the exhilaration of ſpirits into the feſtivity of the evening; and amuſed the company with the following ſong:

“ Dans mon petit réduit,  
“ Je vis a mon aïſe,  
“ Je n’ai qu’une table, et un lit,  
“ Un verre, et une chaiſe.

“ Mais je m’en fert chaque jour,  
“ Pour careſſer tour à tour,  
“ Ma peinte et ma mie au guet,  
“ Ma peinte et ma mie.”

The feaſt being ended, Prince Radzivil conducted the Ducheſs to the village, the houſes of which were ſhut before, and on a ſudden they were converted into forty open ſhops, brilliantly decorated, and containing the richeſt commodities of different kinds. From theſe ſhops the Prince ſelected a variety of articles, and preſented them to the Ducheſs. A magnificent topaz, rings, boxes, trinkets of all deſcriptions, compoſed the gifts\*. The company then returned to the rooms, which were thrown into one, and a ball was opened by Prince Radzivil and the Ducheſs. The minuets and dances being concluded, the company quitted the ball-room, and in an inſtant it was in a blaze; combuſtible matter having been previously diſpoſed throughout every part of the building. The people of the village were ſeen dancing round the fire. This entertainment, which is unexaggerated in the deſcription, was ſuppoſed to have coſt

\* The Ducheſs, through life, had been accuſtomed to receive preſents; and a great part of her perſonal property was acquired in this manner.

Prince Radzivil, at a moderate computation, *five thousand pounds*.

His Highness ended not here. At a country seat, ten miles from *Niceiffuis*, his favourite town, he gave a second feast to the Duchefs. This feast was followed by a boar hunt; for the purpose of which, his dogs had been brought. The hunt was in a wood, at night. A regiment of hussars, with lighted torches in their hands, formed a circle; within which were huntsmen also with torches. The boar, thus surrounded by fire, was intimidated, and, after the usual sport, he fell a victim to his pursuers. At this hunt attended a numerous party of the Polish nobility. During fourteen days, the time of the Duchefs's continuance with Prince Radzivil, she dined and slept in different houses belonging to the Prince. As the retinue moved from place to place, they, on every third or fourth day, met a camp, formed of the Prince's own guard. Travelling at night from *Niceiffuis*, the roads were illuminated; guards accompanied as escorts, and, on the arrival of the Duchefs at the different towns belonging to the duchy of the Prince, the magistrates waited on her with their gratulations, and the cannon were fired. Here was transporting satisfaction! and yet, such was the oddity of the Duchefs, so unique was she in character, mind, and feeling, that, at the moment of her being complimented with a *feu de joye*, she only thus expressed her sentiments of the princely treatment: "He may fire as much as he pleases, but he shall not hit my mark!" These were her own

words; the commentary on them is obvious.

Beside this extraordinary display of magnificence, the Duchefs, during her residence in Poland, had also the honour to be entertained by one of the first characters in the theatre of the world. This was Count Oginski\*; of whom the late king of Prussia had so exalted an opinion, that he dispatched a letter to him, with the following superscribed orders: "This is to be forwarded to the Ornament of Human Nature!" Such a compliment, from a Sovereign who was not easily mistaken in characters, must have been highly flattering. But it did not exceed the merits of the Count; he was great, in every sense of the word. Beside being the munificent rewarder of talents, and the universal succourer of the distressed, his accomplishments were of the most endearing kind. At a concert which he gave the Duchefs, he performed on six different instruments. His establishment for musical entertainments cost him *fifty thousand ducats a year*; about twenty-five thousand pounds of our money. He had a theatre, in which plays, in the French, German, and Polish languages, were acted. Horses he had from the remotest countries; one, which he shewed the Duchefs, was brought him from Jerusalem. With Louis the XVth he had lived on terms of intimacy, residing nine years at the court of France. He painted inimitably; and, among other articles, the Duchefs saw a piece of his execution, which originated from the following incident: Louis the XVth and the Count were

\* Count Oginski is now alive, and universally revered.

walking in a garden, and the French monarch broke off a branch of an apple-tree, in high blossom, and throwing it at the count, he said, "Oginski, you must paint that for me." The count obeyed; and the demise of the king happening before the picture was finished, it remained in the possession of the count. At the mansion of this nobleman, the Duchefs continued a few days; and Prince Radzivil accompanying her there, an emulation seemed to pre-

vail who most should shew her a marked attention. She was, however, shackled, as it were, in mind. There was sameness even in princely splendor; and sameness to her was ever disgusting. An *aventurier*, like Wortá, could have succeeded, where a prince, like Radzivil, failed of his point\*. The one was a fixed, the other an eccentric character; and eccentricity, in every variation of form or action, accorded most forcibly with her feelings.

\* In so heterogeneous a character as that of the lady who is the subject of this detail, it is difficult to discriminate the propensities, and pronounce how far they are influenced by any genuine motive, or passion. The Duchefs had an apparent attachment to a Polish Bishop, the *Bishop of Wilna*. She also, when at Rome, discovered something more than friendship for the *Patriarch of Jerusalem*. The Bishop of *Wilna* first saw the Duchefs at *Rome*. He is a most amiable character; but perhaps it was more the vanity of inconsistency, than any real affection, which actuated the Duchefs in her apparent tenderness. To condemn the offers of *Prince Radzivil*, whom she actually might have married, and have had the loss of her fortune abundantly compensated, and to desire an union where it could not be obtained, was that species of contrariety, which distinguished this lady through life.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*Some Observations on the Heat of Wells and Springs in the Island of Jamaica, and on the Temperature of the Earth below the Surface in different Climates. By John Hunter, M.D. F.R.S.; communicated by the Hon. Henry Cavendish, F.R.S. From Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Vol. lxxviii. Part i.*

To the Hon. Mr. CAVENDISH.

SIR,

THE following observations on the heat of springs and wells, and their application towards determining the mean temperature of the earth in different climates, were suggested by you in some conversation on that subject, previous to my going to Jamaica in 1780. If you think them deserving the attention of the Royal Society, I must beg the favour of you to lay them before that learned body.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN HUNTER.

THE great difference between the temperature of the open air, and that of deep caverns or mines, has long been taken notice of, both as matter of curiosity and surprize.

After thermometers were brought to a tolerable degree of perfection, and meteorological registers were kept with accuracy, it became a problem, to determine what the cause was of this difference between the heat of the air, and the heat of the earth; for it was soon found, that the temperature of mines and caverns did not depend upon any thing peculiar to them; but that a certain depth under ground, whether in a cave, a mine, or a well, was sufficient to produce a very sensible difference in the heat. In observations of this kind, there was perhaps nothing more striking, than that the heat in such caves was nearly the same in summer and winter; and this even in changeable climates, that admitted of great variation between the extremes of heat in summer, and cold in winter. There is an example of this in the cave of the Royal Observatory at Paris. The explanations, which have been attempted of this phænomenon, have turned chiefly upon a supposition, that there was an internal source of heat in the earth itself, totally independent of the influence of the sun\*. M. de Mairan has bestowed much labour on this subject, and by observation and calculation is led to con-

\* Vid. Martine's Essays, p. 319.



clude, that of the  $1026^{\circ}$  of heat (by Reaumur's scale), which he finds to be the heat of summer at Paris,  $34^{\circ},02$  only proceed from the sun, and the remaining  $991^{\circ},98$  from the earth, by emanations of heat from the center\*. The proportion therefore of heat derived from this latter source is to that of the sun, as  $29,16$  to  $1$ . It must be evident, that an hypothesis of this kind, which renders the influence of the sun of small account, is directly contrary to the general experience and conviction of mankind. Without entering, however, into any discussion of the *data* from whence M. de Mairan draws his conclusions, it will be more satisfactory to consider what the effect of the operation of those laws of heat, with which we are acquainted, would be.

And first, it is well known, that heat in all bodies has a tendency to diffuse itself equally through every part of them, till they become of the same temperature. Again, bodies of a large mass are both cooled and heated slowly. Besides the mass of matter, there are two other considerations of much importance in the slow or quick transmission of heat through bodies; these are their different conducting powers, and their being in a state of solidity or fluidity. The conducting powers of heat are well known to be very various in different bodies; nor are they hitherto reducible to any law, depending either upon the density, or chemical properties of matter. Metals of all kinds are good conductors of heat, while glass, an heavy, solid, homogeneous body, is

an extremely bad conductor, even when a metallic calx enters largely into its composition, as in flint-glass. A state of fluidity greatly promotes the diffusion of heat; for a body in a fluid state, by the particles moving readily among each other from their different densities or other causes, mixes the warm and cold parts together, which occasions a quick communication of heat. To apply these observations to the present subject; the surface of the earth being exposed to the great heats of summer, and the colds of winter, or more properly the low degree of heat of winter, will receive a larger proportion of heat in the former season, and a smaller in the latter; and being further of a large mass, and of a porous and spongy substance, and therefore not quickly sensible to small variations of heat, it will become of a mean temperature at a certain depth, between the heat of summer, and the cold of winter, provided it contain no internal source of heat within itself. This conclusion is strictly agreeable to the experiments and observations hitherto made, in heating and cooling bodies, or in mixing portions of matter of the same kind of different temperatures†. Water, though in a large mass, follows in some degree the heat and cold of our summer and winter, from the mobility of its parts occasioning a more speedy diffusion of heat. Air is quickly susceptible of heat, and from the expansions produced in it, and consequent motions in the whole mass, the temperature is soon rendered uniform.

The changes in the heat of the air are what we have measured, and

\* *Memoir. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1719 et 1765.*

† *Vid. De Luc Modifications de l'Atmosphere, Vol. I. p. 285.*

we are to be understood to speak of them, when we talk of the temperature of summer and winter. It may be asked then, Is the heat of the sun first communicated to the air, and thereby to the earth? No, the air is susceptible of a very small degree of heat from the rays of the sun passing through it; for it is well known, they produce no heat in a transparent medium, and consequently, that the air is only so far heated as it differs from a medium that is perfectly transparent. The heat produced by the rays of the sun bears a proportion to their number, their duration, and their falling more or less perpendicularly; and it takes place at the points where they strike an opaque and non-reflecting surface. The surface of the earth may therefore be considered as the place, from whence the heat proceeds, which is communicated to the air above, and the earth below. That this is really the case is evident from the superior degree of heat, produced by the action of the rays of the sun upon an opaque body, which will often be heated to  $150^{\circ}$  (Fahrenheit), while the temperature of the air is not above  $90^{\circ}$  \*. It may seem, therefore, that to measure the heat communicated to the earth, it should be done at the surface, where the action of the rays immediately takes place. But though the heat be produced at the surface, it is communicated freely to the air as well as the earth; and though the apparent intensity of heat be greater in the earth, from the rays of light acting for a longer time upon the same parts of matter, yet there is

little doubt that much the greater part is carried off by the air, which as it is heated flies off, and allows a fresh portion of cold air to come in contact with the heated surface. But still it is immaterial, whether the heat of the sun be excited more in the earth or in the air; for whichever has the larger proportion will in the end communicate a part to the other, and so restore the balance. The same observation applies to such causes of cold as may operate at the surface of the earth, as evaporation, and that taken notice of by Mr. Wilson †. The air, therefore, near the surface of the earth will shew by a thermometer in the shade nearly, if not exactly, the same degree of heat that the sun communicates to our terrestrial globe; and if a mean of the heats thus shewn be taken for the year round, and we penetrate into the earth to that depth, that it is no longer affected either by the daily, monthly, or annual variations of heat, the temperature at such depth should be equal to the annual mean above mentioned. To ascertain this with the utmost precision, it must be obvious, that numerous observations should be made every day, corresponding to the frequent changes of temperature, which are known to happen in the course of the twenty-four hours in all climates; and upon these a daily mean should be taken, and the annual mean deduced therefrom. This has not yet been done, but where we have observations from which a mean temperature can be deduced with any degree of certainty, it will be found not to differ greatly from the heat

\* Martine's Essays, p. 309.

† Vid. Phil. Trans. Vol. LXX. p. 451. and Vol. LXXI. p. 386.

of deep caves, or wells in the same climate. If further experience and observation should confirm the above opinions, it will be attended with this advantage; that we shall be possessed of an easy and ready method of ascertaining the mean temperature of any climate; which, with a few observations of the extremes of heat and cold at particular seasons, will teach us as much of the country, with regard to heat and cold, as the meteorological observations of several years.

For obtaining the temperature of the earth the best observations are probably to be collected from wells of a considerable depth, and in which there is not much water. Springs issuing from the earth, although indicating the temperature of the ground from whence they proceed, are not so much to be depended upon as wells; for the course of the spring may be derived from high grounds in the neighbourhood, and it will thence be colder; it may run so near the surface as to be liable to variations of heat and cold from summer and winter; or it may be exposed to local causes of heat in the bowels of the earth. Wells seem also better than deep caverns, for the apertures to such are often large, and may admit enough of the external air to occasion some change in their temperature. Wells are not, however, to be met with in all places, and in that case we must remain satisfied with the temperature of the springs.

The following observations were made in the island of Jamaica, where there are flat lands in many parts towards the coast, but all the interior part of the country is mountainous. The heat is greatest in the low lands, and decreases as you

ascend the mountains. The town of Kingston is supplied with water from wells. The ground on which it stands rises with a gentle ascent as you recede from the sea. In the low part of the town the wells are but a few feet deep, and many of them brackish. The heat of the water in some of them I have found as high as  $82^{\circ}$ ; but they were evidently too near the surface not to be affected by the heat of the seasons. As you ascend, the wells are deeper, and the temperature is nearly  $80^{\circ}$  in all of them. What variations there are, come within one degree, that is, half a degree less than  $80^{\circ}$ , or half a degree more. They are of different depths, and some not less than 100 feet; though, after they are of half that depth, the temperature is nearly uniform. At the Governor's Pen, which is also in the low part of the country, a well, which is above 60 feet deep, is  $79\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . There is a well at Half-way-Tree, 243 feet deep, which is  $79^{\circ}$ . Half-way-Tree is two miles from Kingston, with a very gentle ascent. Near Rock-Fort is a spring, immediately at the foot of the long mountain, which throws out a great body of water; the heat of it is  $79^{\circ}$ . All the places mentioned are but very little above the level of the sea, probably not more than the depth of the wells at the respective places; for near Kingston there are springs that appear just below the water-mark of the sea, and those that supply the wells are probably upon the same level.

The temperature of the air at Kingston admits but of small variation. The thermometer, at the hottest time of the day, and during the hottest season of the year, ranges from  $85^{\circ}$  to  $90^{\circ}$ ; in the coolest season,

son, and observed about sun-rise, which is the coldest time in the twenty-four hours, it ranges from  $70^{\circ}$  to  $77^{\circ}$ . I have seen it once as low as  $69^{\circ}$ , and two different times as high at  $91^{\circ}$ . The annual mean temperature cannot, therefore, either much exceed, or fall much short of,  $80^{\circ}$ , as indicated by the wells.

The following springs were examined with much accuracy by the Hon. Mr. Sewell, Attorney General of the island.

Ayscough's spring, on the road from Spanish Town to Pufey's, in St. John's parish,  $75^{\circ}$ .

Pufey's spring, still higher in the mountains.  $72^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$ .

A spring near the barracks at Points Hill in St. John's parish,  $70^{\circ}$ .

The thermometer in the shade at Pufey's, during part of the month of June, was found to range from  $69^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$  to  $79^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ . It was observed both late at night, and early in the morning before sun-rise.

The spring in Brailsford Valley, about ten miles above Spanish Town, is  $75^{\circ}$ . The spring at Stoney Hill is  $71^{\circ}$ . These were examined by Mr. Home.

Mr. Wallen's house, at Cold Spring, stands the highest of any in the island. By a measurement, said to have been made by Mr. McFarlane, it is reported to be 1400 yards above the level of the sea. On the road to it, and about a mile below Mr. Wallen's house, there is a spring that issues from the side of the hill, of the temperature of  $65^{\circ}$ . Cold Spring, which gives a name to the place, is about fifty feet below the house, and the heat of it is  $61^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$ . The thermometer in the shade at

Mr. Wallen's house, for some days in the month of April, ranged from  $57^{\circ}$  to  $67^{\circ}$ . It may be remarked, that the higher the springs the colder they are; and, as far as a conjecture can be formed from so few observations, they would appear not to differ much from the mean temperature of their respective places\*.

It will not be out of place to add some observations made in England, relative to the same subject. The wells in and about London are either of no great depth, or are full of water, which are both considerable objections to their giving a mean temperature. The want of depth will make them subject to the variations of the seasons; and a large quantity of water, even in a deep well, will take the temperature of the air more or less: for any change of temperature communicated at the surface will, from the fluidity of the water, be readily diffused through the whole. I suspect it is owing to this cause, that the wells in the neighbourhood of Brighthelmston vary from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$ , for those were the highest that had most water in them. My observations were made in summer. These wells are of various depths, from 15 to 150 feet. That which I always found the coldest is not more than 22 feet deep; I never found its heat greater than  $50^{\circ}$ . It is near the beach, and is a tide well, that is, the water in it rises and falls, and in so doing does not correspond exactly with the tides, but follows them with an interval of about three hours. At the lowest there is not more than a foot of water in it; and it may be considered as a subterraneous spring running through the

\* The thermometers made use of were all made by Mr. Ramsden



bottom of the well. There are in fact numerous springs that break out upon the sand, a few feet above the low-water-mark, which are doubtless the same that supply the wells. As we are not acquainted with any cause that produces cold in the bowels of the earth, we must necessarily in every climate, consider the lowest degree of heat as approaching nearest to the mean temperature; and therefore we cannot conclude the mean temperature at Brighthelmstone to be more than  $50^{\circ}$ . The mean temperature of London is computed about  $52^{\circ}$ \*; but Brighthelmstone is nearly fifty miles farther south than London, and is immediately upon the sea, and must therefore be at least as warm as London. It is evident, that the observations from which the mean is taken, must generally contain more of the extremes of heat than of cold, as the former happen in the day-time, and the latter in the night, in consequence of which they will often escape notice. There is a table constructed by Dr. Heberden†, expressing the heat in London for every month in the year, from a mean of ten years beginning with 1763, and ending with 1772. The mean temperature is given both at 8 A. M. and 2 P. M. There is further in the table, a column of the mean of the greatest monthly colds in the night, observed during the same ten years by Lord Charles Cavendish, in Marlborough-street. There will not probably be any great error in considering the heat observed at 2

P. M. as the greatest daily heat; and taking a mean between the greatest heats of the day, and greatest colds of the night, they give  $49^{\circ}, 196$  for an annual mean, which is much lower than is commonly supposed. At the house of George Glenney, Esq; near Bromley, there is a well seventy-five feet deep, which I found in November  $49^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ . M. de Mairan has given a table of the greatest heats and greatest colds observed at Paris for fifty-six years, beginning from 1701; and a mean of them is  $10^{\circ}$  above freezing, or  $1010^{\circ}$ , of Reaumur's scale‡. The temperature of the cave of the Observatory where those observations were made, is  $10^{\circ}\frac{1}{4}$  above freezing, by the same scale of Reaumur. There appears not therefore any necessity for an internal heat; on the contrary, it is matter of demonstration, that were there any source of heat in the earth which was not equally in the air, the heat of the interior parts ought to be higher than a mean: and did the *central heat* bear as high a proportion to that of the sun as M. de Mairan alleges, the heat of the earth itself ought to be a great deal above the mean temperature of the air, which from observation there is no ground for believing. It is easy to see the source of M. de Mairan's error; he has founded his calculations upon the scale of Reaumur, and considers the degrees of his thermometer as marking the real proportions, and absolute quantity of heat§. It is a matter that cannot be denied, that we know nothing of the absolute

\* Kirwan's Temperature of different Latitudes, p. 73.

† The Table alluded to follows this Paper.

‡ Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1765, p. 202.

§ Vid. Memoir. de l'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1765, p. 143.

quantities of heat; and that the degrees of our thermometers are only to be considered as a few of the middle links of a chain, the length of which we are totally ignorant of, and therefore in no condition to compare its proportional parts. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that observations of a late date have shewn, that the notions of cold upon which Reaumur's scale was constructed, and upon which M. de Mairan's calculations are founded, are imaginary and without foundation\*.

Hot springs and volcanos may be produced as proofs of the existence of an internal source of heat in the earth; but their operation appears to be limited to a very small extent, and scarcely deserving of notice in the present discussion. It is no uncommon thing to find springs of the usual temperature close by hot springs; and no volcano, with which we are yet acquainted, appears to have raised the temperature of the country immediately adjoining to it.

The sea admits of change of temperature more quickly than the earth, particularly near the shore. The mean heat of the sea at Bright-helmstone, during the months of July, August, September, and October, was as follows:

July	63° $\frac{1}{7}$
August	63° $\frac{1}{2}$
September	58°
October	53°

The observations were made with a view to ascertain the temperature of the sea as a bath, and therefore the heat was taken about nine in the morning, and near the shore,

the usual time and place of bathing. The water gets hotter towards three o'clock in the afternoon, so that it not only follows the monthly, but even the daily changes of the temperature of the air. In the four months just mentioned, the extremes of heat and cold are considerable: I have seen it as hot as 71°, and as cold as 49°. In the month of August last, Sir Henry Englefield examined the heat of the sea at the same time that I did, and we both found it 71°: it was about 4 P.M. of a very hot day. I may be allowed to remark, that sea-bathing is a very different thing at different seasons of the year, and requires an acquaintance with the variations of the temperature, to adapt it to particular cases.

It were to be wished, that the heat of wells and springs were examined at different seasons of the year, in order to ascertain the effect of summer and of winter upon them. The wells at New York are from 32 to 40 feet in depth, and Dr. Nooth found them to have an annual variation of two degrees from 54° to 56°. There are few countries, in which the annual range of the thermometer is greater than at New York, and the neighbouring parts of America. In the summer it is often as high as 96°, and in winter it has been observed several degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale.

We may, I think, from all the observations we are yet in possession of, conclude, that there is at present no source of heat in the earth, capable of affecting the temperature of a country, which is not

\* Vid, Phil. Trans. Vol. LXXIII. p. \*303. 303. and 329.

derived from the sun; and that the earth, whatever changes of temperature it may be conjectured to have undergone in former periods, is now

reduced to a mean of the heat produced by the sun in different seasons, and in different climates.

*A Table of the mean Heat of every Month, for Ten Years, in London, from 1763 to 1772 inclusively. By William Heberden, M.D. F.R.S. and A.S. From the same Work.*

		At 8 A.M.	At 2 P.M.	Mean.	Night.
		°	°	°	°
12	January	35	39	37	34.7
10	February	38	43	40.5	36.6
9	March	39	45	42	37.1
7	April	44	52	48	41.3
5	May	51	59	55	46.4
3	June	57	65	61	52.4
2	July	59	68	63.5	55.6
1	August	60	68	64	55.1
4	September	55	63	59	51.7
6	October	48	55	51.5	45.5
8	November	43	48	45.5	40
11	December	39	42	40.5	37.3

### EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE.

The first column of figures denotes the order of the months according to their degrees of heat, beginning with August, in which the heat is greatest.

The second and third are the heats marked at the hour expressed at the top of each column, and the fourth is the mean between these two.

The last column is the mean of the greatest cold at night, observed in Marlborough Street for twenty years, by the late Right honourable Lord Charles Cavendish.

*Observations on the Natural History of the Cuckoo. By Mr. Edward Jenner. From Part ii. of the same Volume.*

TO JOHN HUNTER, Esq.

Dear Sir,

**H**AVING, at your request, employed some of my leisure hours in attending to the natural history of the cuckoo, I beg leave to lay before you the result of my observations; with a hope that they may tend to illustrate a subject hitherto not sufficiently investigated; and should what is here offered prove, in your opinion, deserving the attention of the Royal Society, you will do me the honour of presenting it to that learned body.

The first appearance of cuckoos in Gloucestershire (the part of England where these observations were made) is about the 17th of April. The song of the male, which is well known, soon proclaims its arrival. The song of the female (if the peculiar notes of which it is composed may be so called) is widely different, and has been so little attended to, that I believe few are acquainted with it. I know not how to convey to you a proper idea of it by a comparison with the notes of any other bird; but the cry of the dab-chick bears the nearest resemblance to it.

Unlike the generality of birds, cuckoos do not pair. When a female appears on the wing, she is often attended by two or three males, who seem earnestly contending for her favours. From the time of her

appearance, till after the middle of summer, the nests of the birds selected to receive her eggs are to be found in great abundance; but, like the other migrating birds, she does not begin to lay till some weeks after her arrival. I never could procure an egg till after the middle of May, though probably an early-coming cuckoo may produce one sooner\*.

The cuckoo makes choice of the nests of a variety of small birds. I have known its egg intrusted to the care of the hedge-sparrow, the water-wagtail, the titlark, the yellow-hammer, the green-linnet, and the whinchat. Among these it generally selects the three former; but shews a much greater partiality to the hedge-sparrow than to any of the rest: therefore, for the purpose of avoiding confusion, this bird only, in the following account, will be considered as the foster-parent of the cuckoo, except in instances which are particularly specified.

The hedge-sparrow commonly takes up four or five days in laying her eggs. During this time (generally after she has laid one or two) the cuckoo contrives to deposit her egg among the rest, leaving the future care of it entirely to the hedge-sparrow. This intrusion often occasions some discomposure; for the old hedge-sparrow at intervals, whilst she is sitting, not unfrequently throws out some of her own eggs, and sometimes injures them in such a way that they become addle; so that it more frequently happens, that only two or three hedge-sparrow's eggs are

\* What is meant by an *early-coming* cuckoo, I shall more fully explain in a paper I intend to lay before you on the Migration of birds; but it may be necessary to mention here, that Migrating birds of the same species arrive and depart in succession. Cuckoos, for example, appear in greater numbers on the second than on the first week of their arrival, and they disappear in the same gradual manner.

hatched



hatched with the cuckoo's than otherwise: but whether this be the case or not, she sits the same length of time as if no foreign egg had been introduced, the cuckoo's egg requiring no longer incubation than her own. However, I have never seen an instance where the hedge-sparrow has either thrown out or injured the egg of the cuckoo.

When the hedge-sparrow has sat her usual time, and disengaged the young cuckoo and some of her own offspring from the shell \*, her own young ones, and any of her eggs that remain unhatched, are soon turned out, the young cuckoo remaining possessor of the nest, and sole object of her future care. The young birds are not previously killed, nor are the eggs demolished, but all are left to perish together, either entangled about the bush which contains the nest, or lying on the ground under it.

The early fate of the young hedge-sparrows is a circumstance that has been noticed by others, but attributed to wrong causes. A variety of conjectures have been formed upon it. Some have supposed the parent cuckoo the author of their destruction; while others, as erroneously, have pronounced them smothered by the disproportionate size of their fellow nestling. Now the cuckoo's egg being not much larger than the hedge-sparrow's (as I shall more fully point out hereafter) it necessarily follows, that at first there can be no great difference in the size of the birds just burst from the shell. Of the fallacy of the former assertion also I

was some years ago convinced, by having found that many cuckoos eggs were hatched in the nests of other birds after the old cuckoo had disappeared; and by seeing the same fate then attend the nestling sparrows as during the appearance of old cuckoos in this country. But, before I proceed to the facts relating to the death of the young sparrows, it will be proper to lay before you some examples of the incubation of the egg, and the rearing of the young cuckoo; since even the well-known fact, that this business is intrusted to the care of other birds, has been controverted by an author who has lately written on this subject †; and since, as it is a fact so much out of the ordinary course of nature, it may still probably be disbelieved by others.

*Example I.*

The Titlark is frequently selected by the cuckoo to take charge of its young one; but as it is a bird less familiar than many that I have mentioned, its nest is not so often discovered. I have, nevertheless, had several cuckoos eggs brought to me that were found in titlarks nests; and had one opportunity of seeing the young cuckoo in the nest of this bird: I saw the old birds feed it repeatedly, and, to satisfy myself that they were really titlarks, shot them both, and found them to be so.

*Example II.*

A cuckoo laid her egg in a water-wagtail's nest, in the thatch of an old cottage. The wagtail sat her

\* The young cuckoo is commonly hatched first.

† The honourable Daines Barrington.

usual time, and then hatched all the eggs but one; which, with all the young ones, except the cuckoo, was turned out of the nest. The young birds, consisting of five, were found upon a rafter, that projected from under the thatch, and with them was the egg, not in the least injured. On examining the egg, I found the young wagtail it contained quite perfect, and just in such a state as birds are when ready to be disengaged from the shell. The cuckoo was reared by the wagtails till it was nearly capable of flying, when it was killed by an accident.

*Example III.*

A hedge-sparrow built her nest in a hawthorn bush in a timber-yard: after she had laid two eggs, a cuckoo dropped in a third. The sparrow continued laying, as if nothing had happened, till she had laid five, her usual number, and then sat.

June 20, 1786. On inspecting the nest I found, that the bird had hatched this morning, and that every thing but the young cuckoo was thrown out. Under the nest I found one of the young hedge-sparrows dead, and one egg by the side of the nest entangled with the coarse woody materials that formed its outside covering. On examining the egg, I found one end of the shell a little cracked, and could see that the sparrow it contained was yet alive. It was then restored to the nest, but in a few minutes was thrown out. The egg being again suspended by the outside of the nest, was saved a second time from breaking. To see what would happen if the cuckoo was removed, I took out the cuckoo, and placed the egg containing the hedge-sparrow in the nest in its stead. The old birds,

during this time, flew about the spot, shewing signs of great anxiety; but when I withdrew, they quickly came to the nest again. On looking into it in a quarter of an hour afterward, I found the young one completely hatched, warm, and lively. The hedge-sparrows were suffered to remain undisturbed with their new charge for three hours (during which time they paid every attention to it) when the cuckoo was again put into the nest. The old sparrows had been so much disturbed by these intrusions, that for some time they showed an unwillingness to come to it: however, at length they came, and on examining the nest again in a few minutes, I found the young sparrow was tumbled out. It was a second time restored, but again experienced the same fate.

From these experiments, and supposing, from the feeble appearance of the young cuckoo just disengaged from the shell, that it was utterly incapable of displacing either the egg or the young sparrows, I was induced to believe, that the old sparrows were the only agents in this seeming unnatural business; but I afterwards clearly perceived the cause of this strange phenomenon, by discovering the young cuckoo in the act of displacing its fellow-nestlings, as the following relation will fully evince.

June 18, 1787, I examined the nest of a hedge-sparrow, which then contained a cuckoo's and three hedge sparrow's eggs. On inspecting it the day following, I found the bird had hatched, but that the nest now contained only a young cuckoo and one young hedge-sparrow. The nest was placed so near the extremity of a hedge; that I could distinctly see what was going forward in it; and,

to my astonishment, saw the young cuckoo, though so newly hatched, in the act of turning out the young hedge-sparrow.

The mode of accomplishing this was very curious. The little animal, with the assistance of its rump and wings, contrived to get the bird upon its back, and making a lodgment for the burden by elevating its elbows, clambered backward with it up the side of the nest till it reached the top, where resting for a moment, it threw off its load with a jerk, and quite disengaged it from the nest. It remained in this situation a short time, feeling about with the extremities of its wings, as if to be convinced whether the business was properly executed, and then dropped into the nest again. With these (the extremities of its wings) I have often seen it examine, as it were, an egg and nestling before it began its operations; and the nice sensibility which these parts appeared to possess seemed sufficiently to compensate the want of sight, which as yet it was destitute of. I afterwards put in an egg, and this, by a similar process, was conveyed to the edge of the nest, and thrown out. These experiments I have since repeated several times in different nests, and have always found the young cuckoo disposed to act in the same manner. In climbing up the nest, it sometimes drops its burden, and thus is foiled in its endeavours; but after a little respite, the work is resumed, and goes on almost incessantly till it is effected. It is wonderful to see the extraordinary exertions of the young cuckoo, when it is two or three days old, if a bird be put into the nest with it, that is too weighty for it to lift out. In this state it seems ever restless and uneasy. But this dispo-

sition for turning out its companions begins to decline from the time it is two or three till it is about twelve days old, when, as far as I have hitherto seen, it ceases. Indeed, the disposition for throwing out the egg appears to cease a few days sooner; for I have frequently seen the young cuckoo, after it had been hatched nine or ten days, remove a nestling that had been placed in the nest with it, when it suffered an egg, put there at the same time, to remain unmolested. The singularity of its shape is well adapted to these purposes; for, different from other newly-hatched birds, its back from the *scapulae* downwards is very broad, with a considerable depression in the middle. This depression seems formed by nature for the design of giving a more secure lodgment to the egg of the hedge-sparrow, or its young one, when the young cuckoo is employed in removing either of them from the nest. When it is above twelve days old, this cavity is quite filled up, and then the back assumes the shape of nestling birds in general.

Having found that the hedge-sparrow commonly throws out some of her own eggs after her nest has received the cuckoo's, and not knowing how she might treat her young ones, if the young cuckoo was deprived of the power of dispossessing them of the nest, I made the following experiment.

July 9. A young cuckoo, that had been hatched by a hedge-sparrow about four hours, was confined in the nest in such a manner that it could not possibly turn out the young hedge-sparrows which were hatched at the same time, though it was almost incessantly making attempts to effect it. The consequence was, the old birds fed the whole alike, and appeared

appeared in every respect to pay the same attention to their own young as to the young cuckoo, until the 13th, when the nest was unfortunately plundered.

The smallness of the cuckoo's egg in proportion to the size of the bird is a circumstance that hitherto, I believe, has escaped the notice of the ornithologist. So great is the disproportion, that it is in general smaller than that of the house sparrow; whereas the difference in the size of the birds is nearly as five to one. I have used the term in general, because eggs produced at different times by the same bird vary very much in size. I have found a cuckoo's egg so light that it weighed only forty-three grains, and one so heavy that it weighed fifty-five grains. The colour of the cuckoo's eggs is extremely variable. Some, both in ground and pencilling, very much resemble the house-sparrow's; some are indistinctly covered with bran-coloured spots; and others are marked with lines of black, resembling, in some measure, the eggs of the yellow-hammer.

The circumstance of the young cuckoo's being destined by nature to throw out the young hedge-sparrows, seems to account for the parent cuckoo's dropping her egg in the nests of birds so small as those I have particularised. If she were to do this in the nest of a bird which produced a large egg, and consequently a large nestling, the young

cuckoo would probably find an insurmountable difficulty in solely possessing the nest, as its exertions would be unequal to the labour of turning out the young birds\*. Besides, though many of the larger birds might have fed the nestling cuckoo very properly, had it been committed to their charge, yet they could not have suffered their own young to have been sacrificed, for the accommodation of the cuckoo, in such great number as the smaller ones, which are so much more abundant; for though it would be a vain attempt to calculate the numbers of nestlings destroyed by means of the cuckoo, yet the slightest observation would be sufficient to convince us that they must be very large.

Here it may be remarked, that though nature permits the young cuckoo to make this great waste, yet the animals thus destroyed are not thrown away or rendered useless. At the season when this happens, great numbers of tender quadrupeds and reptiles are seeking provision; and if they find the callow nestlings which have fallen victims to the young cuckoo, they are furnished with food well adapted to their peculiar state.

It appears a little extraordinary, that two cuckoo's eggs should ever be deposited in the same nest, as the young one produced from one of them must inevitably perish; yet I have known two instances of this kind, one of which I shall relate.

\* I have known an instance in which a hedge-sparrow sat upon a cuckoo's egg and one of her own. Her own egg was hatched five days before the cuckoo's, when the young hedge-sparrow had gained such a superiority in size that the young cuckoo had not powers sufficient to lift it out of the nest till it was two days old, by which time it was grown very considerably. This egg was probably laid by the cuckoo several days after the hedge-sparrow had begun to sit; and even in this case it appears, that its presence had created the disturbance before alluded to, as all the hedge-sparrow's eggs were gone except one.



June 27, 1787. Two cuckoos and a hedge-sparrow were hatched in the same nest this morning; one hedge-sparrow's egg remained unhatched. In a few hours after, a contest began between the cuckoos for the possession of the nest, which continued undetermined till the next afternoon; when one of them, which was somewhat superior in size, turned out the other, together with the young hedge-sparrow and the unhatched egg. This contest was very remarkable. The combatants alternately appeared to have the advantage, as each carried the other several times nearly to the top of the nest, and then sunk down again, oppressed by the weight of its burden; till at length, after various efforts, the strongest prevailed, and was afterwards brought up by the hedge-sparrows.

I come now, Sir, to consider the principal matter that has agitated the mind of the naturalist respecting the cuckoo—Why, like other birds, it should not build a nest, incubate its eggs, and rear its own young.

There is certainly no reason to be assigned from the formation of this bird why, in common with others, it should not perform all these several offices; for it is in every respect perfectly formed for collecting materials and building a nest. Neither its external shape nor internal structure prevent it from incubation; nor is it by any means incapacitated from bringing food to its young. It would be needless to enumerate the various opinions of authors on this subject, from Aristotle to the present time. Those of the ancients appear to be either visionary, or erroneous; and the attempts of the moderns towards its investigation have been confined within very narrow limits;

for they have gone but little farther in their researches than to examine the constitution and structure of the bird, and having found it possessed of a capacious stomach with a thin external covering, concluded that the pressure upon this part, in a sitting posture, prevented incubation. They have not considered that many of the birds which incubate have stomachs analogous to those of cuckoos: the stomach of the owl, for example, is proportionably capacious, and is almost as thinly covered with external integuments. Nor have they considered, that the stomachs of nestlings are always much distended with food; and that this very part, during the whole time of their confinement to the nest, supports, in a great degree, the weight of the whole body; whereas, in a sitting bird, it is not nearly so much pressed upon; for the breast in that case fills up chiefly the cavity of the nest, for which purpose, from its natural convexity, it is admirably well fitted.

These observations, I presume, may be sufficient to shew that the cuckoo is not rendered incapable of sitting through a peculiarity either in the situation or formation of the stomach; yet, as a proof still more decisive, I shall lay before you the following fact.

In the summer of the year 1786, I saw, in the nest of a hedge-sparrow, a cuckoo, which, from its size and plumage, appeared to be nearly a fortnight old. On lifting it up in the nest, I observed two hedge-sparrow's eggs under it. At first I supposed them part of the number which had been sat upon by the hedge-sparrow with the cuckoo's egg, and that they had become addle, as birds frequently suffer such eggs to remain in their nests with their young;

young; but on breaking one of them, I found it contained a living foetus; so that of course these eggs must have been laid several days after the cuckoo was hatched, as the latter now completely filled up the nest, and was by this peculiar incident performing the part of a sitting bird\*.

Having under my inspection, in another hedge-sparrow's nest, a young cuckoo, about the same size as the former, I procured two wagtail's eggs, which had been sat upon a few days, and had them immediately conveyed to the spot, and placed under the cuckoo. On the ninth day after the eggs had been in this situation, the person appointed to superintend the nest (as it was some distance from the place of my residence) came to inform me, that the wagtails were hatched. On going to the place, and examining the nest, I found nothing in it but the cuckoo and the shells of the wagtail's eggs. The fact, therefore, of the birds being hatched, I do not give you as coming immediately under my own eye; but the testimony of the person appointed to watch the nest was corroborated by that of another witness.

To what cause then may we attribute the singularities of the cuckoo? May they not be owing to the following circumstances?—  
 “The short residence this bird is  
 “allowed to make in the country  
 “where it is destined to propagate  
 “its species, and the call that nature  
 “has upon it, during that  
 “short residence, to produce a numerous progeny.” The cuckoo's

first appearance here is about the middle of April, commonly on the 17th. Its egg is not ready for incubation till some weeks after its arrival, seldom before the middle of May. A fortnight is taken up by the sitting bird in hatching the egg. The young bird generally continues three weeks in the nest before it flies, and the foster-parents feed it more than five weeks after this period; so that, if a cuckoo should be ready with an egg much sooner than the time pointed out, not a single nestling, even one of the earliest, would be fit to provide for itself before its parent would be instinctively directed to seek a new residence, and be thus compelled to abandon its young one; for old cuckoos take their final leave of this country the first week in July.

Had nature allowed the cuckoo to have staid here as long as some other migrating birds, which produce a single set of young ones (as the Swift or Nightingale, for example), and had allowed her to have reared as large a number as any bird is capable of bringing up at one time, these might not have been sufficient to have answered her purpose; but by sending the cuckoo from one nest to another, she is reduced to the same state as the bird whose nest we daily rob of an egg, in which case the stimulus for incubation is suspended. Of this we have a familiar example in the common domestic fowl. That the cuckoo actually lays a great number of eggs, dissection seems to prove very decisively. Upon a comparison I had an opportunity of making

\* At this time I was unacquainted with the fact, that the young cuckoo turned out the eggs of the hedge-sparrow; but it is reasonable to conclude, that it had lost the disposition for doing this when these eggs were deposited in the nest.

between the ovarium, or racemus vitellorum, of a female cuckoo, killed just as she had begun to lay, and of a pullet killed in the same state, no essential difference appeared. The uterus of each contained an egg perfectly formed, and ready for exclusion; and the ovarium exhibited a large cluster of eggs gradually advanced from a very diminutive size, to the greatest the yolk acquires before it is received into the oviduct. The appearance of one killed on the third of July was very different. In this I could distinctly trace a great number of the membranes which had discharged yolks into the oviduct; and one of them appeared as if it had parted with a yolk the preceding day. The ovarium still exhibited a cluster of enlarged eggs; but the most forward of them was scarcely larger than a mustard-seed.

I would not be understood, Sir, to advance that every egg which swells in the ovarium at the approach or commencement of the propagating season is brought to perfection; but it appears clearly, that a bird, in obedience to the dictates of her own will, or to some hidden cause in the animal economy, can either retard or bring forward her eggs. Besides the example of the common fowl above alluded to, many others occur. If you destroy the nest of a blackbird, a robin, or almost any small bird, in the spring, when she has laid her usual number of eggs, it is well known to every one, who has paid any attention to enquiries of this kind, in how very short a space of time she will produce a fresh set.

Now, had the bird been suffered to have proceeded without interruption in her natural course, the eggs would have been hatched, and the young ones brought to a state capable of providing for themselves, before she would have been induced to make another nest, and excited to produce another set of eggs from the ovarium. If the bird had been destroyed at the time she was sitting on her first laying of eggs, dissection would have shewn the ovarium containing a great number in an enlarged state, and advancing in the usual progressive order. Hence it plainly appears, that birds can keep back, or bring forward, under certain limitations, their eggs at any time during the season appointed for them to lay; but the cuckoo, not being subject to the common interruptions, goes on laying from the time she begins, till the eve of her departure from this country: for although old cuckoos in general take their leave the first week in July, (and I never could see one after the 5th day of that month \*), yet I have known an instance of an egg's being hatched in the nest of a hedge-sparrow so late as the 15th. And a farther proof of their continuing to lay till the time of their leaving us, may, I think, be fairly deduced from the appearances on dissection of the female cuckoo above mentioned, killed on the 3d of July.

Among the many peculiarities of the young cuckoo, there is one that shews itself very early. Long before it leaves the nest, it frequently, when irritated, assumes the manner of a bird of prey, looks ferocious,

\* Though I am unacquainted with an instance, yet I conceive it possible, that here and there a straggling cuckoo may be seen after this time.

throws itself back, and pecks at any thing presented to it with great vehemence, often at the same time making a chuckling noise like a young hawk. Sometimes, when disturbed in a smaller degree, it makes a kind of hissing noise, accompanied with a heaving motion of the whole body \*. The growth of the young cuckoo is uncommonly rapid.

The chirp is plaintive, like that of the hedge-sparrow; but the sound is not acquired from the foster-parent, as it is the same whether it be reared by the hedge-sparrow, or any other bird.

It never acquires the adult note during its stay in this country.

The stomachs of young cuckoos contain a great variety of food. On dissecting one that was brought up by wagtails, and fed by them at the time it was shot, though it was nearly of the size and fullness of plumage of the parent bird, I found in its stomach the following substances :

Flies and beetles of various kinds.

Small snails, with their shells unbroken.

Grasshoppers.

Caterpillars

Part of a horse-bean.

A vegetable substance resembling bits of tough grass, rolled into a ball.

The seeds of a vegetable that resembled those of the goosegrass.

In the stomach of one fed by hedge-sparrows, the contents were almost entirely vegetable; such as wheat, small vetches, &c. But this was the only instance of the kind I

had ever seen, as these birds, in general, feed the young cuckoo with scarcely any thing but animal food. However, it served to clear up a point which before had somewhat puzzled me; for having found the cuckoo's egg in the nest of a green linnet, which begins very early to feed its young with vegetable food, I was apprehensive, till I saw this fact, that this bird would have been an unfit foster-parent for the young cuckoo.

The titlark, I observe, feeds it principally with grasshoppers.

But the most singular substance, so often met with in the stomachs of young cuckoos, is a ball of hair curiously wound up. I have found it of various sizes, from that of a pea to that of a small nutmeg. It seems to be composed chiefly of horse-hairs, and from the resemblance it bears to the inside covering of the nest, I conceive the bird swallows it while a nestling. In the stomachs of old cuckoos I have often seen masses of hair; but these had evidently once formed a part of the hairy caterpillar, which the cuckoo often takes for its food.

There seems to be no precise time fixed for the departure of young cuckoos. I believe they go off in succession, probably as soon as they are capable of taking care of themselves; for although they stay here till they become nearly equal in size and growth of plumage to the old cuckoo, yet in this very state the fostering care of the hedge-sparrow is not withdrawn from them. I have

\* Young animals, being deprived of other modes of defence, are probably endowed with the powers of exciting fear in their common enemies. If you but slightly touch the young hedge-hog, for instance, before it becomes fully armed with its prickly coat, the little animal jumps up with a sudden spring, and imitates very closely the sound of the word *busb*! as we pronounce it in a loud whisper. This disposition is apparent in many other animals,



frequently seen the young cuckoo of such a size that the hedge-sparrow has perched on its back, or half-expanded wing, in order to gain sufficient elevation to put the food into its mouth. At this advanced stage, I believe that young cuckoos procure some food for themselves; like the young rook, for instance, which in part feeds itself, and is partly fed by the old ones till the approach of the pairing season. If they did not go off in succession, it is probable we should see them in large numbers by the middle of August; for as they are to be found in great plenty\*, when in a nestling state, they must now appear very numerous, since all of them must have quitted the nest before this time. But this is not the case; for they are not more numerous at any season than the parent birds are in the months of May and June.

The same instinctive impulse which directs the cuckoo to deposit her eggs in the nests of other birds, directs her young one to throw out the eggs and young of the owner of the nest. The scheme of nature would be incomplete without it; for it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the little birds, destined to find succour for the cuckoo, to find it also for their own young ones, after a certain period; nor would there be room for the whole to inhabit the nest.

Thus, Sir, I have, with much pleasure, complied with your request; and here lay before you such observations as I have hitherto been capable of making on the natural history of the cuckoo; and, should they throw some light on a subject

that has long lain hid in obscurity, I shall not think my time has been ill employed.

With a grateful sense of the many obligations I owe to the friendship with which you have so long honoured me,

I remain, &c.

Berkeley, EDW. JENNER.  
Dec. 27, 1787.

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*An Abstract of Mr. William Smellie's Essay on Instinct. From Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. I.*

“MANY theories have been invented with a view to explain the instinctive actions of animals, but none of them have received the general approbation of philosophers. This want of success may be referred to different causes; to want of attention to the general œconomy and manners of animals; to mistaken notions concerning the dignity of human nature; and, above all, to the uniform endeavour of philosophers to distinguish instinctive from rational motives. Mr. Smellie endeavours to shew that no such distinction exists, and that the reasoning faculty itself is a necessary result of instinct.

He observes, that the proper method of investigating subjects of this kind, is to collect and arrange the facts which have been discovered, and to consider whether these lead to any general conclusions. According to this method, he exhibits examples, *First*, of pure instincts: *Secondly*, of such instincts as can accommodate themselves to particular

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\* I have known four young cuckoos in the nests of hedge-sparrows in a small paddock at the same time.

circumstances and situations: *Thirdly*, of such as are improveable by experience or observation: And, *lastly*, he draws some conclusions.

By pure instincts are meant such as, independently of all instruction or experience, instantaneously produce certain actions, when particular objects are presented to animals, or when they are influenced by peculiar feelings. Such are, in the human species, the instinct of sucking, which is exerted by the infant immediately after birth, the voiding of fæces, the retraction of the muscles upon the application of any painful stimulus. The love of light is exhibited by infants, even so early as the third day after birth. The passion of fear is discoverable in a child at the age of two months.

Among the inferior animals, there are numberless pure instincts. Caterpillars shaken off a tree in every direction, turn immediately to the trunk, and climb up. Young birds open their mouths on hearing any noise, as well as that of their mother's voice. Every species of insect deposits its eggs in the situation most proper for hatching and affording nourishment to its future progeny. Some species of animals look not to future wants; others, as the bee and the beaver, are endowed with an instinct which has the appearance of foresight. They construct magazines, and fill them with provisions. Bees display various remarkable instincts. They attend and feed the female or queen. When deprived of her, all their labours cease till a new one is obtained. They construct cells of three different dimensions; for working bees, for drones, and for females; and the queen in depositing her eggs, puts each species into its ap-

propriated cells. They destroy all the females but one, lest the hive should be overstocked. The different instincts of the common bee, of the wood-piercing bee, and of that species which builds cylindrical nests with rose-leaves, are very remarkable.

Equally singular are the instincts of wasps, and ichneumon flies, which though they feed not themselves upon worms, lay up stores of these animals for the nourishment of their young.

Birds build their nests of the same materials, and in the same form and situation, though they inhabit very different climates. They turn and shift their eggs, that they may be equally heated. Geese and ducks cover up their eggs till they return to the nest. The swallow solicits her young to void their excrement over the nest, and assists them in the operation. The spiders, and many insects of the beetle-kind, when put in terror, counterfeit death. This is not, as has been supposed, a convulsion or stupor, but an artifice, for when the object of terror is removed, they recover immediately.

Of instincts which can accommodate themselves to peculiar circumstances and situations, many instances may be given from the human species; but these being improveable, fall more properly under the third class.

Those animals are most perfect, whose sphere of knowledge extends to the greatest number of objects. When interrupted in their operations, they know how to resume their labours, and to accomplish their purposes by different means. Some animals have no other power but that of contracting or extending their bodies. But the falcon, the dog,

dog, and the fox, pursue their prey with intelligence and address.

In Senegal, the ostrich sits upon her eggs only during the night, leaving them in the day to the heat of the sun. At the Cape of Good Hope, where the heat is not so great, she sits upon them day and night. Rabbits, when domesticated, are not inclined to burrow. Bees augment the depth of their cells, and increase their number, as occasion requires. A wasp carrying out a dead companion from the nest, if he finds it too heavy, cuts off the head, and carries out the load in two portions. In countries infested with monkeys, birds, which in other countries build in bushes or clefts of trees, suspend their nests at the end of slender twigs. The nymphæ of water-moths, which cover themselves with cases of straw, gravel, or shells, contrive to make their cases nearly in equilibrium with the water: When too heavy, they add a bit of wood or straw; when too light, a bit of gravel. A cat, when shut into a closet, has been known to open the latch with its paws.

The third class of instincts comprehends all those that are improvable by experience and observation.

The superiority of man over the other animals, seems to depend chiefly on the great number of instincts with which he is endowed. Traces of every instinct which he possesses are discoverable in the brute-creation, but no particular species enjoys the whole. On the contrary most animals are limited to a small number. This appears to be the reason why the instincts of brutes are stronger, and more steady in their operation than those of man, and their actions more uniform.

Most human instincts receive improvement from experience and observation, and are capable of a thousand modifications. One instinct counteracts and modifies another, and often extinguishes the original motive to action. The instinct of fear is often counteracted by ambition and by resentment: The instinct of anger, by fear, by shame, by contempt, by compassion. Of modified, compounded, and extended instincts, there are many examples. Devotion is an extension of the instinct of love, to the first Cause or Author of the universe. Superstition is the instinct of fear extended to imaginary objects of terror. Hope is the instinct of love directed to future good. Avarice is the instinct of love directed to an improper object. Fear is likewise an ingredient of this attachment. Envy is compounded of love, avarice, ambition, and fear. Sympathy is the instinct of fear transferred to another person, and reflected back upon ourselves. In this manner all the modified, compounded, or extended passions of the human mind, may be traced back to their original instincts.

The instincts of brutes are likewise improved by observation and experience. Of such improvement, the dog, the elephant, the horse, the camel, afford numerous and strong instances.

From these and other examples, given of the different classes of instincts, Mr. Smellie argues, that instinct is an original quality of mind, which, in man, as well as in other animals, may be improved, modified, and extended, by experience.

Sensation implies a sentient principle or mind. Whatever feels, therefore, is mind. Of course, the

lowest species of animals is endowed with mind. But the minds of animals have very different powers; and these powers are expressed by peculiar actions. The structure of their bodies is uniformly adapted to the powers of their minds; and no mature animal attempts actions which nature has not enabled it to perform: The instincts, however, of animals, appear often previously to the expansion of those instruments which nature intended they should employ. This view of instinct is simple: It removes every objection to the existence of mind in brutes, and unfolds all their actions by referring them to motives perfectly similar to those by which man is actuated. There is perhaps a greater difference between the mental powers of some animals, than between those of man and the most sagacious brutes. Instincts may be considered as so many internal senses, of which some animals have a greater, and others a smaller number. These senses, in different species, are likewise more or less ductile; and the animals possessing them are, of course, more or less susceptible of improving, and of acquiring knowledge.

The notion that animals are machines, is therefore too absurd to merit refutation. Though not endowed with mental powers equal to those of man, they possess, in some degree, every faculty of the human mind. Sensation, memory, imagination, the principle of imitation, curiosity, cunning, ingenuity, devotion, or respect for superiors, gratitude, are all discoverable in the brute-creation. Every species too has a language, either of sounds or gestures, sufficient for the individuals to communicate their wants to each other; and some animals

understand in part the language of man. The language of infants is nearly on a par with that of brutes. Brutes, without some portion of reason, could never make a proper use of their senses. But many animals are capable of balancing motives, which is a pretty high degree of reason. Young animals examine all objects they meet with, and in this investigation they employ all their organs. The first periods of their life are dedicated to study. When they run about and make frolicsome gambols, it is nature sporting with them for their instruction. Thus they gradually improve their faculties, and acquire an intimate knowledge of the objects that surround them. Men who, from peculiar circumstances, have been prevented from mingling with companions, and engaging in the different amusements and exercises of youth, are always awkward in their movements, cannot use their organs with ease or dexterity, and often continue, during life, ignorant of the most common objects."

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*Observations on Pemphigus, by Stephen Dickson, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians, and one of the King's Professors of Physic in the City of Dublin, M. R. I. A. &c.—From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for 1787.*

Vera Experientia nascitur e compluribus observationibus, magna diligentia, attentione & cura notatis, quæ integram morbi historiam, cum omnibus ad rem pertinentibus circumstantiis complectuntur.

*Hoffman.*

**P**EMPHIGUS is a disease of very rare occurrence, and many physicians in extensive practice have never met with an instance of



of it. However, six have fallen within my observation, three in Scotland, one in England, and two in this kingdom. I mention this circumstance as an apology for writing on this subject: had the same opportunities occurred to men of more enlarged experience, I should have been silent. I am also aware that uncommon cases are not the best subjects for medical inquiry; but they often serve to reflect light on those which are more usual; and besides, whatever affects human nature must naturally conciliate our attention.

Our best nosologist, Dr. Cullen (to whom, by the by, no instance of this disease ever occurred) has classed Pemphigus in the order of Exanthemata. This classification will certainly appear sufficiently proper to those who grant this Nosologist the latitude he allows himself in the arrangement of his genera. When the plague and petechial fever are allowed to be classed under different heads, and the thrush and scarlet fever under the same head, we need not contend about the place of Pemphigus, even though we should find it not to be contagious, sometimes commencing and continuing without fever, and affecting persons more than once in the course of their lives. Dr. Cullen describes this disorder as follows: "A contagious fever, vesicles about the size of an almond appearing on the first, second, or third day of the disease, remaining for many days, and at length pouring out a thin ichor." I propose to amend his description in the following manner: *A fever, accompanied with the successive eruption, from different parts of the body, internal as well as external, of vesicles*

*about the size of an almond, which become turgid with a faintly yellowish serum, and in three or four days subside.* I shall only observe at present, that I am by no means convinced of this disorder being contagious; that new vesicles arise, not only on the first, second, or third, but on every day of the disease; that I have never known them remain for many days; that the fluid they contain does not appear in general to be an ichor or sanies, but a bland, inodorous, insipid serum; and that instead of being poured out, it is most commonly absorbed into the system.

No traces of this disease are discoverable in the writings either of the Greeks, Romans, or Arabians.

Bontius, in his account of the medicine of the Egyptians, mentions the case of his friend Cavalierius, who was seized with the epidemic dysentery that prevailed during the siege in Java, by Tommagon Bauraxa, in 1628. His disorder was accompanied with the eruption of cuticular vesicles, which were filled with a greenish pus, that eroded the skin underneath, even to the flesh. The patient died. It is evident that little can be concluded from this brief account.

Carolus Piso, in his 149th observation, accurately depicts the genuine Pemphigus, as it appeared in the case of Egmont de Rinach, about 150 years ago, at Nantz. He terms it hydatids, and says it occurred to him frequently. But I have reason to suspect that he confounds under the same name the chicken-pox, a slight disorder, in which the skin is affected, not with spreading vesicles, but with small pustules. He seems also to confound with Pemphigus some other erythematous affections;

fections; for he says that these watery pustules frequently precede the eruption of the itch; that they sometimes occur without fever, sometimes accompany continued fever, and sometimes appear in the beginning of intermittents. The truth is that Piso, though an industrious observer and a candid man, was by no means an acute nosologist. His account, however, of the case of Egmont de Rinach deserves attention, not only as being the first accurate and authentic description of this disease on record, but as pointing out a diversity in the habit of body then accompanying this disease from what has been since met with; for though Piso declares that the vesicles in this case supervened on a putrid synochus, yet he says that he let blood in the beginning with great advantage, and earnestly recommends the same practice in similar cases. In every instance, however, that I have seen of this disorder, such a practice would have been plainly improper, if not pernicious.

The next author who mentions Pemphigus is Morton. Speaking of the diseases which prevailed in London between 1632 and 1692, he mentions, among other fevers of a malignant type, some in which watery vesicles were scattered over the head and chest. These fevers however, he says, were merely sporadic, and not propagated by contagion, as in the pestilential constitution.

For the next *authentic* \* account of Pemphigus we are indebted to the observations of Sauvages. He first observed it in the hospital at Montpellier in 1725, in a soldier

who fell a victim to it. Afterwards he saw five other cases, chiefly of beggars, or other poor people, in all of which acute febrile symptoms were present. Twice, however, he saw it unattended with fever.

Lastly, Dr. Stewart, of Aberdeen (in a letter to Dr. Duncan, which is inserted in the Medical Commentaries for 1778) mentions a case of Pemphigus, which occurred to him in the hospital in that town. A soldier had been ordered to march soon after he had been seized with the measles; the eruption was driven in by the cold, and in ten days afterwards the Pemphigus appeared. The vesicles (the largest of which were snipped) poured out, at first, a semipellucid serum, but in the course of the disease discharged a bloody ichor. In this case the tendency to putrefaction was very strong, but the patient recovered by the liberal administration of bark and wine. From this case I think we are justified in inferring that the nature of the fluid contained in the vesicles (however accurately it may be ascertained to be a pure serum in the beginning) may be so altered in the course of the disease, by its own fermentation, or by admixture with other fluids of the body, from their vessels being broken down, that it may at length cease to be a diagnostic symptom of this disorder.

But no author who has written on the subject of Pemphigus has mentioned an extraordinary peculiarity of this disorder, which I have observed in two instances; namely, that the vesicles have taken possession of the internal parts of the body, and proceeded in succession

\* See Culleni Nosol. tom. ii. c. xxxiv.

(some rising while others decayed) from the mouth downwards through the whole surface of the alimentary canal.

The first case in which I had the opportunity of observing this singular and distressing symptom, was that of a woman under the care of Dr. Gregory, at the infirmary of Edinburgh, in 1783. This woman's menses had been obstructed for two years and an half. During that period she had been thrice before attacked with the same disorder, which had each time supervened upon a vomiting of blood. Her skin was generally cool; and her pulse (though weak) never much increased in frequency. Peruvian bark and wine were administered to her liberally. By these and other occasional remedies she recovered.

The other case, in which vesicles appeared to have been formed internally, occurred to me lately in this town. I shall relate the particulars of it, as I think it worthy of observation.

—, aged twenty-three, of a delicate form and sanguine temperament, the wife of a man in tolerably good circumstances, and who had been about a fortnight ill of a low fever, was seized (after having suffered much fatigue in attending her husband) with pains in her back, head-ach, and tendency to vomit.—As I was attending her husband I saw the first approaches of her disorder, and on the evening of the day she was first attacked directed her to take an emetic, and to bathe her feet in warm water.

The next morning her skin was very hot; pulse frequent; head-ach not better; she had not slept, and complained of a fore-throat;

on inspection the uvula and tonsils appeared inflamed, and some mucus was collected in the back of the fauces; she had no stool for two days. I ordered a clyster immediately; afterwards a gentle purgative; tincture of roses for a gargle.—In the evening all the symptoms were milder. The physic had operated twice. I ordered the pediluvium to be repeated.

Third day. She complained of a smarting, itching, and (as she expressed herself) tingling pain in her tongue, and through the whole inside of her mouth. Her tongue was of a bright red colour and dry, but clean. She was thirsty, but complained that her drink was unpalatable, though acidulated with lemon-juice. She had no moisture on her skin. Had gone to stool once. Slept tolerably well the night before. The febrile symptoms were mitigated, but the cyananche unabated. I ordered nothing but the saline julep.

Fourth day. There appeared on her tongue a pellucid vesicle of about an inch long, and near half an inch broad, turgid with a faintly yellowish serous fluid. A smaller one of the same kind appeared on the inside of the left cheek. The sensation which they occasioned she described as being similar to that which she had experienced before their eruption, but greater in degree, and somewhat as if they were full of scalding water. This day her skin was cooler, but her pulse very weak, irregular, and about ninety in a minute. She had had two loose stools. I prescribed half a drachm of the red Peruvian bark, very finely powdered, to be taken every two hours in a goblet of wine and water. Imperial for common

common drink. The tincture of roses to be changed for an emollient gargle.

Fifth day. Three vesicles similar to the former appeared on her chest and right arm. Other symptoms nearly as before. Pulse not so feeble. Medicines were continued.

Sixth day. Her stomach rejected the bark. Two new vesicles appeared on her neck and cheek. Her breath was fetid. She had had some low delirium in the night. Pulse eighty-eight, and very weak. No sense of taste. I prescribed a decoction of bark, one ounce, in which should be dissolved half a drachm of vegetable alkali, to be taken every two hours; and immediately after each dose half an ounce of the same decoction mixed with six drachms of lemon-juice. Cyder or porter for common drink.

Seventh day. There was little change. The medicines were continued.

Eighth day. The vesicles on the inside of the mouth and on the tongue disappeared, and the cuticle which had been elevated was shrivelled, and of a brownish colour. Deglutition was difficult, and, as she said, painful through the whole inside of her throat. Pulse eighty, and rather stronger. Bowels regular. Medicines were continued.

Ninth day. The cuticle on the parts formerly occupied by vesicles in the inside of the cheek and on the tongue had cracked, and was peeling off: the parts underneath appeared raw and sore. Deglutition had now become so painful, that she refused medicine, food, and even drink. She could not

bear the slightest pressure on the neck. A new vesicle appeared under her right ear. Some purulent matter appeared on the back of the pharynx, the origin of which however was not discernible. Pulse eighty-six, and of nearly the same strength. I prescribed a clyster of warm water: after its operation another of new milk and decoction of bark, equal parts: the same to be repeated four hours afterwards. At night an anodyne clyster, with fifty drops of thebaic tincture. White liniment for the sores.

Tenth day. The vesicles on the chest and right arm had disappeared. The sores of the tongue and cheek were of a darker colour, and seemed to be healing. Some new vesicles appeared on the abdomen. Pulse not so weak. She rested well the former part of the preceding night, but was disturbed by an accident, and afterwards was much inclined to rove in her discourse till morning. Medicines were continued.

Eleventh day. The symptoms were nearly the same as the day before. The vesicles on the neck and cheek had disappeared, and the cuticle in those parts was shrivelled and cracked. The epigastric region was extremely sore, and this soreness much increased by pressure. The last clyster of decoction of bark and milk, administered the day before, was not retained. I ordered salep to be substituted for milk: other medicines to be continued.

Twelfth day. She could swallow, though still not without pain. I directed the medicines which had been prescribed the fourth day to be repeated: the others to be omitted.

Thirteenth



Thirteenth day. She vomited some blood along with the first dose of the bark. Pulse: eighty, and stronger. The vesicles under the ear and on the abdomen had disappeared. Several small vesicles (not above the size of a pea) arose on the hypogastric region of the abdomen, one on the labia pudendorum, and two on the left thigh. As she had taken some bark which remained on her stomach, I directed this medicine to be continued, and an anodyne draught to be administered at night.

Fourteenth day. She had two loose stools, much intermixed with blood, and complained of great soreness of her belly, increased by pressure. I prescribed a little castor oil. Other medicines as before, except the draught.

Fifteenth day. She had had two stools somewhat bloody the night before, and one almost natural in the morning. Pulse seventy-seven, and of pretty good strength. Skin quite cool. Spirits better. And some little appetite. Meneses had appeared in the morning. I directed the medicines to be continued as before.

From this time she recovered apace, and in about a week had no complaint but weakness. Exercise, however, and the country air, soon completely re-established her health.

After this full statement of a case very distinctly marked, it would be superfluous to add any thing by way of comment. I have only to observe, that whether this

disorder be contagious or not, is a question which may possibly still admit of some doubt; though from what I have seen, or been able to collect, I am inclined to think that it is not. Almost all the instances of this disorder which are precise or well attested I have enumerated; and they are all solitary examples, no two of them having happened at the same time or place. I suspect, therefore, that some other disorders have been oftentimes mistaken for Pemphigus; and that from thence, or from some preconceived theory, the notion has arisen. When I was assistant to Dr. Home, in the clinical ward of the infirmary at Edinburgh, a patient was sent to us by Dr. Gregory, whose case he "supposed \* to be a beginning " Pemphigus," and which he said " was plainly contagious." In a note which he sent with this woman, he says, " I saw a boy, five " months ago, in the same clofe, " very ill of the same disease; and " I am told by the people that several others, chiefly children, " have had the same disease since " in the same clofe." This appeared extremely forcible, and accordingly had its due weight with the students. But in a day or two it appeared very evidently, that the disease of the woman whom Dr. Gregory had sent us, was merely topical. She had no fever. The vesicles (which were situated under the eye and upon the eye-lid) were of a pale red colour; some pustules filled with yellow matter appeared upon the brow at the same time;

\* Though the disorder of this patient appeared eventually to be of a different nature, yet it must be remembered that the approaches of most diseases are ambiguous, and that this supposition by no means tends to impeach the judgment of a gentleman who is equally distinguished for his skill and veracity.

and both of these vanished almost immediately after she came into the infirmary; so that she left it in three or four days perfectly well, having taken no medicine but the saline julep. This woman denied to us that she had ever seen any one affected with vesicles: and upon enquiring more particularly among different people in the same close, I found that they were in general very unqualified to give a distinct account of the epidemic disease (whatever it was) with which the children had been affected: they seemed, however, to think it neither novel nor alarming; and by their description I should rather take it to have been the chicken-pox, or some such slight complaint, than the Pemphigus. I can have no doubt that the boy Dr. Gregory mentioned he had seen was really affected with Pemphigus; but I think that the vague testimony of the ignorant, indiscriminating people of the close is to be allowed no weight in deciding this nice question.

The nature of this disorder, as to its mildness or malignity, appears to vary considerably. In some instances it is extremely mild, as in three of the cases I have seen, one of them in this town with Dr. Fleury. In other instances life is in the greatest danger; thus in several of the cases I have enumerated strong symptoms of putrescency were manifested.

With respect to the method of cure of this disorder, the general symptoms of weakness and tendency to putrefaction obviously point out the proper treatment. When the vesicles seize on the internal parts, irritation must be guarded against by opiates, demulcents, and gentle

laxatives; nourishment must be supplied; and the grand remedies, bark and wine (especially the latter) must be sedulously administered.

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*An Account of several Strata of Earth and Shells on the Banks of York River, in Virginia; of a subterraneous Passage, and the sudden Descent of a very large Current of Water from a Mountain, near Carlisle, of a remarkably large Spring near Reading, in Pennsylvania; and also of several remarkable Springs in the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In a Letter from the Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq; F. A. A. to the Rev. Joseph Willard, V. Pref. A. A. and President of the University at Cambridge.—From Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I.*

“**T**HAT this earth, since its formation, has met with great changes, and that the shores, now covered with the tallest cedars and most luxuriant plants, were once washed by the ocean, none can deny. The land between James River and York River, in Virginia, is very level; its surface being about forty feet above high-water mark. It appears to have arrived to its present height at different periods, far distant each from the other, by means of the ocean: for near York Town, where the banks are perpendicular, you first see a stratum of earth, about five feet high, intermixed with small shells, which has the appearance of a mixture of clay and sand. On that lies, horizontally, a stratum of white shells, the cockle, the clam, and others, an inch

inch or two thick; then a body of earth, similar to that first mentioned, eighteen inches thick: and on that lies another thin body of small shells, then a third body of earth, about the same thickness as the last; and on that lies another body of white shells, of various kinds, about three feet thick, with very little sand, or earth, mixed with them. On these lies a body of oyster-shells, about six feet thick; then a body of earth to the surface. The oyster-shells are so united by a very strong cement, that they fall only when undermined, and then in large bodies, from one to twenty tons weight. They have the appearance of large rocks on the shores, and are wasted by the frequent washing of the sea. All these different strata seem to be perfectly horizontal.

After riding about seven miles from York Town, near the center between the two rivers; I discovered, at a place from which a large body of earth had been removed to a mill-dam, nearly the same appearance as in the bank first mentioned.

What they call their stone, with which they build in York Town, is nothing more than shells, united by a strong cement, which seems to be petrified in a degree, but is apparently affected by the weather.

ON the 2d of August, being at Carlisle, in the state of Pennsylvania, I went to view a subterraneous passage, which had its entrance near a river into a rock. I followed it about two hundred and fifty feet: to this distance it was, in general, from six to seven feet high, and about the same in width. At the end of two hundred and fifty feet it divided into three branches.—As

they were smaller, and more difficult to follow, and finding myself exceedingly chilled, (which cost me one of the sickest nights I ever suffered) I gave up the pursuit, though I had proceeded but about half the distance, as I was informed by Col. Butler, who had been near the end. It appeared to me that it was a water-course, as the rocks were worn smooth, and indented in the manner they usually are by a long running of water over them. The appearance overhead was curious; some parts were smooth like the sides; other parts represented various figures, formed by the water which had penetrated through the pores of the rock, and was now petrified and petrifying on its surface. The bottom was apparently earth and small stones.

About three years since, the people in the vicinity of this town, who lived near the mountain, which is about ten miles from the village, were alarmed by a current of water overflowing the banks of the river. The cause they could not investigate, as there had been, the night before, but a small rain: however, they soon found the first effects of the water appeared within about twenty feet of the top of the mountain. Whether it burst forth from the mountain, or was a column of water from the clouds, has not yet been ascertained. The course in which it ran down the mountain was dry the next morning. It was confined to the width of twenty feet, perhaps less. It appeared to be about thirty feet deep, as could be discovered by its effects on those trees which were not carried away by the water. It cut a passage in the side of the mountain, of about seven or eight feet wide, and near that depth.

The

The traces of it are seen from the town, though, as I said before, it is ten miles distant. One rock, of a very considerable weight, was thrown into the crotch of a tree, twelve feet from the ground, in which it remained for some time. When the water came into the valley, its impetuosity was so great that it was not immediately diverted, but reached a small rising ground, through which it cut a passage; then followed the valley, and so on to the river, which was at some considerable distance. In its course, it carried off all the fences, and came upon the floors of some of the houses. I have had some conversation with Mr. Rittenhouse on the subject, who has been twice to see the effects of the water. It is his opinion, that it was not a column of water which burst forth from the mountain, as it was near the top of one of the highest.

ON my return to Philadelphia, in the neighbourhood of Reading, I came to the greatest spring of water I had ever seen.—It is about fourteen feet deep, and about one hundred feet square. A full mill-stream issues from it. The water is clear and full of fishes. To account for this body of water, was my enquiry. I soon found, that it was probably the rising and bursting forth of a very considerable river, which sunk into the ground and totally disappeared, one mile and an half or two miles distant from this place.

In the northern parts of Pennsylvania, there is a creek, called Oil Creek, which empties itself into the Alleghana River, issuing from a spring, on the top of which floats an oil, similar to what is called Barbadoes tar, and from which may

be collected, by one man, several gallons in a day. The troops, in marching that way, halted at the spring, collected the oil, and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief, and freed them immediately from the rheumatic complaints with which many of them were affected. The troops drank freely of the waters:—they operated as a gentle purge.

There is another spring in the western parts of Virginia, as extraordinary in its kind as the one just mentioned, called the Burning Spring. It was known a long time to the hunters. They frequently encamped by it for the sake of obtaining good water. Some of them arrived late one night, and, after making a fire, they took a brand to light them to the spring. On their coming to it, some fire dropped from the brand, and in an instant the water was in a flame, and so continued, over which they could roast their meat as soon as by the greatest fire. It was left in this situation, and continued burning for three months without intermission. The fire was extinguished by excluding the air from it, or smothering it. The water taken from it into a vessel will not burn. This shews, that the fire is occasioned by nothing more than a vapour that ascends from the waters.

There are two springs high up on the Powtomack; one of which has about the same degree of heat as blood running from the veins. It is much frequented by people who have lost their health. The waters are drank with freedom, and also serve as a hot bath, by which much good has been experienced. The other spring, issuing from the same mountain, a little further up, is as remarkable



remarkable for its coldness, as the other for its heat, and differs from common springs in as many degrees.

These accounts I have from the best authority. General Washington, from whom I had my information, as well as from others, owns the land around the Burning Spring, which he bought for the sake of it.

The accounts of the other springs I received from a gentleman of undoubted veracity, and of great observation, who lately visited them. He commanded the troops who experienced the benefit of the Oil Spring. He mentioned to me another spring in the south-westerly part of Virginia, which he had not seen, but of which he had received a particular account from gentlemen of character. It is called the Sweet Spring, from the sweetness of the waters, which have been found efficacious in many disorders, and have given relief when every other attempt has proved ineffectual.

To these I may add the great number of salt springs in America, especially on the Ohio, and the rivers which empty into it. There is one spring on the Mississippi, from which salt is made sufficient to supply the whole Illinois country with that article."

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*An Account of a singular Apple-Tree, producing Fruit of opposite Qualities; a Part of the same Apple being frequently sour, and the other sweet. In a Letter from the Reverend Peter Whitney to the Reverend Joseph Willard, V. Pres. A. A. and President of the University in Cambridge.—From the same Work.*

Northborough, July 15, 1782.

Reverend Sir,

"THERE is now growing in an orchard, lately belonging to my honoured father, the Reverend Aaron Whitney, of Petersham, deceased, an apple-tree, very singular with respect to its fruit. The apples are fair, and, when fully ripe, of a yellow colour, but, evidently, of different tastes—sour and sweet. The part which is sour is not very tart, nor the other very sweet. Two apples growing side by side, on the same limb, will be often of these different tastes, the one all sour, and the other all sweet. And, which is more remarkable, the same apple will frequently be sour on one side, end, or part, and the other sweet, and that not in any order or uniformity; nor is there any difference in the appearance of the one part from the other. And as to the quantity, some have more of the acid and less of the sweet, and so *vice versa*. Neither are the apples, so different in their tastes, peculiar to any particular branches, but are found, promiscuously, on every branch of the tree. The tree stands almost in the midst of a large orchard, in a rich and strong soil, and was transplanted there about forty years ago. There is no appearance of the trunk or any of the branches having been ingrafted or inoculated. It was a number of years, after it had borne fruit, before these different tastes were noticed; but since they were first discovered, which is about twenty years, there has been constantly the same variety in the apples.

For the truth of what I have asserted, I can appeal to many persons

sons of distinction, and of nice tastes, who have travelled a great distance to view the tree, and taste the fruit; but to investigate the cause of an effect so much out of the common course of nature, must, I think, be attended with difficulty. The only solution I can conceive is, that the *corcula*; or hearts of two seeds, the one from a four, the other from a sweet apple, might so incorporate, in the ground, as to produce but one plant: or that farina, from blossoms of those opposite qualities, might pass into, and impregnate the same seed. If you should think the account I have given you, of this singular apple-tree, will be acceptable to the American Academy, please to communicate it.

I am, &c.

PETER WHITNEY.

Reverend President Willard.

*A remarkable Case of Gun Shot Wound. Communicated in a Letter from Barnabas Binney, Hospital Physician, and Surgeon in the American Army, in 1782, to the Honourable Benjamin Lincoln, Esq; F. A. A.—From the same Work.*

“ON April 9, 1782, David Beveridge, a seaman, belonging to the sloop of war General Monk, was brought into the military hospital at this place, having been wounded the day before. He was a lad of about nineteen years of age, and in a good state of health, at the time of the action between the said ship and the Hyder-Ally. In that action he was in the main-top of the Monk; when he received a musket-ball in his belly from one of the marines on the

quarter-deck of the Hyder-Ally, then within fifteen yards of the Monk. The ball entered his belly about two inches above his left groin, and within an inch of the anterior edge of the left *ilium*, passing out two inches on the right of the spine between the two inferior true ribs, just touching the cartilage of the inferior angle of the right *scapula*. When he came into the hospital he had bled much, was very weak and cold, had a faltering voice, a cadaverous countenance, and a constant hiccup, while his fæces passed freely out of the wound in his belly. In this deplorable condition, where neither art nor nature could promise any permanent relief, the only dictate of humanity was to smooth the path of death. Being also in great pain, I advised him to take a glass of Madeira wine, with twenty or thirty drops of *liquid. landan*, in it, as often as necessary. He accordingly began, and continued this practice till the thirteenth, finding constant relief from it. He took no kind of sustenance all this time excepting wine whey, never having any kind of discharge *ab ano*. From the moment he was wounded, but constantly squirting with considerable force what fæces he had, through the wound in his belly. On the fourteenth he had a common glyster administered, the greatest part of which also came out at the wound, the remainder coming as it went, *ab ano*, without bringing any fæces. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth he took considerable quantities of gruel and whey, with a little wine occasionally, having no intestinal discharge whatever but what was made through the wound in his belly. On the eighteenth, as his strength was much increased,

and

and as the wounds were considerably contracted, and looked well, I ordered another injection to be administered gently, when, for the first time in eleven days, he had a natural stool. From this time he had no further discharge of fæces through his wound; his excretions became as regular and as natural as ever they were; his wounds suppurated and healed kindly; his strength returned; and he was exchanged nearly as well as ever, on the thirtieth.

That the ball had passed through the colon is obvious, from the discharge of perfect fæces, and of the injection administered, *ab ano*. That his life depended upon our not meddling with the wound, and upon keeping him quiet and easy, is also

plain; as the least removal of the orifice in the intestine from the orifice through the abdomen, which were so happily opposed to each other, must have been attended with a fatal discharge of the fæces into the abdomen. That the diaphragm and lungs were perforated is plain, from the course of the ball, and his profuse hæmoptoe. That surgeons may be too officious, as well as too tardy; and that where they are not certain of the utility of their operations, they had better leave even the most desperate disorders to the management of nature, ever provident, and generally adequate, are points remarkably enforced in this particular case.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*An Account of a new Method invented by the Earl of Dundonald, for purifying Sea Salt.—From Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. I.*

THE Earl of Dundonald's process for purifying sea-salt proceeded upon this observation, That the common sea-salt possesses a considerable mixture of ingredients, which render it, in a great degree, unfit for preserving victuals. These ingredients appear, by experiment, to be nauseous, bitter and carthartic salts, having an earthy basis, (magnesia salita and magnesia vitriolata or Epsom salt) which are intimately mixed with the proper sea-salt.

To purify common salt, by dissolving it in water, decomposing the bitter salts, and precipitating their earthy basis, by adding a fixed alkali, whether fossil or vegetable, is a tedious process, and by far too expensive to be employed for oeconomic or mercantile purposes. It is even imperfect; as it is almost impossible, after that process, to separate from the sea-salt the Glauber salt, or vitriolated tartar, or salt of Sylvius, which are produced according as the fossil or vegetable alkali is used.

Lord Dundonald observed, That hot water saturated with sea-salt, will still dissolve a great part of the bitter earthy salts. His method, therefore, of purifying the common salt from these bitter salts is, To take a conical vessel, having a hole

in the small end of it, which is to be undermost; to place it, filled with common salt, in a moderate heat; to take one twentieth part of the salt contained in it, and putting it in an iron pan, to dissolve it in its proper proportion of water, so that the water shall be completely saturated with the salt; and then to pour this solution boiling hot on the salt in the conical vessel, which is to be purified. The boiling water being already saturated with sea-salt, will dissolve no more of it, but will dissolve much of the bitter earthy salts; and this solution will gradually drop out at the hole in the bottom of the cone. When it ceases to drop, the same process is to be repeated by means of fresh portions of the same parcel of salt, already partly purified, till it be brought to the required degree of purity. Lord Dundonald reckons, that three such washings make the common salt of this country purer than any foreign salt; that each washing makes it  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times purer than before; so that (disregarding fractions) after the second washing it will be 20 times, after the third 91 times, after the fourth 410 times, and after the fifth 1845 times purer than at first.

The superiority of salt thus purified to common salt, is equally obvious to the taste, and by its effect in preserving fish, flesh, and butter; for it hath been often and carefully tried. Lord Dundonald conceives, that the simplicity, facility, and cheapness of this method of purifying



ing salt should recommend it to common practice, as it is an object of great public importance. He adds, that as all salt made by boiling has a portion of uncombined magnesia

mixed with it, it is proper to add a little muriatic acid to the first brine poured on the salt, in order to dissolve the magnesia, and carry it off.

T	A	B	L	E.					
Salt employed.					Magnesia salita. Magn. vitriol. lb. oz.				
lb.	oz.	Purified Salt.							
lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.				
Salt hot from the pan	56	00	49	00	6	05	{ which is equal nearly to }	$\frac{1}{2}$ of salt employed.	
first drawn - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-		$\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$	Ditto.
Salt hot from the pan	56	00	33	09	22	06		{ of pure }	Ditto.
last drawn - - -	-	-	41	04	14	05			Ditto.
Medium of the above	56	00	-	-	-	-	{ contained of }	Ditto.	
Salt 6 weeks old - -	56	00	47	00	7	00		{ of pure }	Ditto.
Salt first drawn, drip-	-	-	-	-	-	-			{ contained of }
ped 24 hours - - -	56	00	52	12	3	00		$\frac{1}{18}$	
Salt last drawn, drip-	-	-	-	-	-	-	{ contained of }	Ditto.	
ped 24 hours - - -	56	00	44	08	11	00		$\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto.
Medium of the two	-	-	-	-	-	-	{ contained of }	Ditto.	
last - - - - -	56	00	48	10	7	00		$\frac{1}{3}$	Ditto.
Spanish great Salt -	10	00	9	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	00	00 $\frac{1}{2}$	{ contained of }	Ditto.	
Basket fine Salt -	3	00	3	00	00	00		$\frac{1}{64}$	Ditto.

Each Portion of Salt in the foregoing Table was purified by his Lordship by Four Washings, according to the Method above described.

*An Account of the Method of making a Wine, called by the Tartars Koumifs; with Observations on its Use in Medicine. By John Grieve, M. D. F. R. S. Edin. and late Physician to the Russian Army. — From the same Work.*

“IN an age like the present, when few things in nature seem to have eluded the researches of philosophy, when the communications of learning are as well established as those of commerce, it may appear somewhat surprizing, that one of the most important productions of milk should still remain, in a great measure, unknown to the most enlightened parts of Europe.

The production I mean is the vinous liquor which is procured by fermentation from mares milk. And it was scarcely to be expected, that, after it had escaped the observation of men the most skilled in chemistry, it should be taught us by a horde of Tartars, whose rank in society is not above that of Barbarians.

Even in Russia itself, it was with difficulty I could learn the particulars of the preparation; and though it has been used, for some ages, by several tribes of people who belong to that empire, yet, in the year 1781, when I first began to think of employing it in medicine, it was as little known in what may be called Russia proper, as it is now in Great Britain. If the academicians of St. Petersburg gave some accounts of it, these ac-

counts have never excited the attention of the physicians of Russia.

This neglect is most probably to be ascribed, partly to the obscure relations of travellers, and partly to the pride of system, which men of learning are too often apt to indulge, in rejecting as incredible whatever does not coincide with their own preconceived opinions.

On consulting the authors who have made mention of this subject, I find, that they give little satisfactory information concerning it. They all agree, that a vinous liquor, from mares milk, was used by some of the Tartar nations, under the name of Koumifs; but none of them enter into a detail of the process by which that wine was prepared, much less does any one of them point out the purposes, either in œconomy or medicine, to which it may be applied.

Marcus Paulus Venetus gives some account of it in his History of the Eastern Nations \*, which was published as long ago as the thirteenth century. He says, it was used by the Tartars as their common beverage, but makes no mention of the method of preparing it.

Strahlenberg, in his description of the Russian empire †, relates some circumstances of the preparation; but his method, if followed, could not be attended with success; for he mentions, that the Kalmucks take off the thick substance, which, in consequence of souring, rises to the top of the milk, and employ this in their food, while they use the remaining liquor either for

\* De Region. Oriental. lib. 1: cap. 57.

† Beschreibung des Russischen Reichs, p. 319.

drink or distillation. Now, this is not only contrary to the usage of that people, when they wish to obtain a fermented liquor of any strength; but experience proves, that no perfect fermentation can be produced, unless all the parts of the milk be left united in their natural portion.

Gmelin, in his history of a tour which he made through Siberia\*, pays more attention to the Tartar method of distilling a spirit from the whey of milk, than to the fermenting process by which that wine is procured.

The latest writer that I find mentioning Koumiss, is the celebrated professor of natural history in St. Petersburg, Dr. Pallas†. His account is as circumstantial as could well be expected from a traveller, whose object was natural history in general; yet, the principles on which the fermentation depends, as well as the mode of conducting the process, are not sufficiently explained in his work.

These accounts, however imperfect, might have led philosophers, long before this time, to a discovery of the true method of fermenting milk, had not the writings of Newman‡, an eminent German chemist, contributed to deceive them. He was himself imposed upon by one Lucas, a Dominican monk, who ascribed its fermentation to the flour of millet and the grains of barley, which, he said, the Tartars added to it, and to the

wine cask in which the operation was performed. Newman, it would seem, was unwilling to admit of the fermentability of milk, because it was contrary to the ideas he had entertained of an animal liquor; and, therefore, adopting the opposite opinion, he seems glad to have an authority, however weak, to support it.

Voltelen§ too, a chemist of Holland, affords a striking example, how easily men are misled, even in matters of science, by their own prejudices. He had no doubt of the existence of a fermentable principle in milk, inasmuch as it contained a certain quantity of a saccharine substance. He knew also, that the whey contained the sugar in solution; it was on it, therefore, that he instituted his experiments; he added even more sugar to the whey than the natural proportion; but no vinous fermentation could, by any means, be produced in it. Nor did even his want of success undeceive him. He never once imagined, that the butyraceous and caseous parts of the milk were no less necessary to its fermentation than the saccharine and serous.

Even Macquer, in his Chemical Dictionary||, has fallen into an error of the same kind. Speaking of whey, he says, "In whey is contained dissolved, a considerable quantity of extractive substance, of the nature of the saccharine juices, and it is accordingly susceptible of the spiritu-

\* Gmelin's *Reise durch Siberien*, t. 1. p. 273.

† *Physicalish. Reise durch einig. provintz. des Russisch. Reichs*, t. 1. p. 316.

‡ *Newman, Chem. experimental.* t. 1. part 2. p. 18.

§ *Observat. de lacte humano cum asinino et ovillo comparato*, p. 54.

|| *Macquer Dictionary of Chemist.* p. 432.

ous fermentation. The Tartars certainly make from it a spirituous drink, or kind of wine." From this it appears he had not made the experiment.

The following method of making Koumifs, is that which I adopted in my own practice with success. It is common among the Baschkir Tartars, who inhabit that part of the government of Orenbourg which lies between the rivers Kama and Volga. It was communicated to me by a Russian nobleman, in whose case I was consulted, and who was the first who made use of it by my advice. He went into that country on purpose to drink it; and, as he resided for some time there, he could not be mistaken with respect to the process.

Take of fresh mares milk, of one day, any quantity; add to it a sixth part of water, and pour the mixture into a wooden vessel; use then, as a ferment, an eighth part of the fourest cows milk that can be got; but, at any future preparation, a small portion of old Koumifs will better answer the purpose of souring; cover the vessel with a thick cloth, and set it in a place of moderate warmth; leave it at rest twenty-four hours, at the end of which time, the milk will have become sour, and a thick substance will be gathered on the top; then, with a stick, made at the lower end in the manner of a churnstaff, beat it, till the thick substance above mentioned be blended intimately with the subjacent fluid: In this situation, leave it again at rest for twenty-four hours more; after which, pour it into a higher and narrower vessel, resembling a churn, where the agitation must be repeat-

ed, as before, till the liquor appear to be perfectly homogeneous; and, in this state, it is called Koumifs; of which the taste ought to be a pleasant mixture of sweet and sour. Agitation must be employed every time before it be used.

To this detail of the process, he subjoined, that in order to obtain milk in sufficient quantity, the Tartars have a custom of separating the foal from the mare during the day, and allowing it to suck during the night. And, when the milk is to be taken from the mare, which is generally about five times a-day, they always produce the foal, on the supposition, that she yields her milk more copiously when it is present.

To the above method of making Koumifs, which I have translated as literally as possible from the original Russian manuscript now in my possession, I will add some particulars, taken from other communications with which I was favoured by Tartars themselves. For though I think no addition necessary to render it either more simple or more intelligible, yet I think it my duty to withhold nothing which may, in any wise, throw light on so essential a part of my subject.

According to the account of a Tartar, who lived to the south-east of Orenbourg, the proportion of milk and souring ought to be the same as above; only, to prevent changing the vessel, the milk may be put at once into a pretty high and narrow vessel; and, in order to accelerate the fermentation, some warm milk may be added to it, and, if necessary, more souring.

From a Tartar, whom I met with at the fair of Macarieff upon the Volga,



Volga, and from whom I purchased one of the leathern bags \* which are used by the Kalmucks for the preparation and carriage of their Koumiss, I learned, that the process may be much shortened by heating the milk before the fouring be added to it, and as soon as the parts begin to separate, and a thick substance to rise to the top, by agitating it every hour, or oftener. In this way, he made some in my presence in the space of twelve hours. I learned also, that it was common, among some Tartars, to prepare it in one day during summer, and that with only two or three agitations; but that in winter, when, from a deficiency of mares milk, they are obliged to add a great proportion of that of cows, more agitation and more time are necessary. And though it is commonly used within a few days after the preparation, yet, when well secured in close vessels, and kept in a cold place, that it may be preserved for three months, or even more, without any injury to its qualities.

He said farther, that the acid fermentation might be produced by sour milk, as above, by a sour paste of rye-flour, by the rennet of a lamb's stomach, or, what is more common, by a portion of old Koumiss; and that, in some places, they saved much time, by adding the new milk to a quantity of that

already fermented, on being mixed with which, it very soon undergoes the vinous change. It was according to the first process, however, that all the Koumiss which I have employed in medicine was prepared.

From all these accounts, it appears, that three things are essential to the vinous fermentation of milk. These are *heat*, *souring*, and *agitation*. Heat is necessary to every species of fermentation, and souring is perhaps not less so, though not in so sensible a degree as in the present case; but the chief art of fermenting milk consists in *agitation*. This last circumstance has wholly escaped the attention of chemists, notwithstanding it appears to be consonant to the operations of nature in other species of fermentation. In fermenting vegetable juices and infusions, nature has no need of the assistance of art; the intestine motion which accompanies the fermentation is sufficient to produce the degree of agitation which seems necessary to keep the parts of the fluid in mutual contact, or to fit them for mutual action. Milk, on the contrary, is no sooner soured than a separation of its parts takes place; the cream rises to the top, while the cheese either falls to the bottom, or is suspended in the whey. When these parts are brought, however, into close contact with one another, by agitation, and this re-

\* This bag was made of a horse's hide undressed, and, by having been smoked, had acquired a great degree of hardness. Its shape was conical, but was, at the same time, somewhat triangular, from being composed of three different pieces, set in a circular base of the same hide. The sutures, which were made with tendons, were secured by a covering on the outside, with a doubling of the same skin, very closely secured. It had a dirty appearance, and a very disagreeable smell. On being asked the reason of this, he said, "The remains of the old Koumiss were left, in order to supply a ferment to the new milk."

peated at proper intervals, a vinous liquor is produced; of the medical virtues of which I shall now treat.

From the time I had heard of Koumifs, I had conceived an opinion of its importance in the cure of certain diseases. I judged, that a preparation of milk, which could not be curdled by the juices of the stomach, while, at the same time, it possessed all its nutritive qualities, with the superaddition of a fermented spirit, might be of essential service in all those disorders where the body is defective either in nourishment or strength.

The case of the above-mentioned nobleman, who communicated to me the first process, gave me an opportunity of trying how far my conjectures were well founded. He was in that state which seemed to me strongly to indicate the use of such a medicine as Koumifs. I accordingly advised him to it.

At twenty-six years of age, he laboured under a complication of chronic complaints. A confirmed *lues venerea*, injudiciously treated, with three successive salivations by mercury, added to bad management of himself under these, had given rise to his disease. His body was much emaciated; his face was of a livid yellow colour; his eyes were sunk, and round his eye-lids there was a dark shade; he felt a severe pain in his breast, and that was accompanied with a considerable cough and mucous expectoration; his appetite and digestion were greatly impaired; he had frequent tremblings and faintings; he began to feel the symptoms of hectic fever. In a word, his whole appearance was consumptive, and he was so weak that he required assistance to get into the carriage in which

he was to be conveyed into Tarry.

After drinking Koumifs six weeks only, he returned perfectly free from all the above symptoms, and was become so plump and fresh-coloured, that, at first sight, it was with difficulty his friends could recognise him. As he did not come immediately to Nischné-Novogorod, where I then was, he wrote me a letter, the substance of which, as far as it related to this subject, I shall give here.

After telling me the sudden and remarkable change the Koumifs had produced, during the first few days; that he ceased to be disturbed in his sleep; that his nervous and dyspeptic symptoms left him; that he felt as if his vessels had been distended with a fresh cooling liquor; that he became cheerful; that it served him both for food and drink; that though he used it to the quantity of a gallon and a half, and sometimes even more, in the twenty-four hours, yet he always drank it with pleasure, and without intoxication; that his body, during its use, was regularly open; but that his urine was so much increased, that he was usually excited to make water every hour; he proceeded to express himself in the following strong terms, which serves to show how much he had profited by it.

“ I am disposed to consider Koumifs (says he) with all deference to you, as an universal medicine, which will cure every disease, if you do not chuse to except fever; for I am persuaded, that the most skilful physician, with all the drugs of the shop, could not have restored me to the health I now enjoy.”

The next case in which it was employed, though not so desperate as the former, gave sufficient proofs of its nutritive and strengthening qualities. A lady, who had been witness to its uncommon efficacy in the nobleman's case above mentioned, was encouraged to try it in her own. It was not convenient for her to go herself to Tartary, and therefore she had it sent to her, well secured in casks, during the autumn.

She had been long subject to a train of nervous disorders. By these, she was much extenuated, and reduced to a state of extreme weakness and irritability. She used it for about a month, at the end of which time, the functions of her nervous system were restored, and, with health and vigour, she acquired a plumpness and fresh complexion.

The following year, I resolved to try it at Nischne-Novogorod under my own eye. As mares milk could not be obtained in sufficient quantity in town, it was made at the seat of a nobleman, not far distant, from which it was occasionally transported. The season was far advanced, however, before a case was presented, in which its efficacy might be tried. At last, about the middle of August 1782, I was consulted by the General Governor's nephew. He had all the symptoms of incipient phthisis; pain of breast; dry cough, occasional hæmoptysis, and great emaciation; he was not, however, become hectic. His two elder brothers had died of true pulmonary consumptions. He had taken much medicine, in a different part of the country, and had observed a very strict antiphlogistic regimen; but

though milk had constituted the greatest part of his diet, yet there were no signs of recovery. He drank Koumiss for about two months only, and that in rather an unfavourable season; but the consequence was, that all the above symptoms disappeared, and his flesh and strength returned; nor was there any reason to apprehend a relapse, at the time I left that country.

About the same time, I advised its use to another young nobleman, who had laboured under an abscess in the left side, about the region of the twelfth rib. As he had then resided in a remote part of the country, no attention had been paid to it; on the contrary, by improper applications, the sides of the ulcer were become hard. He had lost his flesh and strength; he had occasional faintings; and there were all the appearances of incipient hectic. By the use of Koumiss for about six weeks, proper surgical dressings being at the same time applied, his health was perfectly re-established.

There were some other cases in which I employed it with equal success; but of which, as being less important, I omit the detail.

All those who drank it agreed in saying, that, during its use, they had little appetite for food; that they drank it in very large quantities, not only without disgust, but with pleasure; that it rendered their veins turgid, without producing languor; that, on the contrary, they soon acquired from it an uncommon degree of sprightliness and vivacity; that even in cases of some excess, it was not followed by indigestion, head-ach, or any of the symptoms which usually attend the abuse of other fermented liquors.

To

To this may be added, that the Bafchkir Tartars, who, towards the end of winter, are much emaciated, no sooner return in summer to the use of Koumifs, than they become strong and fat \*.

From all these circumstances, I think myself entitled to infer, that this wine of mares milk may be applied to many of the purposes of medicine. From the mild acid which it contains, may it not be considered as a cooling antiseptic? From its vinous spirit, may it not become an useful stimulant, cordial, and tonic? And, from its oily and mucilaginous parts, may it not prove a valuable article of nourishment? If chronic diseases, as is generally allowed, depend on a debility of the solids; and if they are difficult of cure, because the organs, which ought to supply the body with nourishment and strength, do not only themselves partake of the general weakness, but are too often, by the indigestible nature of the food with which they are overcharged, still more debilitated; may not a substance of easy digestion, which at once strengthens the stomach and nourishes the body, become a powerful remedy in all such cases?

And if acute diseases, especially of the febrile kind, are frequently attended with symptoms of weakness and putridity, may it not be found, from its antiseptic and tonic powers, to be an useful corrector of the one, and restorative from the other?

May not the sudden change it produced, in the *first* case, in the state of the patient's feelings, and especially of his sleep, point it out as of use in all cases of excessive irritability?

May not the effect it had in restoring his stomach to its functions, recommend it in dyspepsia? And may not the vigour and plumpness which ensued from its use, indicate it in cases even of confirmed atrophy?

Have we not reason to believe, that it may be used to advantage in the cure of nervous disorders in general, from the manner in which it operated in the *second* case? And in the incipient, perhaps even in the advanced stages of phthisis, from the rapid and effectual change it occasioned in the pulmonary symptoms of the *third*?

And may not its efficacy in the *fourth* case, encourage us to employ it in all cases of suppuration or ulcer, in which the body is threatened with hectic fever?

Whether all these questions can be answered in the affirmative, must be determined by future experience; and, if they should, perhaps the scarcity of mares milk in this country would greatly circumscribe its utility.

Hence enquiries will naturally be made, whether other species of milk admit of a similar vinous fermentation, and what proportion of spirit they contain. As these have never been the object, however, of my attention, I will here give the

\* The author of a historical description of all the nations which compose the Russian empire, says, speaking of Koumifs, "Elle est fort nourissante, et peut tenir lieu de tout autre aliment. Les Bafchkirs s'en trouvent très bien, elle les rend bienportans et gais; elle leur donne de l'embonpoint, et de bonnes couleurs." Descrip. de tout. les Nat. de l'Emp. Russ. t. 2. p. 118.



substance of what I have been able to learn from others respecting that which is the most common, the milk of cows.

Dr. Pallas \*, in the work above quoted, says, that cows milk is also susceptible of the vinous fermentation, and that the Tartars prepare a wine from it in winter, when mares' milk fails them; that the wine prepared from cows milk, they call *Airen*; but that they always prefer Koumifs when it can be got, as it is more agreeable, and contains a greater quantity of spirit; that Koumifs on distillation yields of a weak spirit one-third, but that *Airen* yields only two ninth parts of its whole quantity; which spirit they call *Arika*.

This account is confirmed by Oseretzkowsky, a Russian †, who accompanied Lepechin, and other academicians, in their travels through Siberia and Tartary. He published lately a dissertation on the ardent spirit to be obtained from cows milk.

From his experiments, it appears, that cows milk may be fermented with, or even without, souring, provided sufficient time and agitation be employed; that no spirit could be produced from any one of its constituent parts taken separately, nor from any two of them, unless inasmuch as they were mixed with some part of the third; that the milk, with all its parts in their natural proportion, was the most productive of it; that the closer it was kept, or, which is the same thing, the more difficultly the fixed air is allowed to escape during the

fermentation, (care being taken, however, that we do not endanger the bursting of the vessel), the more spirit is obtained. He also informs us, that it had a sourer smell before than after agitation; that the quantity of spirit was increased, by allowing the fermented liquor to repose for some time before distillation; that from six pints of milk, fermented in a close vessel, and thus set to repose, he obtained three ounces of ardent spirit, of which one was consumed in burning; but that from the same quantity of the same milk, fermented in an open vessel, he could scarcely obtain one ounce.

These particulars of the fermentation of mares and cows milk are an interesting addition to the facts concerning fermentation in general; a subject so very obscure and imperfectly understood, that I shall not hazard any remarks on it. My principal intention was, to point out to physicians what appears to me a powerful means which may be employed by them on many occasions in the cure of diseases."

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*Observations upon the Art of making Steel. By the Reverend Daniel Little, F. A. A.—From Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. I.*

"A S steel is an article of commerce, and of great use both in the arts, manufactures and husbandry of every nation; and as we have the best of iron already manufactured in America, it is thought that the manufacturing of

\* Physicalisch. Reise durch verschied. provintz. des Russisch. Reichs, t. 1. p. 316. et 317.

† Specim. inaug. de Spir. Ardent. ex lact. Bub. Argentorat. 1778.

steel of a good quality, deserves the attention and encouragement of those who wish the welfare of the United States. What time I could redeem from other necessary business, for several years past, has been employed in such disquisitions and experiments as might tend to facilitate the art of making steel, and others near akin to it.

Those writers upon the subject which I have met with tell us, that the principal difference between iron and steel consists in this, That the latter is combined with a greater quantity of phlogiston than the former. Phlogiston exists in all inflammable substances, and in some that are not inflammable. Charcoal, and the coals of bones, horns and hoofs of animals, have been used as fit substances for communicating phlogiston to iron in making steel.

Steel is sometimes made by fusion of ore or pig-iron. The method is similar to that of reducing pig-iron to malleable iron, with this difference, that as steel requires more phlogiston than is necessary to iron, all the means must be made use of that are capable of introducing into the iron a great deal of phlogiston; that is, by keeping it, while in fusion, encompassed with an abundance of charcoal, &c.

The other method of making steel is by cementation, as it is called; that is, to convert bar-iron into steel; which is done by a cement made of those substances which contain the greatest quantity of phlogiston. Put the bar-iron with this cement into a vessel that will bear a strong fire; lute on a close cover, so as to prevent the cement taking flame and consuming; put the vessel in a furnace where the bars may be kept red-hot till they are con-

verted into steel, which will be in a longer or shorter time, according to the bigness of the bars, and the quantity of cement.

This latter method has chiefly engaged my attention, which method is pretty well known in some parts of America, and, for many years past, steel has been made by it in several of the United States. Yet, so far as I have been informed, it has generally been of an inferior quality, and very little used for edge tools, which I supposed could not arise from the quality of the iron, for we have the greatest variety, and the best sort, in many parts of the country. I then conjectured there might be found some other inflammable substance for a cement, which, if properly applied, would impregnate the iron with phlogiston more advantageously. And, after many experiments, I found a particular marine plant that requires no other preparation but drying and pulverizing, and is commonly known by the name of rock-weed, or rock-ware, and is in the greatest plenty on our rocky shores, coves, creeks and harbours of the sea. In making some experiments upon this plant for a flux powder, a small bit of iron was put into a crucible, and filled with the said cement; and, very unexpectedly, after it had been in a little more than a cherry heat for five or six hours, it was converted into steel, which gave me the first hint of its use in making steel; since which I have had repeated experience of its excellency for the same purpose.

It needs no other preparation than to be cut off from the rocks with a scythe or sickle, spread on the dry land till the rains have washed off the greater part of the sea-salt, then dried

dried and pulverized, then used as other cements are in making steel : or, instead of washing off the sea-salt, it is better for some particular kinds of iron, to neutralize it by adding a fixed alkali.

To two parts of the plant well dried and pulverized, add one part of good wood-ashes; mix together and moisten the whole with water or rather urine to the consistence of a very thick paste.

It is well known that in every new art, and in perfecting old ones, many unforeseen difficulties arise, and sometimes considerable fortunes have been spent before the manufacturer or the public have been much benefited. And, since honest, but too credulous minds are often deceived by uncertain proof, and being willing to satisfy myself and others, by a better testimony than my own, I engaged a \* gentleman of ability in the steel way for many years, whose furnace was complete and large, to make experiments upon my new-discovered substance for a cement; who has written me, that "this steel is preferable to any he had ever made before." After all, I suppose different modes of preparation and further experiments will more fully ascertain its utility.

The matter of the furnace must be of such substances as will endure a strong fire without fusion. Asbestos has been used to advantage, but a sufficiency of it is not found in many places. Pipe-clay with one third part of pond-sand, or, which is better, white stones free from grit, well burnt, and pulverized, instead of sand, some species of slate and talc may be used with pipe-clay for furnaces and crucibles.

The chest or interior part of the

furnace, for depositing the cement and bars of iron, must be covered so close that the inflammable substance within may not be consumed, but changed like wood in a coal-kiln. The iron to be chosen of the best quality; its toughness and malleability are marks of choice.

*Of the ore of iron.*—This is often discovered by the magnet, but a great part of the best ore is that which the magnet will not attract, as Linnæus and Macquer justly observe. When in that state it often resembles the rust or calx of iron. Many tons of which are brought to the iron-works in this neighbourhood, from which the best of iron is made. In its natural state the best magnetic bar will not attract the smallest particle; but when roasted with charcoal it becomes magnetic. This method of knowing whether any earth or stones contain the true ore of iron, may be of use to discover new bodies or beds of ore. The reduction of metals, or restoring them to their metallic state from their calces, by combining them with the inflammable principle in the application of charcoal, may sufficiently show the efficacy of the above method for the discovery of the earth of iron in those substances on which the magnet has no effect."

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*An Account of Land gained from the Sea on the Essex Coast, by the Rev. H. Bate Dudley, in a Letter from him addressed to the Secretary of the Society.—From Transactions of the Society, instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

\* Col. Eliot, of Connecticut.

Bradwell Lodge, Essex, Oct. 4,  
1787.

SIR,

"I Request that you will do me the favour to lay before the society instituted for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, the following statement of the means I pursued in obtaining a certain tract of land from the sea, in the parish of Bradwell, juxta mare, in the county of Essex.

On coming to possession (in 1781,) of the glebe of the said parish, containing between three and four hundred acres, I found it in a deplorable state of cultivation; the principal part of it being marsh land, bounded on the southward by the German ocean, was so much impoverished by spring and autumnal land-floods, that the tenant was obliged to quit the estate from inability to pay his rent.

Taking the farm into my own hands, I soon perceived that good draining was the principal thing requisite to bring the land into a proper state of cultivation: I therefore set about widening and deepening all the marsh ditches, the stuff from which, with the old banks, which had probably remained unmolested for centuries, I carried into the middle of the lands, at no less than one hundred loads per acre.

After four years perseverance, with a considerable strength of men and horses, I saw that all my endeavours would fall short of the effectual improvement I proposed, unless some method could be devised of carrying the land-floods more rapidly to sea.

The ditches now made, in general sixteen feet wide, and six deep, retained a vast body of water, the surface of which being nearly equal

with that of the earth, kept the land in a constant state of moisture prejudicial to every species of vegetation. I now discovered the cause of all the mischief which my neighbours, as well as my own lands, had so long experienced. I found that the land in front of my sea-wall, to the southward (called saltings, from the sea overflowing it except at low-water) was grown higher than the marsh land within the wall; that the channels from the two sea sluices, dividing mine and the adjoining estates, to my right and left, were nothing more than the narrow irregular courses, which the ebbing tide had marked, and therefore liable to be choked up with the sea-weed every north-east wind. And that even the sluices themselves were so ill contrived and out of repair, as more frequently to admit the salt, than let out the fresh water.

It now occurred to me, that the only effectual means of curing the evil, would be to take the saltings in from the sea, at the depth of fifty-six rods, and length of one hundred and twenty-seven, putting down more capacious sluices at each angle of the advanced wall—cutting straight channels through the new land to the sluices, and making outfall courses equally straight and spacious, to convey the freshes from the sluices to the sea.

Having laid my plan before the proprietors of the adjoining estates, they were soon convinced of its general utility, and liberally granted me two or three angles of their saltings, without which the work would not have been complete.

The annexed certificate states the particulars of the embarkment; to which it may be necessary to add, that the foreland, the part set off from



from the front of the wall, from which no earth is suffered to be dug into the work, as it would weaken the wall, is twenty-one feet wide; that the seating (between the inside of the wall, and the delph or ditch for back-water, for the same security) is eighteen feet. And that the whole work was completed by eight men, with barrows and shovels only, in a few days over six months time.

Whether the improvement in Agriculture which I have thus related to you, Sir, will entitle me to the honorary reward of your society, I know not; but be that as it may, I shall derive great satisfaction from having been enabled to lay before the members of so laudable an institution, an experiment, which I flatter myself, has proved serviceable to the country in which I reside.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient

humble servant,

H. BATE DUDLEY.

Mr. More.

Bradwell, near the sea, Essex,

Sep. 29, 1787.

WE, the underwritten, the minister, church-warden, and overseers of the parish aforesaid, do hereby certify, that between the months of march and September, 1786, the Rev. Henry Bate Dudley, of Bradwell Lodge, did securely enclose in the said parish of Bradwell, near the sea, in the county of Essex, by an embarkment of soil only, a tract of land measuring forty-five acres, one rood, and twenty-five poles; which land, until such enclosure, had been time immemorial overflowed by the sea from the German ocean.

That the sea-wall, now enclosing this recovered land, contains in length one hundred and eighty-three poles; that its base is thirty-two feet, its height seven feet, and the top five feet wide. That it is the general opinion, the land so gained is worth twenty shillings per acre, on a lease of twenty-one years.

That this work has greatly benefited and improved the whole level of marshes, in the said parish, as well as the adjoining one, by the construction and position of the sea-gutters or sluices, in the said sea-wall, which are placed at the extreme end of the new-gained land next the sea, whereby the fresh-water is now carried to sea with great facility, and the country no longer subject to those inundations, which till this improvement, it always experienced at certain rainy seasons. And we further certify, that, to the best of our knowledge and belief, the whole of this improvement was effected at the following rates:

	£.	s.	d.
* 144 $\frac{1}{4}$ rods of walling			
at 30 shillings per rod			
and 5 guineas extra	221	12	6
One new sea gutter 5			
feet clear run - - -	60	0	0
Removing and altering			
another - - - - -	10	0	0
Filling up rills - - -	50	0	0
Planks, barrows, and			
other tools - - - -	15	0	0
Carting D <sup>o</sup> and extras	6	0	0
Total	£. 362	12	6

W. C. STANES, Minister,  
G. KEYS, Churchwarden,  
JONAS ROLPH, } Over-  
JAMES ROBINSON, } seers."

\* The marsh rod contains twenty-one feet.

*An Account of Paper made from the Bark and Leaves of Within Twigs.—From the same Work.*

Mill Bank, near Warrington,  
Dec. 22, 1787.

SIR,

“I RECEIVED your two letters, which should have been sooner replied to, had I not been much from home and particularly engaged. The process used in making the paper sent you from the bark or peel of within twigs, was to have it stript from the twig in the month of September, when the twigs are usually cut for the making of white baskets. I then provided about six hundred weight, of which I ordered about two thirds to be hackled, much in the manner of dressing flax or hemp; then dried it in the sun, which gave it something of the appearance of brown hemp. In this state it was reduced to about one hundred weight, but being attended with a good deal of trouble and so much reduced, I dried the remaining two hundred weight, with the leaves in its green state as it was stript from the twig, and that was reduced about one half.

Having prepared the stuff, chest, and vatt, quite clean, I chopt the clean bark or first preparation, and with the roller and plate quite dull and smooth as possible, I set the engine to work, and from it was produced the paper of which you had eight quires sent, being the finer sort; and from the other was produced the coarser paper, of which you had the twenty-four half quires. From these materials I made little more than two reams, in the whole; but had I not hackled and cleaned the larger part, I expect that I could have made upwards of ten reams from them.

Nothing was used but the mere bark or peel of the twigs, without any oakum, hemp, or other preparation. And, as I considered that the experiment you wished, would then be made, I was not mindful of the quantity being more: but the next season, if it be desired, I can readily make any additional quantity, though at what price it may be sold, or to what use it may be best applicable, I cannot say, but I think it may be made at about one half the expence of other paper that is produced from ropes or rags, when it is made from the bark and leaves in a green state, without being dried, which I should recommend and conceive it will answer best.

If I can give any further information, or make any other trial that may be likely to be productive of good, I shall be very glad to do it, and shall hope to hear from you.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,  
“THOMAS GREAVES.”

Mr. More.

*An Account of Ardent Spirits produced from Potatoes. By James Anderson, L.L.D. F.R.S. and F.S.A. Scotland.—From Vol. IV. of Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c. selected from the Correspondence-Book of the Society instituted at Bath, &c.*

§. I.

“THE uses of the potatoe as a food for man, and the domestic animals he rears, are already pretty well known; but it is not in general understood that from this plant may also be obtained a  
vinous

vinous spirit, of an excellent quality, in very large proportions. A good many years ago an account of an experiment made in Sweden to ascertain this fact was published in the memoirs of the Philosophical Society of Stockholm. This, together with some obscure hints I received from the late ingenious Dr. John Gregory, of some similar experiments that had been made with success in the north of Scotland, induced me to make the following trial.

*Experiment Tenth.*

February 15th, 1777, I set apart two Aberdeenshire pecks of potatoes by measure, which I have since found were each equal to 36 pounds by weight, so that the whole was 72 pounds. These potatoes were boiled in a cauldron, till they were brought to a soft pulpy state; they were then bruised, and made to pass through a strait riddle along with some fresh water; the skins being kept back by the riddle, which were thrown away. The pulp was then mixed with cold water, till the whole amounted to about twenty gallons English. This was allowed to cool till it attained the same temperature as would be proper for mixing yeast with wort; when some yeast was put to it, as if it had been yeast to wort from malt. In ten or twelve hours a fermentation began, which continued very briskly for the space of ten or twelve hours, but at the end of that time it began sensibly to abate; from which circumstance I was afraid my experiment would fail. After waiting for some time, and, in vain, warming it a little, with a view to renew the fermentation, I determined to

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stir it briskly to see if it could be renewed by that means. This produced the desired effect, and the same operation was renewed every day, and the fermentation continued to go on in a proper manner for a fortnight. At the end of this time the fermentation abated, and could not be renewed by agitation or otherwise; and the liquor, having been found upon trial to have acquired a kind of acid, slightly vinous taste, was judged fit for distillation. It was then distilled with due caution, care having been taken to stir it in the still, until it began to boil, before the head of the still was applied; and the fire was afterwards kept up so strong as to keep it boiling briskly till the whole was run over. This was intended to prevent the thick matter from subsiding to the bottom; for I was afraid that without this precaution, it would have acquired a *still-burnt* flavour; and I found by experience in one instance, that this kind of *empyreuma* was of an exceeding disagreeable kind, resembling in flavour the fumes of burning tobacco.

In consequence of these precautions and due rectification, I obtained an English gallon of a pure spirit, considerably above proof; and about a quart more of a weaker kind, a good deal below proof. This was, in every respect, the finest and most agreeable vinous spirit I ever saw. In taste it somewhat resembled very fine brandy; but it was more mild than any brandy I ever tasted, and had a certain kind of coolness upon the palate peculiar to itself, by which it might be readily distinguished, by a nice judge, from every other kind of spirit. Its flavour was still more

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peculiar

peculiar to itself, but it more nearly resembled brandy impregnated with the odour of violets and raspberries, than any thing else to which I could compare it. [A single glass of it put into a bowl of rum punch, made it appear as if it had consisted half and half of rum and brandy, impregnated with the juice of raspberries.] It seemed to derive this flavour from a subtle essential oil, of a very singular kind—for although it rose with the first spirit that came over, it still continued to come over, without any sensible diminution or change of flavour, till the whole of the spirit was entirely drawn off. It was also so difficult to be dissipated, as to scent with its own perfume a drinking glass, into which the spirit had been poured, for more than twenty-four hours after it had been emptied, and apparently quite dry; and this perfume, after the spirituous flavour was totally dissipated, appeared to me the most agreeable I had ever met with. I have been at the greater pains to describe this kind of spirit in its state of perfection, because I have since heard of and seen some spirits, said to be drawn from potatoes, which, for want of skill or caution in the operators, was intolerably nauseous. As others may fall into the same errors in attempting to perform the same operation, I shall hazard a few remarks on the cautions necessary to be observed in attempting to extract vinous spirits from this or other roots; for want of attending to which particulars, many attempts of this kind have no doubt failed.

§. II. Every philosophic enquirer knows that vinous spirits are entirely the produce of fermentation, and

cannot be obtained from any substance whatever, till it has undergone that chemical process: but many of those who attempt experiments of this kind, are neither sufficiently aware of the necessity of this previous step, nor acquainted with the means of exciting it, or of conducting it properly, which frequently frustrates their attempts.

If any vegetable in an unfermented state be distilled, there is, for the most part, obtained by that operation, a portion of native *essential oil*, strongly impregnated with the peculiar taste or flavour of the substance from which it is obtained: but if the substance be properly fermented, that essential oil disappears, and in its stead a new substance is obtained by distillation, altogether different from the former in many respects. This substance is called *vinous spirits*, or *alcohol*, when in its highest rectified state. But if any vegetable substance be subjected to distillation before it has been made to undergo a *proper degree* of fermentation, a *part* of it only rises in the state of *vinous spirit*, and a *part* of it also rises in the state of *native essential oil*; which, mixing with the spirit while in the state of vapour, and being dissolved therein, communicates to that spirit a taste and flavour very different from that of the pure spirit by itself, which is, for the most part, extremely nauseous and disagreeable. It has pretty much the same effect, as if a quantity of the raw vegetable substance should be distilled along with another quantity of it that had been *properly* fermented. In all those cases where the volatility of the native essential oil is nearly the same with that of the spirit, it is evident that no care in the process of distillation



lation can prevent them from being blended together in the same process.

From hence it appears, sufficiently obvious, that if ever we hope to obtain the pure genuine vinous spirit without adulteration from any vegetable substance whatever, it is of the very greatest consequence that the fermentation be properly carried on, so as that the whole of the matter susceptible of fermentation shall be equally and entirely assimilated before it be committed to the still. This is on all occasions necessary; but it is peculiarly so in those cases in which the native oils are very abundant, or volatile, or disagreeable. In distilling malt-spirits, this circumstance is seldom sufficiently attended to; the fermentation being usually hurried forward with a rapid carelessness, in consequence of which some part of it is converted into vinegar, before other parts of it are assimilated at all. Hence it necessarily follows, that the malt not only yields a smaller *quantity* of spirit, but affords that spirit also of a much inferior *quality* to what it would have been if the fermentation had been duly conducted. Spirits that are drawn from ale, which has been accidentally allowed to run into the acetous fermentation, are always, on this account, of a quality far superior to that obtained from malt by any other process.

In attempting therefore to obtain a spirit from roots or other vegetable substances, the first point to be attended to is, to conduct the fermentation properly, and to push the vinous fermentation as far as it can be made to go. I am disposed to ascribe the success I had in this experiment, beyond what others

have experienced, in a great measure to this cause, and to the care that was taken to prevent it from obtaining the slightest empyreumatic taint during the distillation; though it may also have been occasioned by some other unobserved peculiarity.

One particular I remarked relating to the distillation of this spirit, that deserves to be mentioned. In distilling from malt, it is found that towards the end of the operation a quantity of weak spirit is forced over, which is strongly impregnated with a very disagreeable oil, that very much debases the whole of the spirits, if it be suffered to mix with them. To separate this from them, with as little loss of good spirit as possible, constitutes one of the principal niceties in the process of distillation from malt. But no such phenomenon occurs in the distillation from potatoes; for I could perceive no difference between the taste of the very weakest spirit towards the end of the operation, and that which came over at the beginning or any other part of the process, if equally diluted with water. It would seem that the oil, to which this spirit owes its fragrance, is in all parts of the process seemingly the same, and always agreeable; contrary to the *gout*, or *goo*, as it is pronounced, of malt.

§. III. I have described above, with all the accuracy I could, the whole process and phenomena that occurred in distilling spirits from potatoes, as I observed them when the process was conducted under my own eyes. This process I repeated twice, about the same period of time, with the same success. But it is also just to observe, that though

it has been since that time several times attempted by my direction, under the care of another person, on whose accuracy I thought I could depend, it has invariably failed in as far as respects the peculiar fragrance of the spirits above described, though in every other respect the result was the same with mine: the same yield of spirit of equal strength being obtained, which was distinguished by the same cool sensation on the palate, and in every respect an excellent spirit, though divested of that unusual fragrance above described. I have often wished to repeat the experiment myself, and so to vary circumstances as to try to discover the cause of this peculiarity; but the revenue laws are so strict at present, that a private man cannot venture to have a still in his possession for the sake of making any experiment of this sort, without subjecting himself to a very heavy penalty; and as I should very much dislike any thing that had the appearance of evading the laws, I have thus been, very much against my will, prevented from repeating these experiments. Certain, however, as I am with regard to the fact, (which if necessary could be attested by many persons who tasted the spirits) I have no scruple in publishing it fairly to the world, leaving it to time, and to others who have opportunity to make these experiments, to discover the causes of this peculiarity, and other particulars relating to it.

If the vegetable substance that is subjected to fermentation, contains but a small proportion of fermentable matter, it will not be possible ever to free the spirits from the peculiar flavour of the vegetable; for that large proportion of unassimilated

matter being subjected to distillation, along with the fermented liquor, will of necessity yield its oil by the heat employed to distil the spirits. This seems to be particularly the case with regard to carrots, parsnips, and turnips, all of which I have tried, and found that although they could be made to undergo the process of fermentation, and to yield a considerable proportion of ardent spirits, yet that these spirits were strongly tainted with the flavour of the vegetables from whence they were obtained, and so intolerably nauseous that they never could be employed for food by man. In the process above described, the whole of the matter of the potatoes was subjected to distillation. What effect would have been produced by separating the gross sediment from the transparent fluid above it, after the fermentation was over, either as to the quantity or quality of the spirit, I had not an opportunity of remarking; but should ever the process of extracting spirit from potatoes be attempted on a large scale, it would be of importance to try to separate that sediment before distillation, as that process would be rendered much easier, and less precarious, in consequence of that operation.

If ever this manufacture should be attempted, it deserves also to be remarked, that the farinaceous powder which subsides to the bottom after the fermentation, seems to have suffered very little change in its taste or appearance by the process, as it very much resembles boiled potatoes in all respects, so that it might probably go as far, as food for domestic animals, as the potatoes themselves would have gone in their native state.

I shall only farther add on this subject,

subject, that I attempted to obtain a fermentable liquor, by bruising the potatoes raw, and pouring water of different degrees of warmth upon it, as is used in mashing malt, but could never thus succeed in exciting any degree of fermentation. It always afforded a viscid roapy liquor, that remained unaltered after the addition of yeast to it."

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*On the Means of preserving Apple Blossom and Orchards from Injury. In a Letter from Mr. Gullett, addressed to the Secretary of the Society.—From the same Work.*

Beerferris, near Tavistock, Devon.

SIR,

"I DO not recollect that yours is a noted cyder county, yet I take it for granted, some gentlemen have orchards, and the rarer the more valuable. This parish, which is my summer residence, abounds with orchards and cherry-gardens; the orchards, by their blossoming this spring, promised a much larger quantity of apples than they will actually produce; not occasioned however, as the farmers here imagine, by the frosty nights of the first and second of last month, but by the ravages of an uncommon number of *insects*, which have been produced this season from a species of black flies in particular, which deposited their eggs in the apple-bud, or blossom, at its first opening; from which eggs were generated the maggot insects, which, by feeding on the heart of the bud or blossom, soon occasioned it to drop, contract, and close itself into the form of a cup, of a brown red colour, resembling that of a dry dock-leaf, (unless

this was originally caused by the bite of the fly, when she deposited her egg there) so as to afford a safe nidus for the young insect, and sufficient nourishment to support it, until full grown in that state, and needing no longer protection there; when it decamps, and the blossom being destroyed, at last falls off—whereby a plentiful blossoming is likely this year to produce (as is often the case) a scanty bearing.

I have within a few weeks past opened some scores of those shrivelled blossoms, and scarce ever failed of finding a maggot insect (some much larger than others) safely inclosed within its natural nest; though in some instances I found it had decamped, after having exhausted its nutriment, and the decayed blossom was ready to fall off with the slightest touch.

Having thus given you a plain concise account of the evil, permit me, Sir, to point out what I conceive will be an *effectual remedy*; or rather preventive; and will likewise contribute to the fertility of the soil, the prosperity of the trees, the future produce of apples, and the goodness of the pasture.

When the winged insect tribe first begin to appear, (which some conceive, and not improbably, to be by an east wind bringing some sorts at least of them, over from the continent) I would recommend some heaps to be made of the sward or spind, in the nature of denthring or burnbaiting, or heaps of long dung, wet straw, weeds, or any other like matters, at different intervals all around, *i.e.* on every side, and likewise some in different parts of the orchard. If an east wind blow, set fire to some of the heaps on the east side, and some within the body

of the orchard; if a south wind, then on the south side; and so occasionally on different sides, as the wind may happen to vary; but always on that side from whence the wind happens to blow, so that the smoke from the smothering of the heaps may blow through and fumigate the orchard for some weeks. The expence attending which will comparatively be very trifling, but its consequences and beneficial effects very great, as it will effectually prevent the insect fly not only from depositing its eggs, but even from approaching, or at least continuing long in such a noxious situation, whereby the blossoms and fruit will be preserved from such ravages, and the heat and ashes of the smothering heaps will likewise contribute to the fertility of the soil, the sweetness of the pasture, and the growth and vigour of the trees for future bearings; thus destroying *moss* probably better than by any other means, and counteracting the effects in some measure of cold and blighting winds, and such late frosty nights as those of the first and second of last month.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. GULLETT.

June 3, 1786.

P. S. It seems superfluous to add, that the same process is applicable, and promises to be equally advantageous, to *all other fruit trees*, if suitably adapted in point of time and other circumstances."

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*Bishop of Killaloe's Method of cultivating Potatoes.—From the same Work.*

"WHEN your land is left in such an exhausted condition, that it will not answer to plough it again for a crop, the method of bringing it again into heart by potatoes, is as follows:—

Spread your manure in lines (of about five or six feet broad) upon the ground, about twelve or fourteen waggon load to an acre, leaving an interval of about two feet and a half between every row of manure. The intervals to be broader or narrower, according to the depth of soil on the land; where the vegetable mould is shallowest, the intervals to be broadest. Then cut your potatoes into pieces, leaving one eye (from whence a small fibre of the root seems to grow) upon every piece: every one of these eyes will produce a new plant. Then spread the pieces on the ground, at a foot or a foot and half distance. Then send in your diggers, and let them dig out of the interval as much earth as will cover the pieces of potatoes about two inches.

As soon as the new plants all appear above ground, send in the diggers again, and cover the plants completely. When they appear above ground a second time, cover them again with earth dug out of the intervals, taking care not to go much deeper than the remaining vegetable mould; though you may venture to go a little into the thill or clay, as it will tend rather to improve the land than otherwise; for lying at the top, it will not injure the vegetation; and being exposed to the sun and dews, it will be converted into fertile earth, in a season or two, as well as the rest.

When the weeds have appeared and are fit to pull, the crop must be carefully weeded, and in the course

of



of the summer, must be weeded a second time.

If the potatoes are planted in the latter end of March or even the beginning of April, they will be come to their full growth before Michaelmas. They must then be dug out, and the land will be left in condition to bear a good crop of wheat to be sown at that season with a slight ploughing, at which time the brows of the ridges should be partly ploughed into the trenches, that the ground may be in order for future crops, and then the whole of the field properly covered with the crop.

After this husbandry, the ground will be fit for a crop of barley to succeed the wheat, and then a crop of oats with clover, &c.

N. B. By this course of husbandry, the arable land of the farm will never be fallow for a year, as the potatoe crop succeeds the last crop of oats, and will be well worth 20l. per acre; and the land by the digging will be left in finer tilth than four ploughings will produce.

I twice tried an experiment, which answered beyond my expectations. Instead of first digging out my potatoes, I cut the haulm with a scythe, and threw it into the trenches. I then sent the sower to sow the land with wheat; then I had the potatoes dug out, and let the wheat take its chance of being properly covered in the digging, and then gave it a slight harrowing;

and by this method I had a crop of ten barrels to the acre; which I ascribed to the seed being better covered by being dug in, than it would have been by the harrow in the usual way. I do not, however, recommend this to be done the first time this husbandry is tried, though the experiment may be made in one ridge only, and according as that succeeds, it may be pursued or not hereafter.

THO<sup>s</sup> KILLALUE.

July, 1786."

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*Receipt to make perpetual Yeast or Barm. Communicated by Mr. George Dempster, Esq; M. P.—From Vol. XIII. of the European Magazine.*

"TAKE 1lb. of flour (fine), make it the thickness of gruel with boiling water, add to it half a pound of raw sugar, mix them well together, put three spoonfuls of well-purified yeast into a large vessel, upon which put the above ingredients; they will soon ferment violently. Collect the yeast off the top, and put it into a brown small-neck pot, cover it up from the air, keep it in a dry and warmish place; when used in part, replace with flour made into a thin paste, and sugar in the former proportions. I saw this used after it had been five months made. No yeast is necessary except the first time."

# ANTIQUITIES.

*The following Articles were proposed by the Earl of Warwick, as Preceptor to Henry VI. in his Minority, to the Lords and Council, for their Approbation.—From Original Letters, written during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. by various Persons of Rank or Consequence, &c.*

*Articles de Mons<sup>r</sup>. de <sup>1</sup> Warrewyk touch' le bon regime du Roy, &c.*

**F**OR ye goode Reule demesnyng and seuretee of ye Kynges p'sone and draught of him to vertue

*Articles declaring how the Earl of <sup>1</sup> Warwick took the Charge of King Henry VI.*

**F**OR the good rule, demeaning, and surety of the King's Person and draught of him to vertue

On the back of the parchment on which these Articles are transcribed, is written "The requests of the erle of Warwick," and then the following memorandum, "xxix<sup>o</sup> die Novemb. A<sup>o</sup> undecimo apud Westm<sup>m</sup> lecti fuerunt p<sup>n</sup>tes Articuli corā Dnis infra subscribentibz et ad eosd<sup>m</sup> R<sup>n</sup>siones ibid<sup>m</sup> dabantur continuē q<sup>d</sup> infra patet, p<sup>n</sup>tibus Dnis infrascriptis."

The reader is here presented with a set of articles drawn up by the earl of Warwick, preceptor to king Henry VI. and presented by him to the officers of state and privy council for their approbation and concurrence, those, to which he already had their consent, now becoming insufficient for his management of his royal pupil.

They are penned in a masterly manner, and shew not only the earl's knowledge of mankind, but likewise his thorough acquaintance with the important trust committed to his care.

Henry VI. was now in the 11th year of his reign, and had nearly completed the eleventh of his age; a period dangerous to those whose duty it was not only to improve his mind, but also to correct and restrain his passions, when, if he were a forward boy, his mind would open, and he would begin to feel his own importance, even without the insinuations of flatterers, which in his situation were likely to be whispered, and which by the tenour of the requisitions we find had been actually conveyed to his ear.

The articles are judicious, and could not have been more concisely nor more perspicuously worded, nor have contained more important matter for the well-governing of a youth, if they had been the production of modern time, neither could the good sense and propriety of the great officers and council, have been at this day more advantageously shewn in the guarded and satisfactory manner whereby they assented to the terms proposed; the present idea of chastisement would undoubtedly have been different, but it was then consonant to the rough manners of the age.

We cannot help having an high opinion of the earl of Warwick's abilities for the post he filled, and of the propriety of conduct in the duke of Gloucester and the subscribing lords, who, by delegating such powers to his governor, seem to have had the future welfare of their sovereign in view.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was born in 1380, and, whether we consider him as a soldier or statesman, was one of the most considerable personages of

vertue and connyng and eschuyng of eny ying yat mighte yeve empeschem't or let y<sup>r</sup>to or cause eny charge defaulte or blame to be leyd upon y<sup>e</sup> Erle of Warrewyk at eny tyme withouten his desert, he considering yat p'ill and besynesse of his charge aboute ye kinges persone groweth so yat that auctoritee and power yeven to him before suffiseth him nought without more y<sup>r</sup>to desyreth y<sup>r</sup>fore yees yinges yat folowen.

Furst yat considering yat ye charge of ye Reule demesnyng and gove'nance and also of nourture of ye Kinges persone resteth upon ye said Erle whiles it shal like ye King and ye p'ill daunger and blame if eny lak or defaulte were in eny of yees ye whiche lak or defaulte mighte be caused by ungodely or unvertuous men if eny suche were aboute his persone he desyreth y<sup>r</sup>fore for the goode of ye King and for his owne seuretee to have power and auctoritee to nome ordeigne and assigne and for cause yat shal be yought to him resonable to remoeve yoo yat shal be aboute ye Kinges p'sone of what estate or condicōn yat yei be not entending to cōphende in yis desir ye Stuard Chamberlein Tresoror Controwlor ne Sergeants of offices save such as serve

virtue and cunning [*knowledge*,] and eschewing of any thing that might give impeachment or let thereto, or cause any charge, default, or blame, to be laid upon the Earl of Warwick at any time without his desert, he, considering that peril and business of his charge about the King's person groweth so that that authority and power given to him before, sufficeth him nought without more thereto, desyreth therefore these things that follow.

1. First, that considering that the charge of the rule, demeaning, and governance, and also of nurture of the King's Person, resteth upon the said Earl, whilst it shall like the King, and the peril, danger, and blame, if any lack or default were in any of these, the which lack or default might be caused by ungodly or unvirtuous men, if any such were about his person; he desyreth therefore for the good of the King and for his own surety to have power and authority to name, ordain, and assign, and, for cause that shall be thought to him reasonable, to remove those that shall be about the King's person of what estate or condition that they be, not intending to comprehend in this desyre the Steward, Chamberlain,

of his time. In 1408 he visited the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and on his journey thither acquitted himself with the greatest valour at tournaments, and other acts of valour in the courts of several princes.

King Henry V. for his great merit appointed him guardian and preceptor to his infant son, which appointment upon his death was confirmed by parliament. In consequence of this trust he was recalled from France, where he had a principal command under the duke of Bedford, and upon that duke's decease, in 1435, he returned thither again as regent.

He died at the castle of Roan in Normandy, on the 30th of April 1439, and his body, by his own desire being brought into England, was deposited for a time in the collegiate church of Warwick, till the sumptuous chapel, which he had directed to be built, should be ready for its reception.

This chapel, together with the magnificent tomb of its founder, cost  
2481 l. 4 s. 7½ d.

serve aboute ye Kinges p'sone and for his mouth.

Rno. As toward ye namyng ordeignance and assignacon before-said it is agreed so yat he take in noon of ye iiij Knightes ne Squyers for the body without yadvise of my Lord of <sup>2</sup> Bedford him being in Englonde and him being out of my Lord of <sup>3</sup> Gloucestre and of the Rement of ye Kinges counsaile.

Itm, ye said Erle desireth yat where he shal have eny p'sone in his discrecion suspect of mysgov'nance and not behoveful nor expedient to be aboute ye King except yestates of ye hous yat he may putte hem from exercise and occupacon of ye Kinges service till yat he shal mowe have speche with my Lordes of Bedford or of Gloucestre and with ye oyr Lordes of the Kinges counsaile to yat ende yat ye defaulte of eny suche p'sone knowen vnto him shal mowe ordeigne y'upon as yeim shal yenne be expedient and behovefull.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired,

Itm,

lain, Treasurer, Controller, nor Serjeants of offices, save such as serve about the King's person and for his mouth.

Rno. [*Reponso.*] Answer, as toward the naming, ordinance, and assignation before said, it is agreed, so that he take in none of the four Knights nor Esquires for the body, without the advise of my Lord of <sup>2</sup> Bedford, him being in Englonde, and him being out, of my Lord of <sup>3</sup> Gloucester, and of the Remanent of the King's Council.

2. Item, the said Earl desireth that where he shall have any person in his discretion suspect [*suspected*] of misgovernance, and not behoveful nor expedient to be about the King; except the estates of the house, that he may put them from exercise and occupation of the King's service, till that he shall mowe have speech with my Lord of Bedford, of Gloucester, and with the other Lords of the King's council, to that end that the default of any such person known unto him shall mowe ordain thereupon as them [*they*] shall think expedient and behoveful.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

3. Item,

<sup>2</sup> John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford, brother to the late king, and regent of France, was one of the most valiant and accomplished princes of his age. He knighted his nephew, king Henry VI. in 1425, and dying at Paris in 1435, was buried under a sumptuous monument in our lady's church at Roan, which when Lewis XI. was counselled to deface, he nobly replied, "*Touch it not; let the body of that great man rest in peace, which, when alive, would have disquieted the proudest of us all.*"

<sup>3</sup> Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester, protector of the realm of England, and youngest brother to Henry V. was a scholar and a statesman. At a parliament holden at St. Edmund's Bury, in 1446-7, he was arrested for high treason, and shortly after was found murdered in his bed in the abbey there, by the contrivance and procurement as it was supposed of queen Margaret, and the then marquis of Suffolk, in conjunction with the cardinal of Winchester. He was buried at St. Alban's, and in 1703 his body was discovered preserved in a kind of pickle,



Item, ye said Erle desireth yat for sikenesse and oyer causes necessities and resonables he may by warnyng to my Lordes of Bedford or Gloucestre and ye Kinges Counsaill be and stande freely discharged of ye saide occupacion and besinesse about ye Kinges p'sone under ye favour and goode grace of ye King my Lordes of Bedford and Gloucestre and oyer Lordes of ye Kinges Counsaill.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Item yat considering howe blessed be God ye King is growen in yeers in stature of his p'sone and also in conceit and knowleche of his hiegh and Royalle auctoritee and estat ye whiche naturelly causen him, and from day to day as he groweth shul causen him more and more to gructhe with chastising and to lothe it so yat it may resonably be doubted lest he wol conceive ayeins ye said Erle or eny oyr yat wol take upon him to chastise him for his defaultes displeisr or indignacion y<sup>r</sup>fore, ye whiche withoute due assistance is not easy to be born. It like y<sup>r</sup>fore to my Lord of Gloucestre and to alle the Lordes of ye Kinges counsaill to promitte to ye said Erle and assure him, yat y<sup>e</sup> shul fermely and trewely assisten him in ye exercise of ye charge and occupacion yat he hath aboute ye Kinges persone, namely in chastising of him for his defaultes and support the said Erle y<sup>r</sup>inne and if ye king at eny time wol conceyve for yat cause indignacion ayeins ye said Erle, my said Lord of Gloucestre and Lordes shul do all her trewe diligence and power to remoeve y<sup>e</sup> King y<sup>r</sup>fro,

Rno,

3. Item, the said Earl desireth that, for sickness and other causes necessary and reasonable, he may by warning to my Lords of Bedford, or Gloucester, and the King's council, be and stand freely discharged of the said occupation and business about the King's person, under the favour and good grace of the King, my Lords of Bedford and Gloucester, and other Lords of the King's Council.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

4. Item, that considering how, blessed be God! the King is grown in years, in stature of his person, and also in conceit and knowledge of his high and royal authority and estate, the which naturally cause him, and from day to day as he groweth, shall cause him more and more to grudge with chastising, and to loath it, so that it may reasonably be doubted lest he will conceive against the said Earl, or any other that will take upon him to chastise him for his defaults, displeasure, or indignation therefore, the which without due assistance is not easy to be born. It like therefore to my Lord of Gloucester and to all the Lords of the King's council to promitte [*promise*] to the said Earl and assure him, that they shall firmly and truly assist him in the exercise of the charge and occupation that he hath about the King's person, namely in chastising of him for his defaults, and support the said Earl therein; and if the King at any time will conceive for that cause indignation against the said Earl, my said Lord of Gloucester and Lords shall do all their true diligence and power to remove the King therefrom.

Answer,

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Item, ye said Erle desireth yat for asmuche as it shal be necessarie to remoeve the Kinges p'sone at diverse tymes into sundry places as ye cases mowe require yat he may have power and auctoritee to remoeve ye King by his discrecion into what place him yenketh necessarie for ye helthe of his body and seuretee of his persone.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Item, sith ye said Erle hath take upon him ye gov'nance of ye Kinges persone he desireth yat alle yestates, officers and servantz of ye Kinges hous, of what estate and condicon yei be have spāl commandem't and charge yeven by my Lordes of Bedford and Gloucestre and by ye Lordes of ye Kinges counsaill, yet in alle manere yinges seyn and avised by ye said Erles descresion, yat is for ye Kinges estate worship helthe and profit by his commendem't and ordeignance yei be attendant and obeissant in accomplishing y<sup>e</sup>of.

Rno. it is agreed as it is desired.

Item, for as muche as ye said Erle hath knowleche yat in speche yat hath be had unto ye King at p't and in prive not hering ye said Erle nor eny of ye Knightes set aboute his persone nor assigned by ye said Erle he hath be stured by sūme from his lernyng and spoken to of div'se mat'es not behovefull, ye seid Erle doubting ye harme yat mighte falle to ye King and ye Inconvenientz yat mighte ensue of such speche at p't if it were suffred, desireth yat in al speche to be had with ye King, he or oon of ye iiij Knightes or

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

5. Item, the said Earl desireth, that forasmuch as it shall be necessary to remove the King's Person at divers times into sundry places as the cases may require, that he may have power and authority to remove the King by his discretion into what place him [*he*] thinketh necessary for the health of his body and surety of his person.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

6. Item, sith [*since*] the said Earl hath take upon him the governance of the King's person, he desireth that all the estates, officers and servants of the King's house, of what estate and condition they be, have special commandment and charge given by my Lords of Bedford, and Gloucester, and by the Lords of the King's council, that in all manner [*of*] things seen and advised by the said Earl's discretion, that is for the King's estate, worship, health, and profit, by his commandment and ordinance, they be attendant and obeissant in accomplishing thereof.

Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

7. Item, forasmuch as the said Earl hath knowledge that in speech that hath been had unto the King at part [*apart*] and in private, not hearing the said Earl, nor any of the Knights set about his person, nor assigned by the said Earl, he hath been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of diverse matters not behoveful; the said Earl doubting the harm that might fall to the King, and the inconvenience that might ensue of such speech at part, if it were suffered, desireth that in all speech to be had with

or sum p'sone to be assigned by ye said Erle be present and prive to it.

Rno. yis article is agreed excepting suche p'sones as for nieghnesse of blood and for yeir estate owe of reson to be suffred to speke with ye King.

Itm, to yentent yat it may be knownen to ye King yat it proceedeth of yassent advis and agreem't of my Lord of Gloucestre and alle my Lordes of ye Kinges counsaill yat ye King be chastised for his defaultes or trespasses and yat for awe y<sup>r</sup>of he forbere ye more to do mys and entende ye more besily to vertu and to lernyng, ye said Erle desireth yat my Lord of Gloucestre and my said oy<sup>r</sup> Lordes of ye counsaill or greet p't of hem, yat is to say ye Chancellor and Treasurer and of ev'ych estate in ye counsaill spüell and temporell some come to ye Kinges p'sence and y<sup>e</sup> to make to be declared to him yeire agreement in yat behalve.

Rno. When ye King cometh next to London all his counsaill shal come to his p'sence and y<sup>e</sup> yis shal be declared to him.

Itm, ye said Erle yat alle his dayes hath aboven alle oy<sup>r</sup> eryely yinges desired and ev'e shal to kepe his trouthe and worship unblemysshed and unhurt and may not for all yat lette malicious and untrew men to make informacions of his p'sone, suche as yei may not ne dar not stande by, ne be not trewe, besecheth y<sup>r</sup>fore my Lord of Gloucestre and alle my said Lordes of the counsaill yat if yei or eny of hem have be enformed of eny ying yat may be or sovne to his charge or defaulte and namely in his occupacion and reule aboute ye  
Kinges

with the King, he or one of the four Knights, or some person to be assigned by the said Earl, be present and privy to it.

Answer. This article is agreed, excepting such Persons, as for nighness of blood, and for their estate, ought of reason to be suffered to speak with the King.

8. Item, to the intent that it may be known to the King that it proceedeth of the assent, advice, and agreement, of my Lord of Gloucester, and all my Lords of the King's council, that the King be chastised for his defaults or trespasses, and that for awe thereof he forbear the more to do amiss, and intend the more busily to virtue and to learning; the said Earl desireth that my Lord of Gloucester, and my said other Lords of the council or great part of them, that is to say, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, and of everych [every] estate in the council spiritual and temporal some come to the King's presence, and there to make to be declared to him their agreement in that behalf.

Answer. When the King cometh next to London, all his council shall come to his presence, and there this shall be declared to him.

9. Item, the said Earl, that all his days hath above all other earthly things desired, and ever shall, to keep his truth and worship unblemished and unhurt, and may not for all that let [prevent] malicious and untrue men to make informations of his person, such as they may not, nor dare not stand by, nor be not true; beseecheth therefore my Lord of Gloucester, and all my said Lords of the council, that if they or any of them

Kinges p'sone yat ye said Erle may have knowleche y<sup>r</sup>of to yentent yat he may answer y<sup>r</sup>to, and not dwell in hevvy or synistre conceit or opinion withoute his desert and without answere.

Rno. it is agreed.

7 Cromwell.

3 H. Gloucestre.

9 J. Ebor.

10 P. Elien.

11 W. Lincoln.

8 J. Bathen Canc.

12 J. Roffen.

5 Suffolk.

4 H. Stafford.

6 J. Huntington.

13  $\frac{1}{2}$  by 19.

them have been informed of any thing that may be or sould to his charge or default, and namely in his occupation and rule about the King's person, that the said Earl may have knowledge thereof, to the intent that he may answer thereto, and not dwell in heavy or sinister conceit or opinion without his desert, and without answer.

Answer, it is agreed.

7 CROMWELL.

3 H. GLOUCESTRE.

9 J. EBOR. 10 P. ELIEN.

11 W. LINCOLN. 8 J. BATHEN CANC.

12 J. ROFFEN.

5 SUFFOLK. 4 H. STAFFORD.

6 J. HUNTYNGTON.

29 November, 1432,

11 Hen. VI.

4 Humphrey Stafford, earl of Stafford, and in 1444 duke of Buckingham, was killed at the battle of Northampton, in 1460, where he jointly commanded the royal army with the duke of Somerset. He was by his mother great grandson to Edward III.

5 William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was in 1443 made marquis, and in 1448 created duke of Suffolk. He was prime minister to Henry VI. and the favourite of his queen. Being banished to appease the national discontent in 1450, he was taken on the sea, and beheaded without trial.

6 John Holland restored as earl of Huntington, in 1416, was afterwards created duke of Exeter. He was admiral of England, and constable of the Tower of London. He died in 1447, and was buried in St. Catherine's church, near the Tower.

7 Ralph lord Cromwell, was lord treasurer in 1434.

8 John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, and brother to the earl of Stafford, was lord chancellor. He was promoted to the see of Canterbury in 1443, and died in 1452.

9 John Kempe was translated from London to York, in 1426, and from this see to Canterbury, in 1452, where he died very old in 1453.

10 Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester, was translated to Ely in 1426, he was a man of learning and wisdom, and died in 1434.

11 William Grey was translated to the see of Lincoln, from that of London, in 1431, and died in 1435.

12 John Langdon, elected bishop of Rochester, in 1421, was both an antiquary and historian, and died at the council of Basil in 1434.



*The Speech of John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk against Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset in the House of Lords.—From the same Work.*

*The Speech of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, against Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, in the House of Lords.*

“MY lordes ye know well ynough the grete peynes labours and diligences that before thys tyme y have doon to thentent that the ove’ greete dishonneurs and losses that ben come to thys full noble Royaume of England by the fals menes of som persones that have take on theym over grete autoritee in thys Royaume shulde be knowen. And that the persones lyvyng that have doon theym shulde be corrected aftyr the merites of her desertes And to that entent y have denounced

“MY Lords, ye know well enough the great pains, labours, and diligences, that before this time I have done, to the intent that the over great dishonours and losses that be come to this full noble Realm of England, by the false means of some persons that have taken on them over great authority in this Realm, should be known. And that the Persons living that have done them should be corrected after the merits of their deserts. And to that intent I have denounced,

That the Reader may the better understand the matters here referred to, it will be necessary just to mention the leading transactions which occasioned this accusation.

The Parliament met at Westminster in the latter end of the year 1450, when the Duke of Somerset returning from France, was so publicly censured for the loss of Normandy, that the Commons petitioned the King to send him to the Tower; it might be therefore at this time that the Duke of Norfolk made this Speech in the House of Lords; the Duke of Somerset, however, was released as soon as the Parliament broke up. But as Guienne (which stands as part of the charge against him here) was not completely lost before the year 1453, when this Duke was again committed to the Tower, and an accusation brought against him by the Commons before the Lords, it is, I think, most probable that it was then that the Duke of Norfolk stepped forwards as his accuser.

The exact time however is immaterial, as the force and energy of the Speech remain the same whenever it was spoken; and that it was spoken is evident, from that sentence in which he says, “Wherefor for to abbrege my langage, &c.” Though concise, it is nervous, full to the purpose, and artfully addressed to the passions both of the noble Lords and the people in general, and in form and method would not disgrace a modern orator.

Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, after the death of the Duke of Suffolk, became the Queen’s favourite, and prime minister, and was both a valiant Soldier and an able Statesman; he fell in the first battle of St. Alban’s, where he commanded the royal army, in May 1455.

John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, succeeded his father in 1435, and died in 1461. These Dukes were both of them great-grandsons to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The first by his father, the second by his mother.

On the top of the paper on which this Speech is written, is the word cōp, meaning “Copy,” which shows that this was copied from the original paper for the Duke’s own use, as the paper and hand-writing are both of the time of Henry VI.

And at the bottom is written “Einsi signe M. Norff.”

nounced and delyv'd to you in wrytyng certeyn articles ayenst the Duc of Som<sup>r</sup>set whych ys one of theym that ys gylty thereof whereto the Duc of Som<sup>r</sup>set hath aunfuerd And to that that he hath aunfuerd<sup>y</sup> have replied yn such wyse that y trowe to be sure ynough that there shall no vayllable thyng be seyed to the contrarie of my seyed replicacon And asmoche as he wold sey shall be but falsnesse and lesyngs as be the probacons that shall be made thereuppon shall now appiere how be it that to alle people of gode entendement knowyng how Justice owyth to be ministred. it ys full apparunt that the denunciac'ons ayenst hym made ben sufficiently preved by the dedes that have folowed thereof Whereuppon y have requyred to have ouerture of justice by yow whych ye have not yhyt doon to me Whereoff y am so hevvy that y may no leng<sup>r</sup> beere it speciallie feth the mater by me pursued ys fo worshipfull for all the Roy<sup>me</sup>. and for you and so greable to god and to alle the subgettys of thys Roy<sup>me</sup> that it may be no gretter And it ys such that for anye favo<sup>r</sup> of lignage ne for anye othyr cause there shulde be no dissimulacon for doubt lest that othyr yn tyme comyng take example thereof And lest that the full noble vertue of justice that of god ys so greetly recomaunded be extinct or quenched by the fals oppinions of som that for the grete bribes that the seyed Duc of Som<sup>r</sup>set hath p'mysed and yoven theym have turned theyr hertys from the way of trouth and of justice som seyng that the cases by hym comitted ben but cases of trespasse And othyr takyng a colour to make an universal<sup>r</sup> sell peas. Whereoff ev'y man that

ys

ed, and delivered to you in wryting, certain Articles against the Duke of Somerset, which is one of them that is guilty thereof; whereto the Duke of Somerset hath answered; and to that that he hath answered, I have replied in such wise that I trow to be sure enough that there shall be no vailable thing be said to the contrary of my said replication; and as much as he would say shall be but falseness and lesings, as by the probations that shall be made thereupon shall now *(moreover, or soon, q?)* appear; howbeit that to all people of good intendment, knowing how Justice ought to be ministered, it is full apparent that the denunciations against him made be sufficiently proved by deeds that have followed thereof; whereupon I have required to have overture of Justice by you, which ye have not yet done to me, whereof I am so heavy, that I may no longer bear it, specially since the matter by me pursued is so worshipful for all the realm, and for you, and so agreeable to God, and to all the Subjects of this realm, that it may be no greater; and it is such that for any favour of lineage, nor for any other cause there should be no dissimulation, for doubt lest that other in time coming take example thereof; and lest that the full noble virtue of Justice, that of God is so greatly recommended, be extinct or quenched by the false opinions of some, that for the great bribes, that the said Duke of Somerset hath promised and given them, have turned their hearts from the way of truth and of justice; some, saying that the cases by him committed be but cases of trespass, and others, taking a colour to make an universal

8

peace,

ys trewe to the seyd coroune avyth  
gretely to m'veyلة that anye man  
wold sey that the losse of ij so no-  
ble Duchees as Normandie and  
Guyen that ben well worth a greete  
Roy<sup>me</sup>, comyng by succeßions of  
fadres and modres to the seyd  
coroune ys but t'spasse Where as it  
hath be seen in manye Royaumes,  
and lordshyps, that for the losse of  
tounes or Castells wythoute Sege  
the Cap<sup>ns</sup> that hav lost theym han  
be deede and beheded and her  
godes lost as in Fr'unce one that  
lost Chyrborough And also a knyght  
that fledd for dred of bataille shulde  
be byheded soo that alle these thyngs  
may be founden in the lawes  
wryten. And also yn the boke  
cleped l'arbre de bataille Wherfor,  
for to abbrege my langage y Re-  
quyre you that forasmech as the  
more partie of the dedes comitted  
by the seyd Duc of Som<sup>set</sup> ben  
comitted yn the Roy<sup>me</sup> of Fr'unce,  
that by the lawes of Fr'unce pro-  
cesse be made thereuppon And  
that all thyng that y have delyv'ed  
and shall delyv'e be seen and un-  
derstand by people havynг knou-  
lige theroff And that the dedes  
comitted by hym in thys Roy<sup>me</sup>  
bee yn lyke wyse seen and under-  
stand by people lerned yn the  
lawes of thys land And for preffe  
thereoff to gr'unt comissions to in-  
quere thereoff as by reason and of  
custom it owyth to be doon callyng  
god and you all my lordes to  
wytnesse of the devoirs by me doon  
in thys seyd mat'e. And requye-  
yng you that thys my bille and alle  
other my devoirs may be enacted  
before you. And that y may have  
it exemplified undre the kyngs  
grete seele for my discharge and  
acquytaille of my trouth makynг  
protestac'on that in case that ye  
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peace, whereof every man that is  
true to the said Crown, ought  
greatly to marvel, that any man  
would say that the loss of two so  
noble Duchies as Normandy and  
Guyenne, that be well worth a  
great realm, coming by succeßions  
of fathers and mothers to the said  
Crown, is but trespass; whereas it  
hath been seen in many Realms  
and Lordships, that, for the loss of  
towns or castles without siege, the  
Captains that have lost them have  
been dead and beheaded, and their  
Goods lost; as in France one that  
lost Cherburgh; and also a Knight  
that fled for dread of battle should  
be beheaded; so that all these things  
may be found in the laws written,  
and also in the book cleped [called]  
“*L'Arbre de Bataille*,” wherefore  
for to abridge my language, I re-  
quire you that for as much as the  
more part of the deeds committed  
by the said Duke of Somerset  
(have) been committed in the realm  
of France, that, by the Laws of  
France, process be made thereup-  
on; and that all things that I have  
delivered and shall deliver, be seen  
and understood by people having  
knowledge thereof, and that the  
deeds committed by him in this  
realm be in like wise seen and un-  
derstood by people learned in the  
Laws of this Land; and for proof  
thereof to grant Commissions to  
enquire thereof, as by reason and  
of custom it ought to be done,  
calling God and you all my Lords  
to witness of the devoirs by me  
done in this said matter; and re-  
quiring you that this my bill, and  
all other my devoirs, may be enact-  
ed before you, and that I may have  
it exemplified under the King's  
great Seal for my discharge and  
acquittal of my truth, making pro-  
testation

make not to me ouerture of justice upon the seyd caas. y shall for my discharge do my peyn that my seyd devoirs and the seyd lak of justice shall be knowen through all the Roy<sup>me</sup>.

Einsi signe,

J. M. Norff.

12 by 8½.

testation that in case that ye make not to me overture of Justice upon the said case, I shall for my discharge do my pain, that my said devoirs and the said lack of Justice shall be known through all this realm.

Ainsi Signe,

JOHN  
MOWBRAY, } NORFOLK.

1450, or 1453,

29 or 32 H. VI.

*The following Letter from John Paston to Sir John Paston, Knight, gives an Account of a Visit of Edward the Fourth to Norwich, in the Course of a royal Progress, in which he is attended by some of his Ministers.—The Management of Family Concerns, and Law Suits, at that Period, and the Applications to, and Interference of, the Court in such Matters, is particularly delineated in this Letter.—From the same Work.*

*To Sir John Paston, Knight.*

“ **T**O begyn God yeld yow for my hatys. the kyg hath ben in this contre and worchepfully receyuyd in to Norwyche and had ryght good cher. and gret gyftys in thys contre wherwythe he holdyth hym so well content that he wyll hastyly be her agayn and

“ **T**O begin, God yeld (*shield, or preserve*) you for my hats. The King hath been in this country, and worshipfully received into Norwich, and had right good cheer, and great gifts in this country, wherewith he holdeth him so well content that he will hastily

As King Edward often made excursions, and by his insinuating manner and address conciliated the minds of his subjects, and induced them to bestow liberal gifts upon him, it cannot be certainly known whether this visit to Norwich was merely to raise money, or whether having intimations of the discontent of the Earl of Warwick, the King was endeavouring to make himself popular, the better to encounter and defeat any designs of that nobleman. His manner of travelling, his attendants, and the familiar conversations which are drawn in this Letter with ease and precision, interest the reader as well as delineate the manners of the times.

We find the Duke of Gloucester accompanied the King, but we hear nothing of the Duke of Clarence, he most probably was at this very instant with the Earl of Warwick, forming those plans which soon after for a time replaced Henry upon the throne.—Edward's conversation with William Paston was certainly very proper, and becoming a King, desirous that justice should be done according to the law; for what can shew this intention more strongly than the following words, “ I will neither treat nor speak for him, but I will let the law proceed.”

His conversation likewise with Brandon, was both manly and spirited.



and the qwen allso w<sup>t</sup> whom by my power auyse ye shall com if so be that the terme be do by y<sup>t</sup> tym y<sup>t</sup> she com in to y<sup>is</sup> contre And as for your maters her so god help me J haue don as myche as in me was in laborȳg of theym as well to my lord \*Reuers as to my lord † Scalys syr Iohn Wydwyll Thom's Wyngfeld and othyr about the kȳg And as for the lord Reuers he seyð to myn oncyll Will'm Fayrfax and me that he shold meue the kȳg to spek to the two dukys of Norff. and Suff. that they shold leue of ther tytlys of syche lond as wer syr Iohn Fastolfs and if so be y<sup>t</sup> they wold do nowt at the kyngs reqwest y<sup>t</sup> then the kȳg shold comand theym to do no wafts nor mak non assawtys nor frayis upon your ten'nts nor plasys tyll syche tym as the lawe hathe determynd w<sup>t</sup> yow or ayenst yow y<sup>is</sup> was seyð by hym the sam day in the mornȳg that he depertyd at noon whedyr he meued the kȳg w<sup>t</sup> it or nowt J can not fey myn oncyll Wyll'm thynkys naye and the same aftyr none folowȳg J told my lord Scalys that J had spokyn w<sup>t</sup> my lord hys fadyr in lyek forme as J haue reherfyd and axyd hym whedyr that my lord hys fadyr had spokyn to the kȳg or nowt and he gaue me thys answer that whedyr he had spokyn to the kȳg or nowt y<sup>t</sup> the mater shold do well jnow Thom's Wygfeld told me and swore on to me that when brandon meuvyd the kȳg and besefowgt

hastily be here again, and the Queen also, with whom by my poor advice ye shall come, if so be that the term be done by that time that she come into this country; and as for your matters here, so God belp me, I have done as much as in me was, in labouring of them, as well to my Lord \*Rivers as to my Lord † Scales, Sir John Wydville, Thomas Wingfield and others about the King; and as for the Lord Rivers, he said to my Uncle William, Fairfax, and me, that he should move the King to speak to the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, that they should leave of their titles of such land as were Sir John Fastolf's, and if so be that they would do nought at the King's request, that then the King should command them to do no waste, nor make none assaults nor frays upon your tenants nor places, till such time as the law hath determined with you or against you; this was said by him the same day in the morning that he departed at noon; whether he moved the King with it or not I cannot say, my Uncle William thinks nay; and the same afternoon following I told my Lord Scales that I had spoken with my Lord his Father, in like form as I have rehearsed, and asked him whether that my Lord his Father had spoken to the King or not, and he gave me this answer, that whether he had spoken to the King or not, that the matter should do well enough.

Thomas

\* Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, father to the Queen, was at this time Lord Treasurer. This nobleman and his eldest son Sir John Wydville, were in August following both beheaded at Northampton, by a riotous mob, headed by one Robert of Riddefdale.

† Anthony Wydville, Lord Scales, was second son to the Earl Rivers, and had been summoned to parliament in right of his wife, the daughter and rich heir, of the late Lord Scales.

besought hym to shew my lord  
 fauour in hys maters ayenst yow  
 that the Kyng seyde on to hym  
 ayen brandon thow thou can be-  
 gyll the dwk of Norff and bryng  
 him abow the thombe as thou lyst  
 J let the wet thow shalt not do me  
 so for J undyrstand thy fals delyg  
 well jnow And he seyde on to him  
 more ouer that if my lord of Norff.  
 left not of hys hold of that mater  
 that brandon shold repent itt euery  
 vayn in hys hert for he told hym  
 that he knew well jnow that he  
 myght reauyll my lord of Norff.  
 as he wold and if my lord dyd eny  
 thyg that wer Contrary to hys  
 lawys the kyg told hym he knew  
 well jnow that it was by no bodys  
 menys but by hys and thus he  
 depertyd fro the kyg Jt' as by  
 wordys the lord Scalys and St John  
 Wydvyll tok tendyr yo' maters  
 mor then the lord Reuers It' Syr  
 John. Wydvyll told me when he  
 was on horsbak at the kys de-  
 pertyg that the kyg had comandyd  
 brandon of p'pose to ryd forthe  
 fro Norwych to Lyne for to tak a  
 Conclufyon in yo' mater for yow  
 And he bad me yt J shold cast no  
 dowghtys but yt ye shold haue  
 yo' entent and so dyd the lord  
 Scalys also and when yt J preyd  
 them at eny tyme to shew ther  
 fauor to yo' mater they answered  
 that it was ther mater as well as  
 yo' confyderyg the \* alyans be-  
 twyx yow. Comon wt Jakys Hawt  
 and he shall tell yow what lan-  
 gage was spekyn betwen the duk  
 of Suff Consell and hym and me it  
 is to long to wryght but J promyse  
 yow ye ar be held to lakys for he  
 sparyd not to spek Jt' the kyng  
 rod thorow Heylysdon waren to-  
 wads

Thomas Wingfield told me, and  
 swore unto me, that when Bran-  
 don moved the King, and besought  
 him to shew my Lord fauour in  
 his matters against you, that the  
 King said unto him again, " Bran-  
 don, though thou canst beguile the  
 Duke of Norfolk, and bring him  
 about (*thy*) thumb as thou list, I  
 let thee weet thou shalt not do me  
 so; for I understand thy false deal-  
 ing well enough." And he said  
 unto him, moreover that if my  
 Lord of Norfolk left not of his  
 hold of that matter, that Brandon  
 should repent it, every vein in his  
 heart, for he told him that he knew  
 well enough that he might rule my  
 Lord of Norfolk as he would, and  
 if my Lord did any thing that  
 were contrary to his laws, the King  
 told him he knew well enough that  
 it was by nobody's means but by  
 his, and thus he departed from the  
 King.

Item, as by words, the Lord  
 Scales and Sir John Wydville took  
 tender your matters more than the  
 Lord Rivers.

Item, Sir John Wydville told  
 me, when he was on horseback at  
 the King's departing, that the  
 King had commanded Brandon of  
 purpose to ride forth from Nor-  
 wich to Lynn, for to take a con-  
 clusion in your matter for you;  
 and he bad me that I should cast  
 no doubts but that ye should have  
 your intent, and so did the Lord  
 Scales also; and when that I prayed  
 them at any time to shew their fa-  
 uour to your matter, they answered  
 that it was their matter as well as  
 yours, considering the \* alliance  
 betwixt you.

Commune with Jakys Hawte,  
 and

\* This refers to the contract between Sir John Paston and Anne Hawte.

wads Walsfgh'm and Thom's Wyngfeld promysyd me that he wold fynd the menyys that my lord of \* Glowsefyr and hym sylf bothe shold shew the k̄yng the loge y<sup>t</sup> was breke down and also y<sup>t</sup> they wold tell hym of y<sup>e</sup> brek̄yng down of y<sup>e</sup> plase. Contrary to thys maters and all the Comfort that J had of my lord Scalys S<sup>r</sup> John Wydvyll and Thom's W̄yngfeld myn oncyll Wyll'm sethe that y<sup>e</sup> k̄yng told hym hys owne mowthe when he had redyn for by the loge in Heylyfdon waren that he supposyd as well y<sup>t</sup> it myght fall downe by the self as be plukyd downe for if it had be plukyd down he feyd y<sup>t</sup> we myght haue put in ou<sup>r</sup> byllys of it wehn hys jugys sat on the oyer det<sup>r</sup>myner in Norwyche he beȳg ther And then myn oncyll seythe how that he answered the k̄yng that ye trustyd to hys good grace that he shold set yow thorow w<sup>t</sup> both y<sup>e</sup> dwkys by mene of trete and he seythe y<sup>t</sup> the k̄yng answered hym that he wold neythyr tret nor spek for yow but for to let the lawe proced and so he seyth that they depertyd. And by my trowthe and my lord tresorer encourage you not more than he dyd us her ye shall haue but esy help as on y<sup>t</sup> party Wherefor labor yor maters effectually for by my trowthe it is nedy for for all ther wordys of plesur J cannot undyrstand what ther labor in thys Contre hathe don good wherfor be not ouyr swyft tyll ye be swyr of yo<sup>r</sup> lond but labor fore y<sup>e</sup> lawe for by my trowthe tyll that be passyd w<sup>t</sup> yow ye get but esy help as I can undyrstand J had w<sup>t</sup> me on day at den<sup>r</sup> in my modrys plase the beȳg  
owt

and he shall tell you what language was spoken between the Duke of Suffolk's counsel, and him, and me; it is too long to write, but I promise you ye are beholden to Jakys, for he spared not to speak.

Item, the King rode through Hellefdon Warren towards Walsingham, and Thomas Wingfield promised me that he would find the means that my Lord of \* Gloucester and himself both should see the King the Lodge that was broken down, and also that they would tell him of the breaking down of the place. Contrary to these matters, and all the comfort that I had of my Lord Scales, Sir John Wydville, and Thomas Wingfield, my Uncle William saith, that the King told him (*with*) his own mouth, when he had ridden forth by the Lodge in Hellefdon Warren, that he supposed as well that it might fall down by the self, as be plucked down, for if it had been plucked down, he said that we might have put in our bills of it, when his Judges sat on the Oyer and Determiner in Norwich, he being there; and then my Uncle saith how that he answered the King, that ye trusted to his good grace that he should set you through with both the Dukes, by mean of treaty, and he saith that the King answered him that he would neither treat nor speak for you, but for to let the law proceed, and so he saith that they departed; and by my troth and (*if*) my Lord Treasurer encourage you not more than he did us here, ye shall have but easy help as on that party, wherefore labour your matters effectually, for by my troth it is  
needy

\* Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III

Owt the lord scalys Sr John Wyd-  
 vyll Sr John Haward Nicolas Ha-  
 ward John of Parr Thom's  
 Garnet festinx cheyny truffel y<sup>e</sup>  
 knyghts son Thom's boleyne q<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup>pter  
 Brampton Barnard and Brom  
 Perse howse W Tonstale Lewes  
 Debretayll and othyr and mad hem  
 good cher so as they held them  
 Content. Jt'm my lord of Norff.  
 gaue Bernard Broom nor me no  
 gownys at thys seson Wherfor J  
 awaytyd not on hym notw<sup>t</sup>standyng  
 J ofyrd my seruyse for y<sup>t</sup> seson to  
 my lady but it was refusyde I wot  
 by auyse Wherfor I p<sup>r</sup>pose no  
 more to do so as for Bernard Bar-  
 ney Broom and W Calthorp ar  
 sworn my lord of Glowsetyrs men  
 but J stand yet at large not w<sup>t</sup>-  
 standyng my lord Scalys spok to me  
 to be w<sup>t</sup> the kyng but J mad no  
 p<sup>r</sup>mes so to be for J told hym y<sup>t</sup> I  
 was not woorth a groote w<sup>t</sup>owt  
 yow and therfor J wold mak no  
 promes to nobody tyll they had yor  
 good wyll fyrst and so we de-  
 pertyd. It was told me y<sup>t</sup> ther  
 was owte a preve seall for yow to  
 attend upon the kyng Northeward  
 and if it be so J thynk v<sup>r</sup>ly it is do  
 to haue yow fro London be craft  
 y<sup>t</sup> ye shold not labor yor maters  
 to a Conclusyon thys terme but  
 put them delaye J pray yow p<sup>r</sup>vey  
 yow on it to be at hom as sone as  
 the terme is doone for be god J  
 take gret hurt for myn absence  
 in dyuers plasys and the most part  
 of yor men at Cast<sup>r</sup> wyll deperte  
 w<sup>t</sup>owt abod and ye be not at hom  
 w<sup>t</sup>in thys fortnyght J pray yow  
 bryng hom poynts and laseys of sylk  
 for yow and me.

A. P.

needy for, for all their words of  
 pleasure, I cannot understand what  
 their labour in this country hath  
 done good; wherefore be not over  
 swift till ye be sure of your land,  
 but labour fore the law, for by my  
 troth till that be passed with you,  
 ye get but easy help as I can un-  
 derstand.

I had with me one day at dinner  
 in my Mother's place, she being  
 out, the Lord Scales, Sir John  
 Wydville, Sir John Howard, Ni-  
 cholas Howard, John of Parr,  
 Thomas Garnet, Festus Cheyney,  
 Truffel, the Knight's Son, Tho-  
 mas Boleyn, qua propter (*in short*)  
 Brampton, Bernhard, and Brown,  
 Perse Howse, W. Tonstale, Lewis  
 de Bretayl, and others, and made  
 them good cheer, so as they held  
 their content.

Item, my Lord of Norfolk gave  
 Bernard, Broom, nor me no gowns  
 at this season, wherefore I awaited  
 not on him, notwithstanding I of-  
 fered my service for that season to  
 my lady, but it was refused, I wot  
 by advice; wherefore I purpose no  
 more to do so. As for Bernard,  
 Barney, Broom, and W. Calthorpe  
 are sworn my Lord of Gloucester's  
 men, but I stand yet at large, not-  
 withstanding my Lord Scales spoke  
 to me to be with the King, but I  
 made no promise so to be, for I  
 told him that I was not worth a  
 groat without you, and therefore I  
 would make no promise to nobody  
 till they had your good will first,  
 and so we departed.

It was told me that there was  
 out a Privy Seal for you to attend  
 upon the King northward; and if  
 it be so, I think verily it is done to  
 have you from London by craft,  
 that ye should not labour your  
 matters to a conclusion this term,



11  $\frac{1}{2}$  by 17. A whole Sheet.

Paper Mark,  
Bull's Head and Star.

but put them (*in*) delay. I pray  
you purvey you on it, to be at  
home as soon as the term is done,  
for by God I take great hurt for  
mine absence in divers places, and  
the most part of your men at Cai-  
ster will depart without abode, and  
(*if*) ye be not at home within this  
fortnight. I pray you bring home  
points and laces of silk for you and  
me.

JOHN PASTON.

1469. 9 E. IV.

*Description and History of a curious  
Frustrum of a Statue of Serapis  
at Arles, the ancient Arelas.—Ex-  
tracted from Notices and Descrip-  
tions of Antiquities of the Provin-  
cia Romana of Gaul, now Pro-  
vence, Languedoc, and Dau-  
phine. By Governor Pownall,  
F. R. S. and F. S. A.*

“IT is the trunk of a statue in  
the terminal form, as used  
in Syria and Egypt. It is of the  
purest white marble.”—“The  
body of the figure is enveloped  
from the shoulders to the feet with  
a thin robe or mantle, on which,  
in raised work, were the twelve  
(nine remain) signs of the zodiac,  
a serpent winding through the  
course of these signs ascends from  
the feet in four contours round the  
body, and comes with its neck and  
head over the left shoulder of the  
figure. The personal deity here  
represented hath the left arm raised  
up towards the breast, so as to  
meet the serpent; and as far as the  
disfigurement of the statue will  
permit one to form an idea, one

may suppose it to have held a pa-  
tera, out of which the serpent was  
feeding. The exhibition of a priest  
or Æsculapius, of a priestess or Hy-  
geia, giving food out of a sacred  
patera to a serpent, is not uncom-  
mon in gems and other sculptures.  
The lower parts of the legs and  
feet, and the head of this statue,  
are gone, so that conjecture is left  
quite at liberty to surmise, whether  
this was a statue of Mithras or Se-  
rapis. Both these deities are re-  
presented in this same manner.  
The Pere Dumont, a very ingeni-  
ous scholar, who hath been con-  
versant with matters of antiquity  
in Italy, and now resides as a mi-  
nim in the convent of that order  
at Arles, and is writing the His-  
tory of the Antiquities of Arles, is  
decidedly of opinion, that it was a  
statue of Mithras.”

*The History and further Description  
of this Idol.*

“When Ptolemy had completed  
the city of Alexandria, had girt  
and

and fortified it with walls, and found that it became the residence of people of all nations, languages, and religions, he wished to erect some comprehending symbolic idol, which might become a general object of worship to all people residing there. He pretended, like a wise prince, that he had received the divine command to do this. He was conversant in all the physiologic mythology of Asia, and acquainted with the nature of the mixed symbolic idols. Any local one, whose Numen and worship was known, and was already established as local, would not do. He was to look for some idol of a god, such a symbolic mixed one as might be comprehensively catholic, which was not known, but which was willing to be established at Alexandria. He therefore pretended that a god, such as he described, clothed in flame, had visited him in a dream, and ordered him to establish his idol at Alexandria. Whatsoever it was that he described, he, upon founding the Egyptian priests on the matter, could not induce them to understand what god he meant, nor where such god dwelt. He wisely dropped the business for the present; but some time after pretended a second dream, wherein the god appeared to him in a terrific form. As the god had in the former vision promised all prosperity to his kingdom if he established his idol at Alexandria, he now threatened destruction to it if he did not set it up and establish its worship there. The king affected to learn from

an Athenian that which the Egyptians pretended to be ignorant of, the place where this god dwelt, namely, at Sinope in Pontus. In obedience, therefore, to the divine command, he sent a ship and ambassadors to fetch the idol of this god; but, to engage and add a corroborating authority to this embassy, he ordered the ambassadors to consult the Pythian Apollo on the subject. This god added his sanction, in confirmation of the command of the vision. They proceeded to Sinope; but the king of the Sinopians would not listen to the request of the ambassadors. However, at length, won by the irresistible bribes and presents of the Alexandrians, he agreed to sell his god. The people, however, would by no means agree to it, and became fanatically frantic, in opposition to the parting with their god, so that the king was not capable to fulfil his engagement. During these embroils, the god, not regarding the zeal and religious love which the people bore to him, so as to be ready to sacrifice themselves to him, stole off, and in a miraculous manner not only conveyed himself on board the ship, but by a like miraculous interposition accelerated the ship's way so as to make its passage from Sinope to Alexandria in three days. This idol, thus imported, was set up in all the pomp and circumstance of idolatry, and was, I believe, the first miraculous idol set up as a comprehensive object of general worship. The religious policy of Ptolemy had its effect\*; for all people,

\* Cum autem multos alios Deos ab Ægyptiis cultos esse legamus, unus tamen eorum Sarapis, ab omnibus Ægyptum incolentibus, cujusque nationis aut superstitionis essent, divino honore affectus est. Huic et Romanos, et Græcos, et Syrios,

ple, of all nations and religions, residing at or coming to Alexandria, joined in the common worship of this catholic object. The \* Egyptian priests, who could not, whilst Ptolemy described it as a speculation, understand what god he could mean, very prudently and wisely, as soon as it was set up, and its worship established at Alexandria, found out that it was an ancient Egyptian Numen, worshipped at Memphis of old time.

To understand what this idol was, and what the Numen which it was the symbol of, we will first examine what Tacitus, who gives the history of its establishment, says of it, when the ambassadors consulted the Apollo Pythius. His answer was †, That they might go and fetch the idol of his father, but that they must leave his sister. In another part of this narrative ‡ Tacitus says, That the Athenian high priest of the Eleusinian mysteries, whom Ptolomæus consulted,

told him, there was at Sinope in Pontus, a temple of Jao-Dis; and that a female idol sat beside the god of the temple, whom they, the Greeks, supposed to be Proserpine. These two are the father and sister of Apollo, to whom the Pythian oracle refers.

In Macrobius we read a description and physiologic explanation of a like group of idols in Hierapolis, a country holding and observing the same ritual as the Phrygians and Paphlagonians. “ The  
“ Hierapolitani, of the Assyrian  
“ race, reduce all the powers and  
“ effects of the sun to one sym-  
“ bolic idol, and call it Apollo.  
“ The face of this image is form-  
“ ed with a long-pointed beard;  
“ has a calathus, or recolt basket,  
“ on the top of its head. The  
“ busto of the image is armed with  
“ a thorax. It hath, in its right-  
“ hand, a shaft of a spear, on the  
“ top of which is placed the com-  
“ mon figure of victory; its left

Syrios, et Armenos, et Persas, et Judæos, ipsos quoque Christianos Sarapin veneratos esse et ad id vel blanditiis, vel majore vi, adductos discimus. Hossinanni Lexicon.

Unus illis Deus, nullus est. Hunc et Christiani; hunc Judæi; hunc omnes venerantur, et nationes. Epistola Hadriani citata per Flavi Vopiscum in vitâ Hadriani ex libris Phlegontis Liberti Hadriani, cap. 2.

\* Liqueat Ægyptios antistites peregrino Deo, quem Ptolemæus advexerat nomen patrii cu usdem et antiqui numinis, cui dudum supplicaverant Ægyptii, imposuisse callidi nimirum et astuti homines non sine causu verebantur, fore, ut antiqua Ægyptiorum religio, et cum religione sacerdotes, in contemptum adduceretur si advena quidem Deus patriis anteponeretur. Mosheimii Nota 150<sup>ma</sup>, in Cudworth, cap. iv. § 18.

Alexandria Sarapin atque Isin cultu penè attonitæ venerationis observat. Macrobius. *ibid.* cap. 20.

† Irent, simulacrumque patris reveherent: sororis relinquerent. Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. IV. § 83.

‡ Timotheum Atheniensem, è gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem, ceremoniarum Eleusi, exciverat, quænam illa superstitio quod numen? Interrogat [scilicet Ptolemæus.] Timotheus quæsitus qui in potum meassent, cognoscit urbem illis Sinopen nec procul templum vetere inter accolæ famâ Jovis ditis, namquem et muliebrem effigiem assistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocant. *Idem, ibid.*

“ holds

“ holds forth a bouquet of flowers.  
 “ A Gorgonian mantle, reaching  
 “ from the shoulders downwards,  
 “ and tied with serpents, forms its  
 “ scapula; the figure of an eagle,  
 “ in the act of flying, accompa-  
 “ nies it. Before this statue sits  
 “ a female idol, in whose hands,  
 “ the right and left, are two fe-  
 “ male figures. A dragon serpent  
 “ is wound round her with its fi-  
 “ nuous folds \*.” It would be  
 tiresome to read, and more tiresome  
 to transcribe, the childish expla-  
 nations which Macrobius gives of  
 this. It is enough to the purpose  
 for which I cite this description to  
 remark, that in general this group  
 corresponds with that described by  
 Timotheus in Tacitus; and to ob-  
 serve, by the bye, that this group  
 represented the sun and moon; or  
 rather, as the Pythian oracle ex-  
 plains it, the father of the sun and  
 the moon. The male statue ap-  
 pears, by the calathus on his head  
 directly, as well as by the other  
 symbolic accompaniments, to be  
 Serapis, or what was afterward so  
 called in Egypt. The female one  
 nearly the figure of Artemis or  
 Isis, as we have seen above; the  
 male idol migrated (not indeed  
 carrying his temple with him) to  
 Alexandria.

When the Egyptians saw the  
 god, they said it was Jao-Dis, whom  
 the Greeks call Pluto †, to whom  
 was inmate the Seraph Serpent,

whom the Greeks expressed by the  
 word Serapis. Before I proceed to  
 describe the statue of Serapis at  
 Alexandria, or this frustum of an  
 idol at Arles, I beg it may be ob-  
 served, that the idol brought from  
 Pontus was the Father of Apollo;  
 and was called by some Pluto, to  
 whom was conjoined Serapis.

Various are the idols of this sym-  
 bolic Numen. Some, a beautiful  
 young person with four wings, sur-  
 rounded by the convolutions of a  
 serpent; others bear the character  
 of the terrific figure which formed  
 the vision in the second dream of  
 Ptolemy. Macrobius gives another  
 description of Serapis, and says,  
 That the idol was symbolic of the  
 sun, appears in that they placed  
 the calathus on its head, and that  
 they grouped with this image a  
 beast with three heads, round which  
 a dragon serpent twined, ending its  
 convolutions at the right-hand of  
 the human person who fed it.  
 There are various forms of this  
 symbolic idol given both in statues  
 and in book descriptions; but all co-  
 inciding in the characteristic parts;  
 that of a human figure, to whom  
 is conjoined a dragon serpent, twin-  
 ing either round his immediate  
 person, or round a holy staff, or  
 round some strange beast (as in  
 Macrobius) which serpent is sup-  
 ported and sustained by that human  
 person. This characteristic feature  
 of the symbol is uniformly universal

\* Hierapolitani, qui sunt gentis Assyriorum, omnes solis effectus et virtutes ad  
 unius simulachri barbati speciem redigunt; eundemque Apollinem appellant, hujus  
 facies prolixâ in acutum barbâ figurata est, eminente super caput calathos. Simu-  
 lacrum thorace munitum est. Dextra erectam tenet hastam superstante victoriæ  
 vulgò signo. Sinistra floris poriget speciem: summisque ab humeris gorgoneum  
 velamentum redemitum anguibus tegit scapulas. Aquilæ propter expriment vol-  
 latus. Ante pedes imago fœminea est; cujus dextra lævaque sunt signa fœmina-  
 rum. Eam cingit flexuoso volumine Draco. Macrobius. Saturn, lib. I. c. 17.

† τῷ Πλάτωνι συνοικίῃσι τὸν Σέραπιν. Porphyrius apud Euseb. lib. III.



in all the mixed idols of Babylon, Persia, Syria, Pontus, and Egypt.

We have seen above that a serpent was the emblem of the sun. It has appeared, that Mithras, representing the sun, was not the supreme God: this was Mithres. In the Persian mixed idol the serpent represented Mithras; the human figure Mithres. This Alexandrian statue is sometimes called Pluto and Dis, and at other times Serapis. Now this is explained above by Porphyrius, who says they conjoined Serapis to Pluto. This Pluto is Jao-Dis, and the Father of Apollo, according to the Pythian oracle itself. This idol therefore, as the Persian idol did, represents, in a mixed symbol, the first intelligent cause, the father, supported and sustained by whom the Seraph Serpent, symbol of the sun, called by the Greeks Serapis, winds his course through the heavens, which the Gorgonian, or flame-coloured veil of the human figure represents. To this symbolic idol, therefore, the vulgar idolaters, the worshippers of the sun, and those who carried their views of worship to a first intelligent cause, might and did equally look up. This, therefore, miraculous image, which brought itself, by its divine power, to Alexandria, and was there set up by divine command, would of natural consequence, as in fact it did, become a kind of catholic general object, a worship to all nations and all religions, not even the Jews and some \* heretical sect of Christians excepted, if Hadrian's letter is to be believed.

We learn from Pausanias, that

this Numen was received almost universally, and had temples almost in every part in Greece.

The Romans, as we have seen above, became zealous to adopt the worship of this symbolic idol, and dedicated temples to it, in very early times of the republic. All the authority of the Roman church, all the power of the Roman magistracy, opposing this religion with severe persecution, could never effectually resist it. It took root, it struck downwards, and extended its branches throughout every part of the Roman dominions.

Vespasian, when he had formed the plan of his ambitious designs to become emperor, going to Alexandria, so managed matters, that this god Serapis, considered in some of his manifestations as Æsculapius and the god of health, should point out to his votaries Vespasian as endued with divine power. Hence some who were lame, some who were blind, addressed themselves to him by the divine command (as they said) of the god; the one praying, that he would only deign to kick him with his foot; the other begging, that he would spit upon his eyes. Vespasian pretended to deride these votaries; but they persevered. He still affected to consider any supposition that he, or any human power, could work such miracles as vain and presumptuous. He pretended to consult the physicians, whether it was within the power of any human being to effect these cures. The doctors understood their business perfectly. Their answer was, that certainly

\* The Gnostics most likely, who were confounded with the Christians.

no human person could do this; but it might so please the gods, that he, *the prince*, might be chosen to a divine ministry of performing such miracles. Vespasian acquiesced, and acted as the god had directed these poor objects to request of him. Immediately the one recovered the use of his hand, and the other was restored to sight. Those who were present, and witnesses to these facts, says Tacitus, now, when no temptation to falsify remains, bear testimony to them\*.

The worship of this symbolic Numen having for some ages back taken root in the minds of the common people of Rome, having very generally, as an heresy which the magistracy and priests found it necessary at length to connive at, extended itself, to which even at Rome, though without the walls of the city, many temples were erected, to which these people, who had adopted it, were fanatically devoted. It is no wonder that, when it became the *patron god* of the emperor Vespasian and of the Flavian family, this god

should then become openly and universally worshipped, and have such magnificent temples built to his Numen or deity.

After this survey of the religion of the ancient world; of the symbols as outward visible material objects of internal invisible intelligible ideas; of idols imagined and erected to give activity to outward worship, which would be otherwise a mere inward spiritual effort of devotion, of which the multitude were incapable; of, finally, the symbolic worship of physiologic idols, the *mutbas* of which the priest guarded secret, or communicated, as the occasion required; we will, with those ideas, view this curious frustum of an idol at Arles.

It is a mixed symbolic image; the principal part is that of an human person, clothed with a veil, on which are wrought, in relief, the figures of the zodiac. What the head was, or whether there was the calathes upon the head, cannot be now known, that being gone. Round this person, through the course of the figures

\* Ex Alexandrina plebe quidam, oculorum tunc notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium excitatis exposcens genitu, monitu Serapidis Dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabatur *Principem* ut genus et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manuæger, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio *Cæsaris* calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspernari: atque illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere: modo obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus adulantium in spem induci. Postremò æstimari a medicis jubet, an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humanâ superabiles forent. Medici variè differere. Huic non excessum vim luminis et redituram si pellerentur obstantia. Illi elapsos in pravum cartis, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. *Id fortasse cordi Deis et divino ministerio* Principem electum. Denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cæsarem: irriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. Igitur Vespasianus cunctu fortunæ suæ patere ratus, nec quidquam ultrâ incredibile, læto ipse vultu, erecta quæ astabat multitudine, jussu ex sequitur. Statim ad usum conversa manus, ac cæco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. Taciti Hist. lib. IV. c. 81.

Suetonius relates the same story; as also the presages received in the temple of Serapis by Vespasian, of his future empire. Suetonii Vespas. c. 7.

of the zodiac; the dragon serpent winds his flexile course in several folds, originally four, and finally comes with his head and neck over the left shoulder of the human figure, stretching itself forward toward the left hand of the person, which is lifted up, and seems to have held a patera; but some pious zeal has bruised the serpent's head, and so broken the hands, as that not the contours, but the general form only of them can be traced.

Here we see the human form representing the superior, if not the supreme, intelligent being. We see it clothed with the heavens\*, the φλογοςίδης, the Gorgonian veil, through the constellations of which, particularly the signs of the zodiac, the *seraph-serpent*, the idol of the sun†, winds his course, supported in his movements, and sustained in his existence, by this divine image, whom the Pythian oracle called his father‡, and whom the initiated considered as the supreme intelligent cause.

Considering this idol, as I did, in this point of view, I could not but esteem it, as I do, a most curious and valuable remain of antiquity.

Whether now the critics may choose to call it Mithras or Serapis, or Bell and the Dragon, is nearly the same as to the symbol; but Serapis was the Numen chiefly worshipped by the Romans."

*Observations on the Time of the Death and Place of Burial of Queen Katharine Parr. By the Rev. Treadway Nash, D. D. F. A. S.—From the Archaeologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity; published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. IX.*

"AS it is the plan of the Society of Antiquaries to give attention to discoveries, however trifling, which may tend to illustrate any point of English history, I now take the liberty of laying before them some circumstances which clearly ascertain the time of the death, and burying place of Katharine Parr, sixth and last wife of Henry the Eighth. If no account of this discovery hath by any one been laid before the Society, I wish this to be read, as George Ballard, the industrious antiquary of Cambden, a town about ten miles from Sudley, says, the particulars of the death and burial of this lady are *desiderata*, and his ignorance of it appears the more extraordinary, as his business of a stay-maker must often have led him into those parts.

Indeed my late worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Granger, says, "The Rev. Mr. Hugget, a very accurate antiquary, has given "undoubted authority for the "death of this queen in the castle "of Sudley in Gloucestershire, "September 5, 1548; and for her

\* Ἀμπεχόνη δὲ φλογοςίδη σέλλησιν αὐτῇ τὰς εἰκόνας. Plutarch. de Is. & Osir.

† Jao Sol invictus Serapis. Gruter's Inscript.

‡ Δὲ ἡλίω μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι. Part of an inscription in Fabretti.

Deo invicto Mithr\*\*, Idol formerly at Lyons, but now somewhere in England.

Σάραπις δὲ ὄνομα τῷ Παν κοσμήτιος ἑστῖ. Plutarch. 28.

Σάραπιν ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε — ὡς δὲ τὸν Ὀσίριν εἰ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν.

Id. 27.

“interment in the chapel there.” Probably he alludes to a MS. in the heralds college, intituled, “A book of Buryalls of trew Noble Persons, No 15, p. 98, 99, entitled a breviat of the interment of the Ladye Katheryn Parre, quene dowager, &c.”—which goes on,

“Item, on Wenyfdaye the 5 Septembre, between 2 or 3 of the clocke in the morninge died the aforesaid Ladye, late Quene Dowager, at the castle of Sudley in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lyeth buried in the chappell of the said castle.

“Item, she was cearid and cheftid in lead accordinglie, and so remained, &c.”

This account being published in Rudder’s new History of Gloucestershire, raised the curiosity of some ladies, who happened to be at the castle in May 1782, to examine the ruined chapel, and observing a large block of alabaster, fixed in the north wall of the chapel, they imagined it might be the back of a monument formerly placed there. Led by this hint they opened the ground not far from the wall; and not much more than a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope which they opened in two places, on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cerecloth. Upon removing what covered the face, they discovered the features, and particularly the eyes, in perfect preservation. Alarmed at this sight, and with the

smell, which came principally from the cerecloth, they ordered the ground to be thrown in immediately without judiciously closing up the cerecloth and lead, which covered the face: only observing enough of the inscription to convince them that it was the body of queen Katharine.

In May 1784 some persons having curiosity again to open the grave, found that the air, rain, and dirt, having come to the face, it was entirely destroyed, and nothing left but the bones. It was then immediately covered up, and no farther search made.

October 14, 1786, I went to Sudley\*, in company with the hon. John Sommers Cocks, and Mr. John Skipp of Ledbury, having previously obtained leave of Lord Rivers, the owner of the castle, to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and heaving up the lead, we found the face totally decayed, the bones only remaining; the teeth, which were found, had fallen out of their sockets. The body, I believe, is perfect, as it has never been opened: we thought it indelicate and indecent to uncover it; but observing the left hand to lie at a small distance from the body, we took off the cerecloth, and found the hand and nails perfect, but of a brownish colour: the cerecloth consisted of many folds of coarse linen, dipped in wax, tar, and perhaps some gums: over this was wrapt a sheet of lead fitted exactly close to the body.

\* Sudley is situated near to Winchcombe, about 13 miles from Gloucester, and about 8 from Cheltenham.



*On that Part of the Lead which covered the Breast was the following Inscription :*

K P

He . e Lyethe quene  
Katheryne Wife to Kyng  
Henry the VIII and  
the wife of Thomas  
Lord of Sudely high  
Admy . . . of Englund  
And ynkle to Kyng  
Edward the VI  
... i . . . y . . M CCCCQ  
XL VIII

The queen must have been low of stature, as the lead which inclosed her corpse was but five feet four inches long. The letters K. P. above the inscription was the signature she commonly used, though sometimes she signs herself, "Keteryn the Quene."—It seems at first extraordinary she should be buried so near the surface of the ground, but we should consider, that a pavement, and perhaps some earth had been taken away, since she was first interred, and as she was buried within the communion-rails, probably that ground might be formerly two or three steps higher than the rest of the chapel\*.

I could heartily wish more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable though unfortunate queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapt in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in some proper place, that at least after her death her body might remain in peace; whereas the chapel where she now

lies is used for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes and scratch very indecently about her royal corpse. Besides the queen, many other eminent persons are buried in this chapel, Sir John Bruges created Lord Chandos of Sudely, in the reign of Queen Mary (ancestor to the present Duke of Chandos) his son Edmund Lord Chandos, Giles Lord Chandos, and Grey Lord Chandos, who, for the great interest he had in those parts, was called the King of Coteshwold; and George Lord Chandos, who had three horses killed under him at the battle of Newbury, in defence of King Charles the First. All these, together with many eminent men, lie neglected in the ruined chapel of Sudley.

The chapel was an elegant building in the gothic style, ornamented with a tower, battlements, and pinnacles, probably of a later date than the castle, which, though it was much altered and improved by the high admiral, doth not appear as if built by him from the foundation, but of an age prior to that of Henry the Seventh. Indeed, great part of the castle was built by Ralph le Boteler, Lord of Sudley, 20 Henry VI. out of the spoils taken from the French. He was treasurer of England, and admiral at sea, where he took Portman a Frenchman prisoner, with whose ransom he built one of the towers, which from his name was called Portman's Tower†. It was probably then a very magnificent palace, for the owner of it, when arrested by Henry the Fourth, as he was being

\* Her head lies to the west, and her feet to the east, so that rising upon her feet, her face would be to the east.

† See Atkins's Gloucestershire, p. 369.

conveyed to London, looked back upon Sudley Castle, and was heard to say, "Sudley Castle, thou art the traitor, not I."

From the epitaph written by Dr. Parkhurst, chaplain to Queen Katharine, as well as from the style of the building, I should think the chapel was intirely built by the brother of the Protector Somerset; for the brothers were both great patrons of the arts, and Sudley Castle might once have rivalled Somerset House in the Strand, and had this advantage, that it was not founded so much on rapine, and devastation of private property.—But to return to Queen Katharine.

Katharine Parr was born about the year 1510. She was the eldest of the daughters of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmoreland. Her father, though not rich, bestowed on her a learned education, which at that time was much in fashion: her fine parts and great application enabled her to make improvements suitable to the opportunities allowed her. Her person and deportment were amiable, though she was not esteemed a beauty. Her father by his last will gave her a fortune of 400*l*. a portion even at that time small for the daughter of a country gentleman. Sir Thomas likewise in his will bequeaths to his son a gold chain given him by the king, of the value of 140*l*.—If the royal present had not been highly esteemed, the chain would have been sold, and increased his daughter's fortune.

Katharine was early married to

Edward Burghes; after his death, to John Neville lord Latimer, a nobleman of large property in Worcestershire, and other counties; for George Neville lord Latimer, marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, had the manors of Great Cumberton, Wadborough, and other estates in our county, which, on his marriage, John lord Latimer settled on Katharine Parr in jointure, and she held them during her life.

I do not find how long her first or second husband lived with her, but she was \* married to the king at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, at the latter end of that monarch's life, when he was violent and cruel, so that, in all probability, she enjoyed with him but little happiness or quiet. Indeed, she was near paying for her royalty with her life, for as she had been taught from her infancy to enquire into the principles of her religion, she could not help arguing sometimes with the King: a thing he could never bear, especially in matters of religion, in which he thought every one should conform to his ideas, and deemed it the highest presumption, that Kate, as he called her, should turn doctor, and pretend to instruct him; by the instigation therefore of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, he ordered the chancellor Wriothesley to arrest her, and convey her to the Tower, from whence she would probably have ended her days upon a scaffold, if her adroitness and submission had not appeased the

\* It is to be observed that though a widow when she married the King, yet she was distinguished by her maiden name. So the wife of Edward IV. was called Elizabeth Widville, and not Elizabeth Grey.

wrath of her husband. With this tyrant she lived three years, six months, and five days, and only escaped his clutches, to fall into worse hands. She loved learning, and was a great patron of it, being herself well informed. She interceded earnestly for the university of Cambridge, which was in danger of sharing the fate of the monasteries\*. She was of a religious turn, composed many letters, prayers, and pious meditations both in Latin and English. I shall quote one prayer, which breathes the true spirit of humanity and christianity. It was written during the French war, and the King's expedition into France, and seems preferable to the prayer directed by our liturgy to be used in time of war. It runs thus: "Our cause  
" being just, and being enforced  
" to enter into war and battle, we  
" most humbly beseech thee, O  
" Lord God of Hosts, so to turn  
" the hearts of our enemies to the  
" desire of peace, that no Christian  
" blood be spilt; or else,  
" grant, O Lord, that with small  
" effusion of blood, and to the  
" little hurt of innocents, we may,  
" to thy glory, obtain victory, and  
" that, the wars being soon ended,  
" we may all with one heart and  
" mind, knit together in concord  
" and unity, laud and praise thee,  
" O Lord."—This to my ears  
sounds better than, "abate their  
" pride; assuage their malice, and  
" confound their devices."

The fairest characters may easily admit a stain, and the most immaculate are not secure from the

breath of scandal: even Queen Katharine is charged with too great a partiality for Sir Thomas Seymour, and with an affection for him before she married the King. This affection revived after the death of her royal husband, if it did not continue during his life: however it is certain the soon and privately married Sir Thomas, "so soon, that it is said, if she  
" had early proved pregnant, it  
" might have been doubtful whose  
" child it was," but she was not delivered for a year and half after the king's death. This match was attended with the fate of most clandestine marriages, the misery and ruin of the female; for, cruel as Henry was, Katharine escaped better from the clutches of the king, than from the ill usage and treachery of her beloved Seymour. She died the seventh day after she was delivered of a daughter (whom the father, before his execution, committed to the care of the Dutchess of Suffolk), of a broken heart, not without suspicion of poison†.

Thus did a hard fate attend this amiable woman. The ambition of Seymour, the object of her choice, was not satisfied with marrying the Queen Dowager, but he aimed at a match with the Princess Elizabeth, by which he hoped he might one day become husband to the Queen regent, if not king of England: besides, the pride of her sister-in-law, and the ill temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last, and who had every external qualification calculated to

\* See her letter in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

† This heavy charge is founded on the Salisbury papers, published by Haynes, p. 103, 104.

captivate the female heart, were constant sources of misery to this unfortunate woman.

Strype has given us an Epitaph written by her chaplain, Dr. Park-

hurst, afterward bishop of Norwich, which perhaps was engraved on the monument erected for her in the chapel of Sudley castle: it is as follows:

Hoc Regina novo dormit Katharina sepulchro,  
 Sexus fœminei flos, honor, atque decus:  
 Hæc fuit Henrico conjux fidissima regi,  
 Quem postquam e vivis Parca tulisset atrox,  
 Thomæ Seymero (cui tu, Neptune, tridentem  
 Porrigis) eximio nupserat illa viro:  
 Huic peperit natam; a partu cum septimus orbem  
 Sol illustrasset, mors truculenta necat.  
 Defunctam madidis famuli dessemus ocellis,  
 Humescit tristes terra Britannia genas:  
 Nos infelices mœror consumit accerbis,  
 Inter cœlestes gaudet at illa choros.

Englified thus:

In this new tomb the royal Kath'rine lies,  
 Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise.  
 A wife by every nuptial virtue known,  
 And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.  
 To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields  
 (Seymour who Neptune's trident justly wields);  
 From him a beauteous daughter blest'd her arms,  
 An infant copy of her parent's charms.  
 When now seven days this tender flower had bloom'd,  
 Heaven in it's wrath the mother's soul resum'd.  
 Great Kath'rine's merit in our grief appears,  
 While fair Britannia dews her cheek with tears,  
 Our loyal breasts with rising sighs are torn,  
 With saints she triumphs, we with mortals mourn.

There is an original picture of her in the gallery at Lambeth, over the chimney-piece.

*Remarks on the Title of Thane and Abthane. By Robert Riddel, of Glen Riddel, Esq. In a Letter to Mr. Gough.—From the same Work.*

Friars carse, near Dumfries.

Sir,

"A GREEABLE to my promise  
 I send you some remarks on

the title of Thane in Scotland, and the authority that was annexed to that most antient and honourable office by our kings and the estates, in the earlier ages of the Scottish monarchy. A Thane (which signifies a servant) held under the king a jurisdiction over a district called a Thanedom, and afterwards a Sheriffdom



shiffdom or County. His office was to give judgment in all civil and criminal cases within his Thanedom. Upon perusing the claims of hereditary jurisdiction in Scotland, when they were annexed to the crown in 1748, I find that in the year 1405 a receipt was granted by Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, for infesting Donald, thane of Calder, in his thanedom, as heir at law to Andrew, thane of Calder, his father, to whom he had previously been served heir, and returned in the heritable offices of Shireef (or Thane) of Nairn, and constable of the castle of Nairn. He was accordingly seised of his lands and thanedom; and the seafine is produced as a voucher in the year 1748, to prove the fact. By this it appears that the thanes of Calder exercised a jurisdiction over the thanedom, and afterwards sherriffdom of Nairn. The title of earl (an English dignity derived from the Saxon word *Eorlas*, signifying honour) was first introduced into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore, and gained ground to the prejudice of the more ancient title of Thane. The title of earl was often granted without any jurisdiction annexed to it; but the dignity of Thane, never. And this perhaps was the chief reason for its total disuse in the year 1476, when William thane of Calder had his thanedom erected into a free barony and regality. He was the last Thane in Scotland; for the crown, to add to its influence, then abolished this dignity.

As to the very antient title of *Abthane*, I am more at a loss to point out the nature and extent of its jurisdiction. I find Crinan,

Abthane of Dull and the Western Isles, (who married Beatrix the eldest daughter of Malcolm the Second, and was father to Duncan the First king of Scotland) was considered as the most powerful man in the kingdom. It is generally thought that he exercised the office of chief justiciar over the kingdom: perhaps in a similar manner as it was exercised by the family of Argyll so late as the year 1628, when the lord born heiritable justiciar of all Scotland did resign that high office to king Charles I. In addition to the office of chief justiciar: Crinan (as it was thought) was the king's steward over the crown lands in the Western Isles, as well as a large district on the main land of Scotland, called Dull. What was the extent of the crown's patrimony called Dull, I do not know; but in the claim of Sir Robert Menzies for the lordship of Apin O Dull, in 1748, the lord advocate, in his reply, says, that the lordship of Apin O Dull was anciently a part of the patrimony of the crown; and it is natural to suppose that it was part of Crinan's Abthane-dom.

The lordship of Apin O Dull, as claimed by Sir Robert Menzies, comprehended the lands situated in the parishes of Weem, and Dull, and Logierant.

Crinan was the last Abthane of Scotland; for his son, Duncan the First, appointed Bancho thane of Lochaber, as his *dapifer* or *senescallus*. And Malcolm Canmore appointed Walter to the office of *dapifer domini regis*, which became hereditary in his family until they succeeded to the throne in the person of Robert the Second."

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*The Vicar's Tale.—Extracted from the Olla Podrida, a Periodical Work, compleat in Forty-four Numbers.*

*The short and simple annals of the poor.* Gray.

“**B**EING on a tour to the North, I was one evening arrested in my progress at the entrance of a small hamlet, by breaking the fore-wheel of my phaeton. This accident rendering it impracticable for me to proceed to the next town, from which I was now sixteen miles distant, I directed my steps to a small cottage, at the door of which, in a woodbine arbor, sat a man of about sixty, who was solacing himself with a pipe. In the front of his house was affixed a small board, which I conceived to contain an intimation, that travellers might there be accommodated. Addressing myself therefore to the old man, I requested his assistance, which he readily granted; but on my mentioning an intention of remaining at his house all night, he regretted that it was not in his power to receive me, and the more so, as there was no inn in the village.—It was not till now that I discovered my error concerning the board over the door, which contained a notification, that there was taught that useful art, of which, if we credit Mrs. Baddeley's Memoirs, a certain noble lord was so grossly ignorant. In short, my friend proved to be the school-master, and probably secretary, to

the hamlet. Affairs were in this situation when the Vicar made his appearance. He was one of the most venerable figures I had ever seen; his time-silvered locks shaded his temple, whilst the lines of misfortune were, alas! but too visible in his countenance. Time had softened, but could not efface them.—On seeing my broken equipage, he addressed me; and when he began to speak, his countenance was illumined by a smile.—“I presume, Sir,” said he, “that the accident you have just experienced will render it impossible for you to proceed. Should that be the case, you will be much distressed for lodgings, the place affording no accommodations for travellers, as my parishioners are neither *willing* nor *able* to support an alehouse; and as we have few travellers, we have little need of one: but if you will accept the best accommodation my cottage affords, it is much at your service.”—After expressing the sense I entertained of his goodness, I joyfully accepted so desirable an offer.—As we entered the hamlet, the sun was gilding with his departing beams the village spire, whilst a gentle breeze refreshed the weary hinds, who, seated beneath the venerable oaks that overshadowed their cottages, were reposing themselves after the labours of the day, and listening attentively to the tale of an old soldier, who, like myself, had wandered

dered thus far, and was now distressed for a lodging. He had been in several actions, in one of which he had lost a leg; and was now, like many other brave fellows,

— “Doom’d to beg  
“His bitter bread thro’ realms his valor  
“fav’d.”

My kind host invited me to join the crowd, and listen to his tale. With this request I readily complied. No sooner did we make our appearance, than I attracted the attention of every one. The appearance of a stranger in a hamlet, two hundred miles from the capital, is generally productive of surprise; and every one examines the new comer with the most attentive observation.—So wholly did my arrival engross the villagers, that the veteran was obliged to defer the continuation of his narrative, till their curiosity should be gratified.—Every one there took an opportunity of testifying the good-will they bore my venerable host, by offering him a seat on the grass. The good man and myself were soon seated, and the brave veteran resumed his narrative, in the following words:—“After,” continued he, “I had been intoxicated, I was carried before a justice, who was intimate with the captain, at whose request he attested me before I had sufficiently recovered my senses to see the danger I was encountering. In the morning, when I came to myself, I found I was in custody of three or four soldiers, who, after telling me what had happened, in spite of all I could say, carried me to the next town, without permitting me to take leave of one of my neighbours.

“When they reached the town it was market day, and I saw several of the people from our village, who were all sorry to hear what had happened, and endeavoured to procure my release, but in vain. After taking an affecting leave of my neighbours, I was marched to Portsmouth, and there, together with an hundred more, embarked for the coast of Africa. During the voyage, most of our number died, or became so enfeebled by sickness as to make them unfit for service. This was owing partly to the climate, partly to the want of water, and to confinement in the ship. When we reached the coast of Africa, we were landed, and experienced every possible cruelty from our officers. At length, however, a man of war arrived, who had lost several marines in a late action; and I, with some others, was sent on board to serve in that station. Soon after we put to sea, we fell in with a French man of war. In the action I lost my leg, and was near being thrown overboard; but the humanity of the chaplain preserved my life, and on my return to England procured my discharge. I applied for the Chelsea bounty; but it was refused me, because I lost my limb when acting as a marine: and, as I was not a regular marine, I was not entitled to any protection from the Admiralty. Therefore I am reduced to live on the good-will of those who pity my misfortunes. To be sure, mine is a hard lot; but the King does not know it, or (God bless his Majesty!) he is too good to let those

“ those starve who have fought his  
“ battles.”

The village clock now striking eight, the worthy Vicar rose, and, slipping something into the old man's hand, desired me to follow him. At our departure, the villagers promised to take care of the old man. We returned the farewell civilities of the rustics, and directed our steps to the vicarage. It was small, with a thatched roof. The front was entirely covered with woodbine and honeysuckle, which strongly scented the circumambient air. A grove of ancient oaks, that surrounded the house, cast a solemn shade over, and preserved the verdure of the adjacent lawn, through the midst of which ran a small brook, that gently murmured as it flowed. This, together with the bleating of the sheep, the lowing of the herds, the village murmurs, and the distant barkings of the trusty curs, who were now entering on their office as guardians of the hamlet, formed a concert, at least equal to that in Tottenham-court-road. On entering the wicket, we were met by a little girl of six years old. Her dress was simple, but elegant; and her appearance such as spoke her destined for a higher sphere. As soon as she had informed her grandfather that supper was ready, she dropped a courtesy, and retired. I delayed not a moment to congratulate the good old man on possessing so great a treasure. He replied, but with a sigh; and we entered the house, where every thing was distinguished by an air of elegant simplicity that surprised me. On our entrance, he introduced me to his wife; a woman turned of forty, who still possessed great re-

mains of beauty, and had much the appearance of a woman of fashion. She received me with easy politeness, and regretted that she had it not in her power to entertain me better. I requested her not to distress me with unnecessary apologies, and we sat down to supper. The little angel, who welcomed us at the door, now seating herself opposite to me, offered me an opportunity of contemplating one of the finest faces I had ever beheld. My worthy host, observing how much I was struck with her appearance, directed my attention to a picture which hung over the mantle. It was a striking likeness of my little neighbour, only on a larger scale.—That, Sir, said he, is Harriet's mother. Do you not think there is a vast resemblance? To this I assented; when the old man put up a prayer to Heaven, that she might resemble her mother in every thing but her unhappy fate. He then started another topic of conversation, without gratifying the curiosity he had excited concerning the fate of Harriet's mother; for whom I already felt myself much interested.

Supper being removed, after chatting some time, my worthy host conducted me to my bed-chamber, which was on the ground-floor, and lined with jasmine, that was conducted in at the windows. After wishing me good night, he retired, leaving me to rest.—The beauty of the scenery, however, and my usual propensity to walk by moon-light, induced me to leave my fragrant cell. When I sallied forth, the moon was darting her tempered rays through the shade that surrounded the cottage, tipping the tops of the venerable oaks with silver.



silver. After taking a turn or two on the lawn, I wandered to the spot,—“where the rude forefathers  
“of the hamlet sleep.” It was small, and for the most part surrounded with yew-trees of an ancient date, beneath whose solemn shade many generations had mouldered into dust. No sooner did I enter, than my attention *was caught* by a pillar of white marble, placed on the summit of a small eminence, the base of which was surrounded with honeysuckles and woodbines, whilst a large willow overshadowed the pillar. As I was with attention perusing the epitaph, I was not a little alarmed by the approach of a figure, clothed in a long robe.—The apparition continued advancing towards me with a slow step, and its eyes fixed on the ground, which prevented it observing me till we were within reach of each other.—Great was my wonder at recognizing my worthy host in this situation; nor was his astonishment less at finding his guest thus courting the appearance of goblins and fairies.—After each had expressed the surprize he felt, I proceeded to enquire whose dust was there enshrined. To my question he returned answer:—“There, Sir, sleeps Harriet’s mother, an innocent, but unfortunate woman. Pardon me, Sir, said he, if for a moment I indulge my sorrow, and bedew my Harriet’s grave with tears,—a tribute that I often pay her much-loved memory, when the rest of the world are lost in sleep.”—Here he paused, and seemed much agitated. At length he requested my permission to defer the recital of Harriet’s woes till the next day, as he found himself unequal to the task of proceeding in the painful

detail. To this proposal I readily acceded, and we returned home. I retired to my room, but every attempt to procure sleep proved ineffectual. Harriet had so wholly occupied my thoughts, that no moment of the night was suffered to pass unnoticed. At length, “when  
“soared the warbling lark on high,” I left my couch, and rejoined my worthy landlord, who was busily employed in the arrangement of his garden. Though I declined mentioning the subject of our last night’s adventure,—yet he saw the marks of anxious expectation in my countenance, and proceeded to gratify the curiosity he had inspired.—“It will be necessary,” said he, “before I proceed to relate the woes that beset my daughter, to give a short sketch of my own life.  
—Six-and-twenty years ago, Mrs. ——— came hither for the benefit of her health, the air being recommended as highly salubrious. On her arrival, she gave out that she was the daughter of a clergyman, who was lately dead, and had left her in narrow circumstances.—I thought it my duty to visit her, and offer her any little attention in my power. She received me with politeness, and expressed a wish to cultivate my acquaintance. I continued to repeat my visits for some time without suspecting that there was any thing particular in her history,—till one morning I found her in tears reading a letter she had just received. On my entrance she gave it to me: it contained a notification from Lord B——’s agent, that her usual remittances would no longer be continued. On opening this letter, I was led to suppose that her connection with Lord B—— was not of the most honourable nature.

ture. But all my suspicion vanished on her producing several letters from lord B—— to her mother, with whom he had been long connected. —From these letters I learnt, that Mrs. —— was the daughter of lord B—— by miss M——, sister to a Scotch baronet, whom he had seduced and supported during the remainder of her life. But he had, it seems, determined to withdraw his protection from the fruit of their connection. Mrs. —— declared she knew not what step to take, as her finances were nearly exhausted. I endeavoured to comfort her, assuring her that she should command every assistance in my power. —On hearing this, she seemed a little satisfied, and became more composed. After sitting with her some time, I returned home, to consider in what manner I might most easily afford protection to the young orphan, whose whole dependence was on my support. —If I took her home to live with me, as I was unmarried, it would give offence to my parishioners. My income was too confined to admit of my affording her a separate establishment. Thus circumstanced, I determined to offer her my hand. You will, no doubt, say it was rather an imprudent step for a man who had seen his fortieth year to connect himself with youth and beauty: but as my brother was then living, it was impossible for me to render her the least assistance on any other plan. She received my proposal with grateful surprise, and accepted it without hesitation. —In a few days we were married, and have now lived together six-and-twenty years in a state, the felicity of which has never been interrupted by those discordant jars which are

so frequently the concomitants of matrimony: though, alas! our peace has received a mortal wound from one, the bare mention of whose name fills me with horror! —But not to digress: before the return of that day which saw me blessed with the hand of Emily, my happiness received an important addition, by the birth of a daughter, who inherited all her mother's charms. It is superfluous to add, that she was equally the idol of both her parents; and as she was the only fruit of our marriage, she became every day a greater favourite. My wife had received such an education as rendered her fully capable of accomplishing her daughter in a manner far superior to any thing her situation required, or perhaps could justify. To this agreeable employment, however, she devoted her whole time; and when Harriet had reached her eighteenth year, she was in every respect a highly-accomplished woman. She was become what that picture represents her. With an amiable temper and gentle manners, she was the idol of the village. Hitherto she had experienced a state of felicity unknown in the more exalted stations of life —unconscious, alas! of the ills that awaited her future years.

It is with reluctance I proceed in the melancholy narrative. —One evening, as a young man, attended by a servant, was passing through the village, his horse startled, and threw him. Happening to be on the spot at the time, I offered every assistance in my power, and conveying him to my cottage, dispatched his servant in quest of a surgeon, who declared our patient was not in any danger, but recommended it to him to delay his departure for a day.

day or two. His health, however, or rather his love, did not admit of his travelling for near a fortnight; during which time he established his interest with Harriet by the most pleasing and unremitting attention to her slightest wishes.—When about to depart, he requested leave to repeat his visit on his return from his intended tour, dropping, at the same time, some distant hints of his affection for Harriet, to whom he was by no means indifferent.

Mr. H—— (for so our guest was named) informed us, previous to his departure, that he had a small independent fortune; but that from a distant relation he had considerable expectation. After bidding an affectionate adieu to Harriet, he set out on his intended tour, which lasted for a month.

During the time of Mr. H——'s absence, Harriet appeared pensive, and I observed with pain that he had made no slight impression on her heart. At length Mr. H—— returned, and Harriet's reception of him left us no room to doubt her attachment. During his second visit he was very assiduous to secure the favour of all the family: with Harriet he easily succeeded; nor were Mrs. T—— or myself disposed to dislike him. His manners were elegant, and his wit lively. At length he obtained from Harriet the promise of her hand, provided her parents should not object. Hitherto I had never been induced to make any enquiries concerning his circumstances and character. Now, however, by his direction, I applied to a Mr. E——ns, a clergyman of his acquaintance. This gentleman, now in an exalted station in the church, then chaplain to

lord C——, informed me, that Mr. H—— was in every respect a desirable match for my daughter; and that whenever his cousin should die, he would be enabled to maintain her in affluence and splendor:—he added that his character was unexceptionable. Little suspecting the villainous part Mr. E——ns was acting, I readily consented to the proposed union, and performed the ceremony myself. Mr. H—— requested that their marriage might be kept a secret till the birth of a son and heir. This proposal rather alarmed me, but it was too late to retreat; and knowing no one in the great world, it was impossible for me, previous to the marriage, to procure any account of Mr. H——, but such as his friend communicated to me. Thus circumstanced, I could only consent; and as Harriet readily adopted every proposal that came from one she so tenderly loved, the matter was finally agreed on. After staying a few days, he set off for London, but soon returned, and passed the whole winter with us; and in the spring Harriet was delivered of that little girl you so much admire. I now pressed him to acknowledge my daughter as his wife. To this he answered, that, had she brought him a son, he would readily have complied with my request; but that his cousin was so great an oddity, that he could not bear the idea (to use his own expression) “of having his fortune “lavished in a milliner's shop:” ‘But,’ added he, ‘if you insist upon it, I will now risk the loss of all his fortune, and introduce my Harriet to his presence.’ Harriet, however, again interfered, and desired that Mr. H—— might not be

be forced into measures that might in the end prove destructive of his future prospect, and induce him to regret the day he ever saw her. These arguments prevailed, and Mr. H—— was suffered to continue as a member of the family without any farther notice being taken of the subject. In this manner had three years elapsed undistinguished by any remarkable event, Mr. H—— generally passing half the year with us, and the remainder in London, attending, as he said, on his cousin; when one day, as he was sitting with us at dinner, a chaise and four drove up to the house. The servants enquired for Mr. H——, and on hearing he was there, opened the carriage door. A gentleman, dressed like an officer, jumped out, followed by a lady in a travelling dress;—they rushed immediately into the room. Their appearance amazed us; but Mr. H—— betrayed the most visible marks of consternation. The lady appeared to be about thirty. She was a woman by no means destitute of personal charms. The moment she entered the room, she seized upon Harriet, and, loading her with every horrible epithet, proceeded to indulge her passion by striking her innocent rival. On seeing this, an old servant of mine seized the lady, and forcibly turned her out of the house, then fastened the door. It was not till now that we perceived the absence of Mr. H——, who had, it seems, retired with the lady's companion. Whilst we were still lost in amazement at the transaction we had just witnessed, we were alarmed to the highest pitch by the report of a pistol. Harriet instantly fainted. Whilst Mrs. T—— was recovering her, I flew

to the spot from whence the sound proceeded, and there found Mr. H—— weltering in his blood, with a pistol lying by him. I approached, and found him still sensible. He informed me, that the lady's brother and he had fought, and that seeing him fall, they had both escaped as fast as possible. I instantly procured assistance, and conveyed him to the house, where he was put to bed, and a surgeon was sent for. In the mean time Harriet had several fits, and we were very apprehensive that the hour of her fate was approaching. On the arrival of the surgeon, he declared the wound Mr. H—— had received would probably prove mortal, and recommended the arrangement of his affairs. Mr. H—— received the news with great agony, and desired that I might be left alone with him. No sooner was this request granted, than he addressed me in the following terms; 'In me, Sir, behold the most unfortunate, and, alas! the most guilty of men. The lady, whose ill-timed visit has lost me my life, is,—I tremble to pronounce the word—my wife.' Seeing me pale with horror, he proceeded. 'No wonder, Sir, that you should behold with horror one who has repaid *unbounded hospitality by unequalled villainy*. The bare remembrance of my own guilt distracts me. The awful hour is now fast approaching, when I must receive my final doom from that Heaven whose laws I have so daringly violated. To redress the injuries I have committed, is, alas! impossible. My death will be an atonement by no means sufficient. I cannot, however, leave this world till you shall be informed, that ten thousand pounds, the whole



whole of my property that is at my disposal, has long ago been transferred by me into the hands of trustees for the benefit of my much-injured Harriet, and her unhappy infant. In my own defence, I have nothing to urge. Suffer me only to remark, that my misfortune arose from the avarice of my father, who forced me into a marriage with the woman you lately saw, and whose brother has been the instrument in the hand of Providence to inflict on me the doom I so much merited. If possible, conceal from Harriet that I was married. Picture, for her sake, an innocent deception, and tell her that I was only engaged to that lady. This will contribute to promote her repose, and the deception may possibly plead the merit of prolonging a life, so dear to you: for the elevated mind of my Harriet would never survive the fatal discovery of my villainy. But, oh! when my unhappy child shall ask the fate of him who gave her being, in pity draw a veil over that guilt which can scarcely hope to obtain the pardon of Heaven."—There he ceased, and uttering a short prayer, expired.—Happily for Harriet, she continued in a state of insensibility for three days, during which time I had the body removed to a neighbouring house, there to wait for interment. Having addressed a letter to Mr. H——'s agent in town, he sent orders for the body to be removed to the family burying-place, where it was accordingly interred. Harriet recovered by slow degrees from the state of happy insensibility, into which the death of Mr. H—— had plunged her. Her grief became silent and settled. Groans and exclamations now gave way to

sighs and the bitter tears of desponding grief. She seldom or never spoke—but would cry for hours together over her hapless infant, then call on the shadow of her departed Henry, little suspecting the irreparable injury he had done her. It was with infinite anxiety I beheld the decline of Harriet's health. Prone as we ever are to hope what we ardently desire, I now despaired of her recovery. Whilst in a state of hopeless inactivity, I was doomed to witness the lingering death of my lamented Harriet, I received a visit from an old friend. On his arrival I allotted him the apartment formerly inhabited by Mr. H—— and Harriet. About midnight he was awakened by some one entering the apartment. On removing the curtain, he discovered, by the light of the moon, my adored Harriet in a white dress. Her eyes were open, but had a vacant look that plainly proved she was not awake. She advanced with a slow step; then seating herself at the foot of the bed, remained there an hour, weeping bitterly the whole time, but without uttering a word. My friend, fearful of the consequences, forbore to awake her, and she retired with the same deliberate step she had entered. This intelligence alarmed me excessively. On the next night she was watched, and the same scene was repeated, with this difference, that, after quitting the fatal apartment, she went to the room where her daughter usually slept; and laying herself down on the bed, wept over the child for some time; then returned to her apartment. The next morning we waited with anxiety for her appearance at breakfast; but, alas!"—Here a flood of tears

tears afforded to my friend that relief which he so much needed; and we returned to the house. After passing some days with this worthy couple, I proceeded on my tour, quitting, with reluctance, the abode of sorrow and resignation.—Those whom the perusal of this tale may interest, will, if ever they visit the banks of the Alna, find that the author has copied his characters from nature.”

*An Ironical Defence of Vice and Immorality.—From the same.*

— *Ridiculum acri*

*Fortius et melius plerumque facit res. HOR.*

“IT is wisely ordained by the laws of England, that *the person of the Monarch is sacred*; as also, that *the King can do no wrong*. The meaning of this last maxim I take to be, that, if wrong should happen at any time to be done, the blame is to be laid upon the administration, and not upon the King.

A friend, some years ago, took me into the house of commons, to attend the debates upon the opening of a session; when an honourable gentleman made so free with the speech, which I had but just before heard most gracefully pronounced by his Majesty from the throne, that my hair stood an end, and I was all over in a cold sweat; till, towards the close of his oration, he relieved and restored me, by mentioning, in a parenthesis, that the speech was always considered, in that assembly, as the speech of the minister.

Sheltering myself, therefore, under this distinction, I cannot refrain from offering a few remarks

on a late production, pregnant,—as many are of opinion, with much mischief to the community. The reader sees that I mean, *A proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality.*

That the scheme proposed should be carried into execution, does not indeed seem probable. When we consider how long vice, profaneness, and immorality, have been increasing among us, what a powerful party they have formed, how much fashion is on their side, and how very strong the tide runs, the attempt may be thought to resemble that of the man, who endeavoured to stop the Thames at London-bridge, with his *bat*; unless the rich and the great would set the example.

I have always been an enemy to *pains and penalties*. The word *punishment* is a bad word; and the thing itself is much worse. When once it begins, the wisest man living cannot tell where it will end, or what will become of our liberties. For, as the sheep-stealer said, “If a gentleman cannot kill his own mutton, without being hanged for it, I should be glad to know what we have got by the Revolution.” In short, one must be without a nose, not to smell something here of arbitrary power.

The idea of a Sunday, unenlivened by a little innocent *play*, is a very dull and dreary one. I know a family in town that has made the experiment. The consequence was, that before nine in the evening, the members of it found themselves so cross, peevish, and out of temper, that, had it not been for an early supper, and a glass of good wine,

wine, they could not have gone to bed in christian charity with each other.

But much more distressful still was the case of a lady, whose husband, being in the commission, had lent his assistance to suppress gaming on a Sunday, in a neighbouring public-house. It struck him that cards on that day, in a private house, might not, just then, be quite so proper; and he ventured to hint as much to his lady. She had always apprehended the gospel to have been designed for the poor; and was astonished to find that any thing in the proclamation could apply to persons of her rank in life. "The party was made, and what could be done?"—A thought, however, luckily occurred; and when the company was assembled, after an apology suitable to the occasion, instead of the card tables, she introduced the entertainment of *Catches and Glee*s. The thing took mightily, and was judged a pretty variety. Otherwise, a disappointment of such a nature, spreading, as it must have done, like an electrical shock, through all the polite circles, might have bred bad blood, and produced a general insurrection.

It fares with religion as with a shuttlecock, which is stricken from one to another, and rests with none. The rich apprehend it to have been designed for the poor; and the poor, in their turn, think it calculated chiefly for the rich. An old acquaintance of mine, who omitted no opportunity of doing good, discouraged with the barber who shaved him on his manner of spending the sabbath (which was not quite as it should be), and the necessity of his having more religion than at present he seemed to be possessed

of. The barber proceeding in his work of lathering; replied, that he thought he had *tolerably well for a barber*; as, in his apprehension, one-third of the religion, necessary to save a gentleman, would do to save a barber.

I mention this, because I have received a letter of considerable length, praying redress of grievances, from a person who lets lodgings in Broad St. Giles's. He speaks of a very snug and comfortable neighbourhood there, which is likely to be broken up, and dispersed, by the proclamation, and nobody can tell why.

He himself holds twenty houses by lease, which are let out, ready furnished. Matters are conducted in a manner so perfectly economical, that though there is no more than one bed in each room, there are usually two or three, and sometimes even four occupiers of that one room and bed. That the furniture is of an expensive and luxurious kind, no one can say; as it consists only of a stump bedstead, a flock bed, a pair of sheets (frequently only one sheet), a blanket or two, a chair or two (generally without backs), and a grate, but mostly without shovel, tongs, and poker. The sheets are usually marked with the name of the owner; and the words, *stop thief!* are added, for private reasons.

In two adjoining allies are forty more houses, let out in like sort to inhabitants, in number 400, consisting of whores, pickpockets, footpads, housebreakers, and thieves of every description, from all quarters of the town. But what then? *They* must have lodgings, as well as other people; and, if they were to be in the street all night, it would

would be dangerous for the rest of his Majesty's subjects to pass. To avoid suspicion, the houses are continually lighted, and kept open all night; and to shew that hypocrisy has no place there, what used to be practised only in private at *midnight*, is now practised in public at *mid-day*.

To accommodate the *poor*, there are twopenny lodging-houses. One man, in particular, makes up, every night, thirty-five beds, and takes in men and women, at two pence or three pence a night; but if a man and woman come in together, he receives one shilling a night for the two.

No society can be under better regulations than this is. Thus, for instance, when a prostitute has decoyed a man, and robbed him, the mistress of the house has half the pay and the plunder: and if one of these ladies intrude upon that beat and walk, which another regards as her *exclusive right*, the matter is determined, as much greater matters are, by a *battle*.

Nor can there be reason to fear, that this society should ever become so numerous, as to be any annoyance to the public; since care is taken, that a sufficient number is hanged every session, to maintain a balance; and some rooms are always reserved for the reception of the dead bodies, which are brought back after execution, to their old lodgings, till they can be otherwise disposed of.

Such is the substance of my friend's letter, which he desires may be communicated, through the channel of my paper, to his countrymen, that they may know what they have to expect from the present system of despotism; when a few neighbours cannot live peace-

ably together, without being disturbed, and hunted out, by *Proclamations*. He hopes all honest men will join with him in a petition for the removal of evil counsellors; and concludes with the old British axiom, *My house is my castle*; under no dread, as it should seem, of the retort courteous once made to such a declaration by a magistrate in Oxford, of arbitrary principles; "Then, Sir, the *castle* shall be your *house*."

It is not easy to estimate the loss which the community at large will sustain by the dissolution of this worthy neighbourhood. For if a gentleman be robbed of his watch, it must be replaced by another: if his portmanteau be stolen, he must buy new cloaths and linen: if his house be broken open, and stripped of its furniture, he must apply to the upholsterer: if he be beaten and wounded, to the surgeon: nay, should he be even killed, the undertaker and the sexton will be the bettor for it: and if the usual quantity of gin be not consumed, ruin must seize on those who vend it. Trade must stagnate. Thus incontrovertibly doth it appear, that *private vices* (if indeed they may be called vices) are public benefits.

I say, "if they may be called *vices*;" because I do not see why, should we so please, they may not be called virtues. The nature of things in themselves is nothing; our *opinion* of them is all: and if our opinion alters, the names of things should alter with it. Indeed, they do, and must do so. Thus, when two gentlemen go out with pistols, and shoot each other through the head, or the heart, it is no more than an *affair of honour*: when one seduces the wife or the daughter of another,



another, it is merely an *attachment*: and to cheat a man out of his estate, is only to *pluck a pigeon*. In the neighbourhood above described, the *nomenclature* is much farther advanced, and has nearly attained perfection. They have a language peculiar to themselves, in which when they relate their transactions, they may have been doing what is perfectly just and right, for any thing we can tell to the contrary, since the words are not to be found in any dictionary but their own.

Here then, as some will think, is a more expeditious way of preventing vice, than by proclamation; and, what is much to be desired, of doing it without infliction of punishment, by the sole and simple expedient of voting *vice* to be *virtue*.

The scheme is plausible; but, I must confess, I have my doubts. If we once vote vice to be virtue, I am afraid, that, by a necessity of nature, *virtue*, per contra, must become *vice*; and so we shall but be where we were: there will still be vice in the world.

When the welfare of his country is concerned, every man loves to be a little bit of a projector. On going deeper into the subject, I think I have hit upon a plan, which will make root and branch work of it, and do the business effectually.

That the effect may cease, the cause must be removed. Now, what is the cause of vice? Most undoubtedly, the *law*: for, were there no law, there could be no transgression. Abolish then, at once, the use of all law, human and divine. I grant the step a bold one, requiring a minister of firmness and resolution to take it; but when once taken, the advantages will be many and great.

In the first place, vice will, at one stroke, be extirpated from the face of the earth; for when a man has no law but his own will, we may defy him to do any thing illegal. Never trust to *moral* impossibility, where *physical* is to be had.

Secondly, it will put an end to the expence and trouble of law-suits; and (as equity would fall with law) to all tedious and everlasting suits in Chancery, so much and so long complained of.

Thirdly, it will be a saving to the nation of one tenth of the produce of all the lands in England and Ireland; and consequently put a stop to the ravages of the *White-boys* and *Right-boys*, in this latter kingdom, as well as all disputes between ministers and their parishioners in the former; since, as there would be no more occasion for reading prayers and preaching, the payment of tithes must, of course, be at an end.

Fourthly, it will procure a perpetual holiday for the gentlemen of either robe, who, in future, will have nothing to do, but to hunt, shoot, and play at cards. The same may be said respecting the members of both houses of parliament.

Fifthly, it will make Sunday as cheerful a day, as any day of the week.

Lastly, it will remove all odium from the magistrates who have granted a licence to the *Dog and Duck*.

Such are the conveniences that would attend the execution of my plan; and after considering the subject on all sides, for six hours, in my elbow-chair, I protest, I cannot think of any one inconvenience, to set against them; nor can I devise

any method likely to be so effectual in redressing the grievances occasioned by the proclamation to the subject.

It remains only, that I mention one, which may possibly be occasioned by it to the *Crown*; and which, indeed, I might not have thought of, but for the visit paid me, as I was closing this paper, by an honest farmer—"So, Robin (said I to him), rare news from London! "The king is to be served now only "by good and virtuous courtiers!"—"Ah, Lord have mercy upon me, "Sir (replied Robin), God bless "his majesty, and grant him long "to reign! But I am afraid as "how he will be sometimes obliged "to HELP HIMSELF."

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*The following Particulars relative to Mr. de Saussure's Journey to the Summit of Mont-Blanc, are taken from the Account of De Saussure's Relation Abrégée d'un Voyage à la Cime du Mont Blanc, &c. in the Appendix to the 77th Vol. of the Monthly Review.*

"**A**MONG the stupendous mountains in Savoy, the top of Mont-Blanc was deemed inaccessible, before Dr. Paccard, a physician at Chamouni, made the daring attempt to reach its summit, which, attended only by a single guide, he happily accomplished in August, 1786.

M. de Saussure no sooner became acquainted with the practicability of the journey, than he resolved to undertake it. He arrived at Chamouni, situated at the foot of the mountain, in the beginning of July,

1787, but bad weather prevented him from ascending until the 1st of August, when he began his expedition, accompanied by a servant and eighteen guides, who carried his philosophical and other apparatus. His son was left at the priory in Chamouni, and was employed in making meteorological observations, with which those made on the top of the mountain might be compared.

Although it is scarcely six miles and three quarters, in a straight line, from the priory of Chamouni to the top of Mont Blanc, it requires nevertheless eighteen hours to gain the summit, owing to the bad roads, the windings, and the great perpendicular height of the mountain. That he might be perfectly at liberty to pass the night on what part of the mountain he pleased, he carried a tent with him, and he and his company slept in it, the first night, on that eminence which is first met with, and which is on the south of the priory, and about a mile\* perpendicularly above the village.

Hitherto the journey was free from danger, or even difficulty, the road being either rocky, or covered with grass; but thence, upwards, it was either wholly covered with snow, or consisted of the most slippery ice.

The second day's journey was attended with many difficulties. The ice valley on the side of the hill must be passed, in order to gain the foot of that chain of rocks bordering on the perpetual snows which cover Mont-Blanc. The passage through this valley is extremely dangerous, since it is intersected with numerous wide, deep, and irregular chasms, which can only be crossed by means of bridges naturally formed of snow,

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\* We have reduced all the French measures to the English standard.

and these often very slender, extended as it were over an abyss. One of the guides had almost perished here the evening before, as he, with two others, went to reconnoitre the road. They had the precaution to tie themselves together with a long rope, and he in the middle had the misfortune to have the snow-bridge, over a wide and deep chasm, break under him, so that he remained suspended between his two comrades. M. de Saussure and his retinue passed very near the opening through which this man had fallen, and shuddered at the danger in which the poor fellow had been involved. The difficulties they had to encounter in this valley, and the winding road they were obliged to take through it, occasioned their being three hours in crossing it, although, in a straight line, its breadth is not above three quarters of a mile.

After having reached the rocks, they mounted, in a serpentine direction, to a valley, filled with snow, which runs from north to south, to the foot of the highest pinnacle. The surface of the snow in this valley has numerous fissures, which penetrate so deep, that their bottom is nowhere to be seen, although they are of considerable breadth. The sides of these fissures, where the snow is broken perpendicularly, afford an opportunity of observing the successive horizontal layers of snow which are annually formed.

The guides were desirous of passing the night near one of the rocks on the side of this valley; but as the loftiest of them is at least 1400

yards perpendicularly lower than the summit of the mountain, M. de Saussure was desirous of ascending higher; in consequence of which it would be necessary to encamp on the snow: but he found it difficult to convince his companions of the practicability of the plan. They imagined that, during the night, an insupportable cold prevailed in those heights which were eternally covered with snow, and they were seriously afraid of perishing. By proper encouragements, however, he induced them to proceed; and, at four in the afternoon, they arrived at the second of the three plains of snow which they had to pass. Here they encamped at the height of 3100 yards above the priory of Chamouni, and 4250 yards above the level of the sea, which is about 200 yards higher than the peak of Teneriffe. They did not proceed to the last plain, on account of the day having been far advanced; and they were also apprehensive of exposing themselves to the Avalanches\*, which are frequently tumbling from the summit of the mountain. They dug a deep hole in the snow, sufficiently wide to contain the whole company, and covered its top with the tent cloth.

In making this encampment, they began to experience the effects of the rarity of the atmosphere. Robust men, to whom seven or eight hours walking, or rather climbing, were an absolute nothing, had scarcely raised five or six shovels full of snow before they were under the necessity of resting and relieving each other, almost incessantly. One

\* Snow-balls, that roll down the hills: some of them are about 200 feet diameter; being fragments of the ice rocks which break by their own weight from the tops of the precipices.

of them, who had gone back a small distance, to fill a cask with some water which he had seen in one of the crevices of the snow, found himself so much disordered in his way, that he returned without the water, and passed the night in great pain. M. de Saussure, who is so much accustomed to the air of mountains as to say, 'that, in general, I feel myself better in such air than in that of the plains,' was exhausted with the fatigue of making his meteorological observations. The principal inconvenience which the thinness of the air produces, is an excessive thirst. They had no means of procuring water but by melting the snow; and the little stove which they had carried with them, afforded but a feeble supply for twenty men.

This region of the mountain presents to the view nothing but snow of the purest and most dazzling whiteness, forming a very singular contrast with the sky, which appears remarkably black. We shall let M. de Saussure speak for himself.

"No living creature is to be seen in these desolate regions, nor is the least trace of vegetation to be discovered. It is the habitation of cold and silence! When I reflected that Dr. Paccard and his guide, Jacques Balmat, who first visited these deserts, arrived here at the decline of the day, without shelter, without assistance, and wholly ignorant where or how they were to pass the night, without even the certainty that it was possible for men to exist in the places they had undertaken to visit, and yet that they were able to pursue their journey with unremitted intrepidity, I could not but admire their strength and courage.

"My guides were so firmly prepossessed with the fear of cold, that

they shut up every aperture of the tent with the utmost exactness, so that I suffered very considerably from the heat, and the vitiated air, which had become highly noxious, from the breaths of so many people in a small room. I was frequently obliged, in the course of the night, to go out of the tent, in order to relieve my breathing. The moon shone with the brightest splendor, in the midst of a sky as black as ebony. Jupiter, rayed like the sun, arose from behind the mountain in the east. The light of these luminaries was reflected from the white plain, or rather basin, in which we were situated, and, dazzling, eclipsed every star, except those of the first and second magnitude.

"At length we composed ourselves to sleep. We were, however, soon awakened by the noise of an immense mass of snow (*avalanche*), which had fallen down from the top of the mountain, and covered part of the slope over which we were to climb the next day."

As they were obliged to melt a great quantity of snow, and prepare many necessaries for their farther progress in their journey, it was late the next morning before they took their departure. M. de Saussure continues his narrative to this effect:

"We began our ascent to the third and last plain, and then turned to the left, in our way to the highest rock, which is on the east part of the summit. The ascent is here very steep, being about 39 degrees inclined to the horizon, and bounded on each side by precipices. The surface of the snow was so hard and slippery, that our pioneers were obliged to hew out their footsteps with hatchets. Thus we were two hours



hours in climbing a hill of about 530 yards high. Having arrived at this last rock, we turned to the westward, and climbed the last ascent, whose height is about 300 yards, and its inclination about 28 or 29 degrees. On this peak the atmosphere is so rare, that a man's strength is exhausted with the least fatigue. When we came near the top, I could not walk fifteen or sixteen steps without stopping to take breath; and I frequently perceived myself so faint, that I was under the necessity of sitting down, from time to time; and in proportion as I recovered my breath, I felt my strength renewed. All my guides experienced similar sensations, in proportion to their respective constitutions. We arrived at the summit of Mont-Blanc at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

"My attention was first directed toward Chamouni, where I knew my wife and her two sisters were anxiously observing, with a telescope, my motions through these airy regions; and it was with the utmost delight that I discovered a flag, which they had agreed to hoist at the moment they should perceive that I had gained the top of the mountain. It convinced me that their apprehensions for my safety were removed.

"I now enjoyed the grand spectacle which was under my eyes. A thin vapour, suspended in the inferior regions of the air, deprived me of the distinct view of the lowest and most remote objects, such as the plains of France and Lombardy; but I did not so much regret this loss, since I saw, with remarkable clearness, what I principally wished to see, viz. the assemblage of those high ridges, with the true form and situations of which I had long been

desirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted. I could scarce believe my eyes. I thought myself in a dream when I saw, below my feet, so many majestic peaks, especially the Needles, the Midi, Argentière, and Géant, whose bases had proved so difficult and dangerous of access. I obtained a perfect knowledge of their proportion to, and connection with, each other; of their form and structure; and a single view removed more doubts, and afforded more information, than whole years of study.

"While I was thus employed, my guides pitched my tent, and were fixing the apparatus for the experiments I had proposed to make on boiling water; but when I came to dispose my instruments for that purpose, I was obliged, almost at every instant, to desist from my labours, and turn all my thoughts to the means of respiration. When it is considered, that the mercury in the barometer was no higher than 16 inches and a line (17.145 inches English), and that this air had consequently little more than half the density of that on the plains, the breathing must necessarily be increased, in order to cause, in a given time, the passage of a sufficient quantity of air through the lungs. The frequency of respiration increased the circulation of the blood, more especially as the arteries on the surface of the body had not the pressure they were usually accustomed to. We were all in a feverish state, as will be seen in the sequel.

"While I remained perfectly still, I experienced but little uneasiness more than a slight oppression about my heart; but, on the smallest bodily exertion, or when I fixed my attention on any object for some mo-

ments together, and particularly when I pressed my chest in the act of stooping, I was obliged to rest and pant for two or three minutes. My guides were in a similar condition. We had no appetite; and our provisions, which were all frozen, were not well calculated to excite it: nor had we any inclination for wine or brandy, which increased our indisposition, most probably by accelerating the circulation of the blood.

“Nothing but fresh water relieved us; and much time and trouble were necessary to procure this article, as we could have no other than melted snow.

“I remained on the summit till half past three; and though I did not lose a single moment, I was not able to make all those experiments, in four hours and an half, which I have frequently done in less than three on the sea-side. However I made, with great exactness, those which were most essential.

“We returned much easier than I could have expected, since, in descending, we did not experience any bad effects from the compression of the thorax; our respiration was not impeded, and we were not under the necessity of resting, in order to recover our breath and strength. The road down to the first plain was, nevertheless, by no means agreeable, on account of the great declivity; and the sun, shining so bright on the tops of the precipices below us, made so dazzling an appearance, that it required a good head to avoid growing giddy from the prospect. We pitched our tent again on the snow, though we were more than four hundred yards below our last night’s encampment. I was here convinced that it was the rarity of the air, and not the fatigue of the

journey, that had incommoded us on the summit of the mountain, otherwise we should not have found ourselves so well, and so able to attack our supper with a good appetite. I could now also make my meteorological observations without any inconvenience. I am persuaded that the indisposition, in consequence of the rarity of the atmosphere, is different in different people. For my own part, I felt no inconvenience at the height of 4000 yards, or nearly two miles and a quarter; but I began to be much affected when I was higher in the atmosphere.

“The next day we found that the ice-valley which we had passed on our first day’s journey, had undergone a considerable change, from the heat of the two preceding days, and that it was much more difficult to pass than it had been in our ascent. We were obliged to go down a declivity of snow, of no less than 50 degrees of inclination, in order to avoid a chasm which had happened during our expedition. We at length got down as low as the first eminence on the side, about half after nine, and were perfectly happy to find ourselves on a foundation which we were sure would not give way under our feet.”

M. de Saussure concludes this part of his account by informing us, that he and his party returned to the priory by dinner-time,—all safe and well.

The meteorological observations follow the history of the journey: they are abridged, but the author promises a full and circumstantial explanation of them in the 3d volume of his Travels.

From the present narrative we learn, that the summit of the mountain is a ridge, nearly horizontal, lying

lying east and west: the slope, at each extremity, is inclined from 28 to 30 degrees, the south side between 15 and 20, and the north about 45 or 50. This ridge is so narrow, as scarcely to allow two people to walk abreast, especially at the west end, where it resembles the roof of a house. It is wholly covered with snow; nor is any bare rock to be seen within 150 yards of the top. The surface of the snow is scaly, and, in some places, covered with an icy crust, under which the snow is dusty and without consistence. The highest rocks are all granites; those on the east side are mixed with steatites; those on the south and the west contain a large quantity of schœrl, and a little *lapis corneus*. Some of them, especially those on the east, which are about 150 yards below the summit, seem to have been lately shivered with lightning.

M. de Saussure saw no animals on the mountain, except two butterflies, which he supposes must have been driven thither by the wind. Lichens are the only vegetables which are found on the more elevated parts of these mountains: the *glene acaulis*, which grows in great quantities on the lower parts, disappears at the height of about two miles above the level of the sea."

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*Advice to a New-married Man. By Mrs. Thrale, now Mrs. Piozzi.*

"I RECEIVED the news of your marriage with infinite delight, and hope that the sincerity with which I wish your happiness, may excuse the liberty I take in giving you a few rules whereby more certainly to obtain it. I see you smile at my wrong-headed kindness, and,

reflecting on the charms of your bride, cry out in a rapture, that you are happy enough without my rules. I know you are; but after one of the forty years, which I hope you will pass pleasingly together, are over, this letter may come in turn, and rules for felicity may not be found unnecessary, however some of them may appear impracticable.

Could that kind of love be kept alive through the marriage state, which makes the charm of a single one, the sovereign good would no longer be sought for; in the union of two faithful lovers it would be found: but reason shews us that this is impossible, and experience informs us that it never was so; we must preserve it as long, and supply it as happily as we can.

When your present violence of passion subsides, however, and a more cool and tranquil affection takes its place, be not hasty to censure yourself as indifferent, or to lament yourself as unhappy; you have lost that only which it was impossible to retain, and it were graceless amid the pleasures of a prosperous summer to regret the blossoms of a transient spring. Neither unwarily condemn your bride's insipidity till you have recollected that no object however sublime, no sounds however charming, can continue to transport us with delight when they no longer strike us with novelty. The skill to renovate the powers of pleasing are said indeed to be possessed by some women in an eminent degree, but the artifices of maturity are seldom seen to adorn the innocence of youth; you have made your choice, and ought to approve it.

Satiety follows quickly upon the heels of possession; and to be happy,

we must always have something in view. The person of your lady is already all your own, and will not grow more pleasing in your eyes, I doubt, though the rest of your sex will think her handsomer for these dozen years. Turn therefore all your attention to her mind, which will daily grow brighter by polishing. Study some easy science together, and acquire a similarity of tastes while you enjoy a community of pleasures. You will by this means have many images in common, and be freed from the necessity of separating to find amusement. Nothing is so dangerous to wedded love as the possibility of either being happy out of the company of the other; endeavour therefore to cement the present intimacy on every side; let your wife never be kept ignorant of your income, your expences, your friendships, or aversions; let her know your very faults, but make them amiable by your virtues; consider all concealment as a breach of fidelity; let her never have any thing to find out in your character, and remember, that from the moment one of the partners turns spy upon the other, they have commenced a state of hostility.

Seek not for happiness in singularity; and dread a refinement of wisdom as a deviation into folly. Listen not to those sages who advise you always to scorn the counsel of a woman, and if you comply with her requests pronounce you to be wiseridden. Think not any privation, except of positive evil, an excellence, and do not congratulate yourself that your wife is not a learned lady, that she never touches a card, or is wholly ignorant how to make a pudding. Cards, cookery, and learning, are all good in their

places, and may all be used with advantage.

With regard to expence, I can only observe that the money laid out in the purchase of distinction is seldom or ever profitably employed. We live in an age when splendid furniture and glittering equipage are grown too common to catch the notice of the meanest spectator; and for the greater ones, they only regard our wasteful folly with silent contempt, or open indignation.— This may perhaps be a displeasing reflection, but the following consideration ought to make amends. The age we live in, says, I think, peculiar attention to the higher distinctions of wit, knowledge, and virtue, to which we may more safely, more cheaply, and more honourably aspire. The giddy flirt of quality frets at the respect she sees paid to Lady Edgcombe, and the gay dunce sits pining for a partner, while Jones the orientalist leads up the ball.

I said that the person of your lady would not grow more pleasing to you, but pray let her never suspect that it grows less so: that a woman will pardon an affront to her understanding much sooner than one to her person is well known; nor will any of us contradict the assertion. All our attainments, all our arts, are employed to gain and keep the heart of man; and what mortification can exceed the disappointment, if the end be not obtained? There is no reproach however pointed, no punishment however severe, that a woman of spirit will not prefer to neglect; and if she can endure it without complaint, it only proves that she means to make herself amends by the attention of others for the slight of her husband. For this,



this, and for every reason, it behoves a married man not to let his politeness fail, though his ardour may abate; but to retain at least that general civility towards his own lady which he is so willing to pay to every other, and not shew a wife of eighteen or twenty years old, that every man in company can treat her with more complaisance than he, who so often vowed to her eternal fondness.

It is not my opinion that a young woman should be indulged in every wild wish of her gay heart or giddy head; but contradiction may be softened by domestic kindness, and quiet pleasures substituted in the place of noisy ones. Public amusements are not indeed so expensive as is sometimes imagined, but they tend to alienate the minds of married people from each other. A well-chosen society of friends and acquaintance, more eminent for virtue and good sense than for gaiety and splendor, where the conversation of the day may afford comment for the evening, seems the most rational pleasure this great town can afford; and to this, a game at cards now and then gives an additional relish.

That your own superiority should always be seen, but never felt, seems an excellent general rule. A wife should outshine her husband in nothing, not even in her dress.—If she happens to have a taste for the trifling distinction that finery can confer, suffer her not for a moment to fancy, when she appears in public, that Sir Edward or the Colonel are finer gentlemen than her husband. The bane of married happiness among the city men in general has been, that finding themselves unfit

for polite life, they transferred their vanity to their ladies, dressed them up gaily, and sent them out a gallanting, while the good man was to regale with port wine or rum punch, perhaps among mean companions, after the counting-house was shut: this practice produced the ridicule thrown on them in all our comedies and novels since commerce began to prosper. But now that I am so near the subject, a word or two on jealousy may not be amiss; for though not a failing of the present age's growth, yet the seeds of it are too certainly sown in every warm bosom for us to neglect it as a fault of no consequence. If you are ever tempted to be jealous, watch your wife narrowly—but never tease her; tell her your jealousy, but conceal your suspicion; let her, in short, be satisfied that it is only your odd temper, and even troublesome attachment, that makes you follow her; but let her not dream that you ever doubted seriously of her virtue even for a moment. If she is disposed towards jealousy of you, let me beseech you to be always explicit with her and never mysterious: be above delighting in her pain, of all things—nor do your business nor pay your visits with an air of concealment, when all you are doing might as well be proclaimed perhaps in the parish vestry. But I will hope better than this of your tenderness and of your virtue, and will release you from a lecture you have so little need of, unless your extreme youth and my uncommon regard will excuse it. And now farewell; make my kindest compliments to your wife, and be happy in proportion as happiness is wished you by,  
Dear Sir, &c."

*The following Allegory some Time ago appeared in a Philadelphia Newspaper; and is said to come from the Pen of the celebrated Doctor Franklin\*.*

"**I**N a dream I thought myself in a solitary temple. I saw a kind of phantom coming towards me, but as he drew near, his form expanded and became more than human; his robe hung majestically down to his feet; six wings whiter than snow, whose extremities were edged with gold, covered a part of his body: then I saw him quit his material substance, which he had put on not to terrify me; his body was of all the colours in the rainbow. He took me by the hair, and I was sensible I was travelling in the ætherial plains without any dread, with the rapidity of an arrow sent from a bow drawn by a supple and nervous arm.

A thousand glowing orbs rolled beneath me: but I could only cast a rapid glance on all those globes distinguished by the striking colours with which they were diversified.

I now suddenly perceived so beautiful, so flourishing, so fertile a country, that I conceived a strong desire to alight upon it. My wishes were instantly gratified; I felt myself gently landed on its surface, where I was surrounded by a balmy atmosphere. I found myself reposed at the dawn, on the soft verdant grass. I stretched out my arms, in token of gratitude, to my celestial guide, who pointed to a resplendent sun, towards which swiftly rising, he disappeared in the luminous body.

I rose, and imagined myself to be

transported into the garden of Eden. Every thing inspired my soul with soft tranquillity. The most profound peace covered this new globe; nature was ravishing and incorruptible here, and a delicious freshness expanded my sense to extasy; a sweet odour accompanied the air I breathed; my heart, which beat with an unusual power, was immersed in a sea of rapture; while pleasure, like a pure and immortal light, penetrated the inmost recesses of my soul.

The inhabitants of this happy country came to meet me; and after saluting me they took me by the hand. Their noble countenances inspired confidence and respect; innocence and happiness were depicted in their looks; they often lifted their eyes towards heaven, and as often uttered a name which I afterwards knew to be that of the Eternal, while their cheeks were moistened with the tears of gratitude.

I experienced great emotion while I conversed with these sublime beings. They poured out their hearts with the most sincere tenderness; and the voice of reason, most majestic, and no less melting, was, at the same time, conveyed to my enraptured ear.

I soon perceived this abode was totally different from that which I had left. A divine impulse made me fly into their arms;—I bowed my knees to them; but being raised up in the most endearing manner, I was pressed to the bosoms that enclosed such excellent hearts, and I conceived a presentiment of celestial amity, of that amity which united their souls, and formed the greatest portion of their felicity.

\* The death of Dr. Franklin, since the insertion of this Allegory, has been announced to the public.

The angel of darkness, with all his artifice, was never able to discover the entrance into this world!—Notwithstanding his ever-watchful malice, he never found out the means to spread his poison over this happy globe. Anger, envy, and pride, were there unknown; the happiness of one appeared the happiness of all! an ecstatic transport incessantly elevating their souls at the sight of the magnificent and bountiful hand that collected over their heads the most astonishing prodigies of the creation.

The lovely morning, with her humid saffron wings, distilled the pearly dew from the shrubs and flowers, and the rays of the rising sun multiplied the most enchanting colours, when I perceived a wood embellished by the opening dawn.

The youth of both sexes there sent forth hymns of adoration towards heaven, and were filled at the same time with the grandeur and majesty of God, which rolled almost visibly over their heads; for in this world of innocence, he vouchsafed to manifest himself by means unknown to our weak understandings.

All things announced his august presence, the serenity of the air, the dyes of the flowers, the brilliancy of the insects, a kind of universal sensibility spread over all beings, and which vivified bodies that seemed the least susceptible of it, every thing bore the appearance of sentiment; and the birds stopped in the midst of their flight, as if attentive to the affecting modulations of their voices.

But no pencil can express the ravishing countenance of the young beauties whose bosoms breathed love. Who can describe that love of which

we have not any idea, that love for which we have no name, that love, the lot of pure intelligent beings, divine love, which they only can conceive and feel? The tongue of man, incapable, must be silent!—The remembrance of this enchanting place suspends at this moment all the faculties of my soul.

The sun was rising—the pencil falls from my hand.—Oh, Thomson, never did your Muse view such a sun!—What a world, and what magnificent order! I trod, with regret, on the flowery plants, endued, like that which we call sensitive, with a quick and lively feeling; they bent under my foot, only to rise with more brilliancy: the fruit gently dropped, on the first touch, from the complying branch, and had scarcely gratified the palate when the delicious sensation of its juices was felt glowing in every vein: the eye, more piercing, sparkled with uncommon lustre; the ear was more lively; the heart, which expanded itself all over nature, seemed to possess and enjoy its fertile extent: the universal enjoyment did not disturb any individual; for union multiplied their delights, and they esteemed themselves less happy in their own fruition than in the happiness of others.

This sun did not resemble the comparative paleness and weakness which illuminates our gloomy, terrestrial prison; yet the eye could bear to gaze on it, and, in a manner, plunge itself in a kind of ecstasy in its mild and pure light: it enlivened at once the sight and the understanding, and even penetrated the soul. The bodies of those fortunate persons became, as it were, transparent; while each read in his brother's

brother's heart the sentiments of affability and tenderness with which himself was affected.

There darted from the leaves of all the shrubs that the planet enlightened, a luminous matter which resembled, at a distance, all the colours of the rainbow; its orb, which was never eclipsed, was crowned with sparkling rays that the daring prism of Newton could not divide. — When this planet set, six brilliant moons floated in the atmosphere; their progression, in different orbits, each night formed a new exhibition. The multitude of stars, which seem to us as if scattered by chance, were here seen in their true point of view, and the order of the universe appeared in all its pomp and splendor.

In this happy country, when a man gave way to sleep, his body, which had none of the properties of terrestrial elements, gave no opposition to the soul, but contemplated in a vision, bordering on reality, the lucid region, the throne of the Eternal, to which it was soon to be elevated. Men awaked from a light slumber without perturbation or uneasiness; enjoying futurity by a forcible sentiment of immortality, being intoxicated with the image of an approaching felicity, exceeding that which they already enjoyed.

Grief, the fatal result of the imperfect sensibility of our rude frames, was unknown to these innocent men; a light sensation warned them of the objects that could hurt them; and nature removed them from the danger, as a tender mother would gently draw her child by the hand from a pitfall.

I breathed more freely in this habitation of joy and concord; my

existence became most valuable to me: but in proportion as the charms which surrounded me were lively, the greater was my sorrow when my ideas returned to the globe I had quitted. All the calamities of the human race united as in one point to overwhelm my heart, and I exclaimed piteously—“ Alas! the  
“ world I inhabited formerly resembled yours; but peace, innocence, chaste pleasures soon vanished.—Why was I not born  
“ among you? What a contrast!  
“ The earth that was my sorrowful  
“ abode is incessantly filled with  
“ tears and sighs: there the smaller  
“ number oppresses the greater; the  
“ demon of property infects what  
“ he touches, and what he covets.  
“ Gold is there a god, and they  
“ sacrifice on his altar, love, humanity, and the most valuable  
“ virtues.”

“ Shudder, you that hear me!  
“ The greatest enemy man has is  
“ man; his chiefs are his tyrants;  
“ they make all things bend under  
“ the yoke of their pride or their  
“ caprice; the chains of oppression  
“ are in a manner extended from  
“ pole to pole: a monster who assumes the masque of glory, makes  
“ lawful whatever is most horrible,  
“ violence and murder. Since the  
“ fatal invention of an inflammable powder, no mortal can say,  
“ To-morrow I shall repose in  
“ peace;—to-morrow the arm of  
“ despotism will not crush my head;  
“ —to-morrow dreadful sorrow will  
“ not grind my bones;—to-morrow  
“ the wailings of an useless  
“ despair, proceeding from a distressed heart, will not escape my  
“ lips, and tyranny bury me alive  
“ as in a stone coffin!



“ Oh, my brethren! weep,  
 “ weep over us! We are not only  
 “ surrounded with chains and ex-  
 “ ecutioners, but are moreover de-  
 “ pendant on the seasons, the ele-  
 “ ments, and the meanest insects.  
 “ All nature rebels against us;  
 “ and even if we subdue her, she  
 “ makes us pay dearly for the be-  
 “ nefits our labour forces from her.  
 “ The bread we eat is earned by  
 “ our tears and the sweat of our  
 “ brow; then greedy men come  
 “ and plunder us, to squander it on  
 “ their idle favourites.

“ Weep, weep with me, my  
 “ brethren! Hatred pursues us;  
 “ revenge sharpens its poniard in  
 “ the dark; calumny brands us,  
 “ and even deprives us of the  
 “ power of making our defence;  
 “ the object of friendship betrays  
 “ our confidence, and forces us to  
 “ curse this otherwise consolatory  
 “ sentiment. We must live in the  
 “ midst of all the strokes of wick-  
 “ edness, error, pride, and folly.”

Whilst my heart gave a free  
 course to my complaints, I saw a  
 band of shining seraphs descending  
 from heaven; on which shouts of  
 joy were immediately sent forth  
 from the whole race of these fortu-  
 nate beings. As I gazed, with  
 astonishment, I was accosted by an  
 old man, who said, “ Farewel, my  
 “ friend! the moment of our death  
 “ draws near; or rather, that of a  
 “ new life. The ministers of the  
 “ God of clemency are come to  
 “ take us from this earth; we are  
 “ going to dwell in a world of still  
 “ greater perfection.” — “ Why,  
 “ father,” said I, “ are you, then,  
 “ strangers to the agonies of death,  
 “ the anguish, the pain, the dread,

“ which accompany us in our last  
 “ moments?”

“ Yes, my child,” he replied,  
 “ these angels of the Highest come  
 “ at stated periods, and carry us  
 “ all away, opening to us the road  
 “ to a new world, of which we have  
 “ an idea by the undoubted con-  
 “ viction of the unlimited bounty  
 “ and magnificence of the Crea-  
 “ tor.”

A cheerful glow was immediate-  
 ly spread over their countenances;  
 their brows already seemed crowned  
 with immortal splendor; they sprang  
 lightly from the earth in my sight;  
 I pressed the sacred hand of each for  
 the last time, while with a smile  
 they held out the other to the seraph,  
 who had spread his wings to carry  
 them to heaven.

They ascended all at once, like  
 a flock of beautiful swans, that tak-  
 ing flight raise themselves with ma-  
 jestic rapidity over the tops of our  
 highest palaces. I gazed with sad-  
 ness; my eye followed them in the  
 air, until their venerable heads  
 were lost in the silver clouds, and I  
 remained alone on this magnificent  
 deserted land.

I perceived I was not yet fitted  
 to dwell in it, and wished to return  
 to this unfortunate world of expia-  
 tion: thus the animal escaped from  
 his keeper returns, following the  
 track of his chain, with a mild  
 aspect, and enters his prison. A-  
 wakening, the illusion was dispelled,  
 which it is beyond the power of my  
 weak tongue or pen to describe in its  
 full splendor: but this illusion I shall  
 for ever cherish; and, supported by  
 the foundation of hope, I will pre-  
 serve it until death in the inmost  
 recesses of my soul.”

*Observations upon the Passions, addressed to the Ladies.—From the Observer, being a Collection of Moral, Literary, and Familiar Essays.*

“ I THINK the ladies will not accuse me of busying myself in impertinent remarks upon their dress and attire, for indeed it is not to their persons my services are devoted, but to their minds: if I can add to them any thing ornamental, or take from them any thing unbecoming, I shall gain my wish; the rest I shall leave to their milliners and mantua-makers.

Now if I have any merit with them for not intruding upon their toilets, let them shew me so much complaisance, as not to read this paper, whilst they are engaged in those occupations, which I have never before interrupted; for as I intend to talk with them a little metaphysically, I would not wish to divide their attention, nor shall I be contented with less than the whole.

In the first place I must tell them, gentle though they be, that human nature is subject to a variety of passions; some of these are virtuous passions, some on the contrary I am afraid are evil; there are however a number of intermediate propensities, most of which might also be termed passions, which by the proper influence of reason may become very useful allies to any one single virtue, when in danger of being overpowered by a host of foes: at the same time they are as capable of being kidnapped by the enemies of reason, and, when enlisted in the ranks of the insurgents, seldom fail to turn the fate of the battle,

and commit dreadful havock in the peaceful quarters of the invaded virtue. It is apparent then that all these intermediate propensities are a kind of balancing powers, which seem indeed to hold a neutrality in moral affairs, but, holding it with arms in their hands, cannot be supposed to remain impartial spectators of the fray, and therefore must be either with us, or against us.

I shall make myself better understood when I proceed to instance them, and I will begin with that, which has been called the universal passion, *The love of Fame*.

I presume no lady will disavow this propensity; I would not wish her to attempt it; let her examine it however; let her first enquire to what point it is likely to carry her before she commits herself to it's conduct: if it is to be her guide to that fame only, which excels in fashionable dissipation, figures in the first circles of the gay world, and is the loadstone to attract every libertine of high life into the sphere of it's activity, it is a traiterous guide, and is seducing her to a precipice, that will sooner or later be the grave of her happiness: on the contrary, if it proposes to avoid these dangerous pursuits, and recommends a progress through paths less tempting to the eye perhaps, but terminated by substantial comforts, she may securely follow a propensity, which cannot mislead her, and indulge a passion, which will be the moving spring of all her actions, and but for which her nature would want energy, and her character be no otherwise distinguished than by avoidance of vice without the grace and merit of any positive virtue. I can hardly suppose, if it was put to a lady's choice at her outset into life

life which kind of fame she would be distinguished for, good or evil, but that she would at once prefer the good; I must believe she would acknowledge more gratification in being signalized as the best wife, the best mother, the most exemplary woman of her time, than in being pointed out in all circles the frequents as the most fashionable rake, the best-dressed voluptuary in the nation: if this be rightly conjectured, why will not every woman, who has her choice to make, direct her ambition to those objects, which will give her most satisfaction, when attained? there can be no reason but because it imposes on her some self-denials by the way, which she has not fortitude to surmount; and it is plain she does not love fame well enough to be at much pains in acquiring it; her ambition does not reach at noble objects, her passion for celebrity is no better than that of a buffoon's, who for the vanity of being conspicuous submits to be contemptible.

*Friendship* is a word which has a very captivating sound, but is by no means of a decided quality; it may be friend or foe as reason and true judgment shall determine for it. If I were to decry all female friendships in the lump it might seem a harsh sentence, and yet it will seriously behove every parent to keep strict watch over this propensity in the early movements of the female mind. I am not disposed to expatiate upon it's dangers very particularly; they are sufficiently known to people of experience and discretion; but attachments must be stemmed in their beginnings; keep off correspondents from your daughters as you would keep off the pestilence: romantic

misses, sentimental novelists and scribbling pedants overturn each other's heads with such eternal rhapsodies about friendship, and refine upon nonsense with such an affectation of enthusiasm, that if it has not been the parent's study to take early precautions against all such growing propensities, it will be in vain to oppose the torrent, when it carries all before it and overwhelms the passions with its force.

*Sensibility* is a mighty favourite with the fair sex; it is an amiable friend or a very dangerous foe to virtue: let the female, who professes it, be careful how she makes too full a display of her weakness; for this is so very soft and insinuating a propensity, that it will be found in most female glossaries as a synonymous term for love itself; in fact it is little else than the *nomme-de-guerre*, which that insidious adventurer takes upon him in all first approaches; the pass-word in all those skirmishing experiments, which young people make upon each other's affections, before they proceed to plainer declarations; it is the whetstone, upon which love sharpens and prepares his arrows: if any lady makes a certain show of sensibility in company with her admirer, he must be a very dull fellow, if he does not know how to turn the weapon from himself to her. Now sensibility assumes a different character when it is taken into the service of benevolence, or made the centinel of modesty; in one case it gives the spring to pity, in the other the alarm to discretion; but whenever it assails the heart by soft seduction to bestow that pity and relief, which discretion does not warrant and purity ought not to grant, it should be treated

treated as a renegado and a spy, which under the mask of charity would impose upon credulity for the vilest purposes, and betray the heart by flattering it to its ruin.

*Vanity* is a passion, to which I think I am very complaisant, when I admit it to a place amongst these convertible propensities, for it is as much as I can do to find any occupation for it in the family-concerns of virtue; perhaps if I had not known *Vanessa* I should not pay it even this small compliment: it can however do some under-offices in the household of generosity, of cheerfulness, hospitality, and certain other respectable qualities: it is little else than an officious, civil, silly thing, that runs on errands for its betters, and is content to be paid with a smile for its good-will by those, who have too much good sense to show it any real respect: when it is harmless, it would be hard to wound it out of wantonness; when it is mischievous, there is merit in chastising it with the whip of ridicule: a lap-dog may be endured, if he is inoffensive and does not annoy the company, but a snappish, barking pett, though in a lady's arms, deserves to have his ears pulled for his impertinence.

*Delicacy* is a soft name, and fine ladies, who have a proper contempt for the vulgar, are very willing to be thought endowed with senses more refined and exquisite, than nature ever meant to give them; their nerves are susceptible in the extreme, and they are of constitutions so irritable, that *the very winds of heaven* must not be allowed to *visit their face too roughly*. I have studied this female favourite with some attention, and I am not yet able to discover any one of its

good qualities; I do not perceive the merit of such exquisite fibres, nor have I observed that the slenderest strings are apt to produce the sweetest sounds, when applied to instruments of harmony; I presume the female heart should be such an harmonious instrument, when touched by the parent, the friend, the husband; but how can these expect a concert of sweet sounds to be excited from a thing, which is liable to be jarred and put out of tune by every breath of air? it may be kept in its case, like an old-fashioned virginal, which nobody knows, or even wishes to know, how to touch: it can never be brought to bear its part in a family concert, but must hang by the wall, or at best be a solo instrument for the remainder of its days.

*Bashfulness*, when it is attached to modesty, will be regarded with the eye of candor and cheered with the smile of encouragement; but bashfulness is a hireling, and is sometimes discovered in the livery of pride, oftentimes in the cast-off trappings of affectation; pedantry is very apt to bring it into company, and sly, secret consciousness will frequently *blush because it understands*. I do not say I have much to lay to its charge, for it is not apt to be troublesome in polite societies, nor do I commonly meet it even in the youngest of the female sex. There is a great deal of blushing I confess in all the circles of fine ladies, but then it is so universal a blush and withal so permanent, that I am far from imputing it always to bashfulness, when the cheeks of the fair are tinged with roses. However, though it is sometimes an impostor, and  
for



for that reason may deserve to be dismissed, I cannot help having a consideration for one, that has in past times been the handmaid of beauty, and therefore as merit has taken modesty into her service, I would recommend to ignorance to put bashfulness into full pay and employment.

*Politeness* is a charming propensity, and I would wish the fine ladies to indulge it, if it were only by way of contrast between themselves and the fine gentlemen they consort with. I do not think it is altogether becoming for a lady to plant herself in the center of a circle with her back to the fire, and expect every body to be warmed by the contemplation of her figure, or the reflection of her countenance; at the same time I am free to confess it an attitude, by which the man of high-breeding is conspicuously distinguished, and is charming to behold, when set off with the proper accompaniments of leather breeches, tight boots, and a jockey waistcoat. I will not deny however but I have seen this practised by ladies, who have acquitted themselves with great spirit on the occasion; but then it cannot be done without certain male accoutrements, and presupposes a slouched hat, half-boots, short waistcoat and riding dress, not to omit broad metal buttons, with great letters engraved upon them, or the signature of some hunt, with the indispensable appendage of two long dangling watch-chains, which serve to mark the double value people of fashion put upon their time, and also shew the encouragement they bestow upon the arts: with these implements the work may be done even by a female artist, but it is

an art I wish no young lady to study, and I hope the present professors will take no more pupils, whilst the academies of *Humpbries* and *Mendoza* are kept open for accomplishments, which I think upon the whole are altogether as becoming. Politeness, as I conceive, consists in putting people at their ease in your company, and being at your ease in their's; modern practice I am afraid is apt to misplace this process, for I observe every body in fashionable life polite enough to study their own ease, but I do not see much attention paid to that part of the rule, which ought to be first observed: it is well calculated for those, who are adepts in it, but if ever such an out-of-the-way thing as a modest person comes within it's reach, the awkward novice is sure to be distressed, and whilst every body about him seems reposeing on a bed of down, he alone is picketted upon a seat of thorns: till this shall be reformed by the ladies, who profess to understand politeness, I shall turn back to my red-book of forty years ago, to see what relics of the old court are yet amongst us, and take the mothers for my models in preference to their daughters."

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*The History of Tarempou and Serinda.—From Variety, a Collection of Essays, written in the Year 1787.*

"IT was on the banks of the sonorous river Tsampu, whose thundering cataracts refresh the burning soil, and sometimes shake the mighty mountains which divide Thibet from the empire of Mogul; there lived a wealthy and revered Lama,

Lama, whose lands were tributary to the Supreme Lama, or Sacerdotal Emperor, who governs all the land from China to the pathless desert of Cobi: but although his flocks and herds were scattered over an hundred hills, and the number of his slaves exceeded the breathings of man's life, yet was he chiefly known throughout all the east, as *the father of Serinda*. It was the beauty, the virtue, the accomplishments of Serinda, which gave him all his fame, and all his happiness; for Lama Zarin considered the advantages which birth and wealth and power conferred, as trifling when compared to that of being *father to Serinda*. All the anxiety he ever felt, proceeded from the thoughts relating to her welfare, when he could no longer guard the innocence of *her*, whom he expected soon to quit for ever. A dreadful malady, which had long seized him at a stated hour each day, he found was gaining on him, and threatened, in spite of all the arts of medicine, to put a speedy period to his existence.

One day after a fit, which attacked him with more violence than usual, he sent for the fair Serinda, and gently beckoning her to approach his couch, he addressed her in these words: "Daughter of my hopes and fears! Heaven grant that thou mayest smile for ever! Yet while my soul confesses its delight in gazing on thee, attend to the foreboding melancholy dictates of a dying father's spirit: my Serinda, whose breath refreshes like the rose, and whose purity should, like the jessamine, diffuse voluptuous satisfaction on all around her, disturbs the peace of her dejected father, embittering all the comforts of his

life, and making his approach to death more terrible." At these words, Serinda, unconscious of offence, and doubting what she heard, fell on her knees, and urged her father to explain his meaning; while he, gently raising her, proceeded thus: "The Angel of Death, who admonishes and warns the faithful in the hour of sickness, ere he strikes the fatal blow, has summoned me to join thy holy mother, who died when she gave birth to my Serinda; yet let me not depart to the unknown and fearful land of death, and leave my daughter unprotected. Oh! my Serinda, speak! Hast thou ever seriously reflected on the danger, to which thy orphan state must soon be subject; surrounded as thou then wilt be with suitor Lamas, of various dispositions and pretensions; some with mercenary cunning, wooing thy possessions through thy person; others haughtily demanding both, and threatening a helpless heiress with their powerful love?" He then reminded her that he had from time to time presented her with portraits of the several princes or lamas, who had solicited an union with his house, and which they had sent, according to the custom of Thibet, where the sexes can never see each other till they are married; he also repeated what he had already himself given her in writing, an epitome of their characters, their good and evil qualities, their ages, their possessions, and their rank in the priesthood of the Lama, and concluded by saying, "Tell me then, my Serinda, which of all these mighty princes can claim a preference in the soul of my beloved daughter?" Serinda blushed and sighed, but answered not. Lama Zarin desired that she would

would withdraw to consult the paper he had given her, to compare it with the several portraits, and determine, before his next day's fit returned, which might be most deserving of her love. At the word Love, Serinda blushed again, but knew not why,—her father saw the crimson on her cheek, but said it was the timid flushing of a virgin's modesty, and urged her to withdraw, and to be quick in her decision. Serinda with innocence replied, “My father knows that he is himself the only man I ever saw, and I think the only being I can ever *love*; at least, my *love* will ever be confined to those objects which delight or benefit my father, whether they be man or beasts: I *love* this favourite dog, which my father so frequently caresses; I *loved* the favourite horse on which my father rode, till by a fall he put his master's life in danger, then I hated him; but when the tyger had seized my father on the ground, and he was delivered by his trusty slave, I *loved* Tarempou; and since my father daily acknowledges that he saved his life, I *love* Tarempou still.” The father heard her artless confession, and told her that Tarempou was no Lama. “But,” said she, “which of all those Lamas who now demand my love, has made an interest in my heart by services to my father, like the slave Tarempou? And yet I have not seen his person or his picture, nor know I whether he be old or young; but he has saved my father's life, and is a favourite of my father, therefore it is my duty sure to *love*, and I will *love* Tarempou.” The old Lama smiling, gently rebuked his daughter for the freedom of her expression, and desired her to withdraw,

after he had explained to her that *love* was *impious*, according to the laws of Thibet, betwixt any of the race of Lamas and their slaves. Serinda left her father, and as she stroked his favourite dog which lay at the door of his apartment, a tear trembled in her eye, lest she might be guilty of *impiety*.

And now the slave Tarempou, who for his services had been advanced from chief of the shepherds, to be chief of the household, had an audience of his master; and observing him unusually dejected, declared that he had himself acquired some knowledge in medicine, and humbly begged permission to try his skill where every other attempt had proved unsuccessful. The Lama heard his proposal with a mixture of pleasure and contempt; or, as it is expressed in the original, “his eyes flashed joy, his brow looked forgiveness, but contempt and incredulity smiled upon his lips, while his tongue answered the faithful Tarempou, in gratitude and doubt.” The slave replied, “May Lama Zarin live for ever! I boast no secret antidote, no mystic charm to work a sudden miracle; but I have been taught in Europe the gradual effects of alterative medicines; it is from these alone that I expect to gain in time, by perseverance, a compleat victory over the disease; and if in seven days time the smallest change encourage me to persevere, I will then boldly look forward, and either die or conquer.” The prince assented; and from that day became the patient of Tarempou, whose situation both as chief in the house, and as physician, gave him a right to be at all times in the Lama's presence, save when Serinda paid her daily

visit to her father, and then he had notice to withdraw.

The first week had not elapsed before the Lama was convinced that his disease gave way to the medicines of his favourite: the fits returned indeed, but every day they attacked him with less violence, and were of shorter duration. In proportion as Tarempou became less necessary as a physician, his company became more desirable as a friend; he possessed a lively imagination, and had improved his natural good understanding by travel in distant countries: thus his conversation often turned on subjects which were quite new to the delighted Lama; they talked of laws, religion, and customs of foreign kingdoms, comparing them with those of Thibet; and by degrees the slave became the friend, and almost equal of his master: amongst other topics of discourse, the Lama would often tell of the virtues and endowments of his beloved daughter, while Tarempou listened with delight, and felt an interest in the subject, which he was at a loss himself to comprehend. On the other hand, in the conversations of the Lama with Serinda, he could talk of nothing but the skill and wisdom of Tarempou, wondering at such various knowledge in so young a man.

It happened one day when he had been repeating to his daughter the account Tarempou gave of European manners, that Serinda blushed and sighed; her father asked the cause, when she ingenuously confessed, that he had so often mentioned this young slave, that she could think of nothing else by day or night; and that in her dreams she saw him, and thought he was a

Lama worthy of her *love*; then turning to her father with artless innocence, she said, "Oh Lama, tell me! can my *sleep* be *impious*? Her father saw her with emotion, and told her she must think of him no more. "I will endeavour to obey," she said, "but I shall dream, and sleep will *impiously* restore my banished waking thoughts." The Lama dreading the flame he had himself kindled in his daughter's bosom, endeavoured to check her rising passion, and resolved, thenceforth, never again to tell her of the slave Tarempou: but now it was too late; *love*, of the purest kind, had taken full possession of the virgin's heart, and while she struggled to obey her father, the fierce contention betwixt this unknown guest, and the dread of being *impious*, preyed upon her health, till feverish days and sleepless nights at length exposed her life to danger.

It was impossible for Lama Zarin to conceal from Tarempou (whom we will now no longer call his slave, but his faithful *friend*) the sickness of Serinda; and while he confessed his alarm for his fair daughter's safety, he plainly saw that he had too often described that daughter to his favourite: he saw what it was impossible for Tarempou to conceal, that he had been the fatal cause of mutual passion to two lovers who had never seen, and, but for him, could never have heard of each other's amiable qualities. Thus situated (even if the laws of Thibet had permitted the visit of a male physician) prudence would have forbid his employing the only skill in which he now had confidence; but Serinda, whose disease was occasionally attended with delirium, would only call upon the name of Tarempou,



Tarempou, often repeating, "He saved my father, and it is he alone can save the lingering Serinda."

Overcome by the intreaties of his love-sick daughter, the afflicted father, in an agony of grief, cursed the cruel laws of Thibet, and told her, she should see Tarempou. Serinda heard with extasy, and, knowing that what a Lama promises must ever be performed, the words became a balsam to the wounds of *love*: but the Lama had not fixed the time when his sacred promise should be fulfilled; nor would he, till he had withdrawn, and weighed the consequence of what had fallen from his lips. The oftener he revolved the subject in his thoughts, the less appeared the difficulties; and having, by his conversations with Tarempou, raised his mind above the slavish prejudices and customs of his country, he at length resolved to overcome all scruples, and to give his beloved daughter to the only man whom he thought worthy of her.

Full of the idea of their future happiness, he determined to obtain all that remained necessary for its completion, which was, the sanction of that higher power to which all the Lamas of Thibet are subject: he instantly dispatched messengers to the Great Lama, who resides at Tonker, with whom his influence was so great, that he had no doubt he should obtain whatever he might ask, although unprecedented in the laws of Thibet; laws which forbid the *holy race* of Lamas to intermarry with any but of their own sacred order. And now unable to suppress the joy he felt in communicating to the lovers that plan of future bliss which he had formed, he raised

Tarempou to a pitch of hope which neither his love nor his ambition had ever dared to cherish; and to Serinda he promised, that the fight of her physician and her lover should only be deferred one week, or till the messenger returned from the Great Lama at Tonker.

From this day the physician was no longer necessary: but the week appeared a tedious age to the expecting love of young Tarempou, and his promised bride Serinda.

The seven days at length elapsed, when the messenger returned from Tonker, with the following answer: "The most sacred sultan, the  
"mighty Sovereign Lama, who en-  
"joyeth life for ever, and at whose  
"nod a thousand princes perish or  
"revive, sendeth to Lama Zarin,  
"greeting. Report has long made  
"known at Tonker, the beauty of  
"Serinda, and by thy messenger we  
"learn, the matchless excellence of  
"thy slave Tarempou. In answer,  
"therefore, to thy request, that  
"these may be united, mark the  
"purpose of our sovereign will,  
"which not to obey is death,  
"throughout the realms of Thibet.  
"The lovers shall not see each  
"other, till they both stand before  
"the sacred footsteps of our throne  
"at Tonker, that we ourselves, in  
"person, may witness the emotion  
"of their amorous souls."

This answer, far from removing the suspense, created one a thousand times more terrible. The Lama Zarin thought it portended ruin to himself and family; he now reflected on the rash steps he had taken, and feared his sanguine hopes had been deceived by frequent conversations with a stranger, who had taught him to think lightly of the laws and customs of Thibet, for

which he now recollected with horror, the Great Lama's bigotry and zeal; he knew he must obey the summons, and trembled at his situation. Tarempou was too much enamoured to think of any danger which promised him a sight of his beloved mistress; and all the fear he felt was, lest the beauty of Serinda should tempt the Supreme Lama to seize her for himself.

"But *she*, in whose love-sick heart dwelt purest innocence, a fountain from whence sprang hope, which branching in a thousand channels, diffused itself over all her soul, and gleamed in her countenance, half seen and half concealed, like the meandering veins that sweetly overspread her swelling bosom," revered the Lama for his decree, and thought it proceeded from his desire of being witness to the mutual happiness of virtuous love: with these sentiments she felt only joy at their departure, which took place that very day, with all the pomp and retinue of eastern splendor.

Here in the original follows a very long detail of their journey, describing the number of their attendants, with the camels and elephants employed on the occasion; it relates that the Lama would sometimes travel in the sumptuous palanquin of his daughter, and sometimes rode on the same elephant with Tarempou, dividing his time betwixt the conversation of each, but unable to suppress his apprehensions, or dissipate the fears of his foreboding mind. To compress the story within the limits of this paper, I shall immediately proceed to the tribunal, which was held in the great HALL OF SILENCE, and leave the reader to imagine the magnificence, which there is not now room

to describe at large. At the upper end of the superb apartment, sat on a throne of massy gold the Supreme Lama; before him, at some distance, were two altars smoking with fragrant incense, and around him knelt an hundred Lamas, in silent adoration (for in Thibet all men pay divine honours to the Supreme Lama, who is supposed to live for ever, the same spirit passing from father to son): to this solemn tribunal Lama Zarin was introduced by mutes, from an apartment directly opposite to the throne, and knelt in awful silence betwixt the smoking altars;—at the same time, from two doors facing each other, were ushered in Tarempou and Serinda, each covered by a thick veil, which was fastened to the summit of their turbans, and touched the ground, and each accompanied by a mute fell prostrate before the throne:—a dreadful stillness now prevailed—all was mute as death—while doubt, suspense, and horror chilled the bosoms of the expecting lovers.—In this fearful interval of silence, the throbbing of Serinda's heart became distinctly audible, and pierced the soul of her Tarempou:—the father heard it too; and a half-smothered sigh involuntarily stole from his bosom, and resounded through the echoing dome.—At length, the solemn deep-toned voice of the Great Lama uttered these words: "Attend! and mark the will of Him who speaks with the *mouth of Heaven*; arise! and hear! Know, that the promise of a Lama is sacred as the words of Alla; therefore are ye brought hither to behold each other, and in this august presence, by a solemn union, to receive the reward of love, which a fond father's praise has kindled in  
your

your souls, and which he having promised, must be fulfilled. Prepare to remove the veils. Let Lama Zarin join your hands, and then embrace each other; but on your lives, utter not a word; for know, that in the *Hall of Silence*, 'tis death for any tongue to sound, but that which speaks the *voice of Heaven*."

He ceased,—and his words resounding from the lofty roof, gradually died upon the ear till the same dreadful stillness again prevailed through all the building;—and now, at a signal given,—the mutes removed the veils at the same moment, and discovered the beautiful persons of Tarempou and Serinda. What language can describe the matchless grace of each! far less convey an adequate idea of that expression, with which each beheld the other in agonies of joy, suspense and rapture; but they gazed in silence, till by another signal from the throne, the father joined their hands, and then Tarempou, as commanded, embraced his lovely bride; while she, unable to support this trying moment, fainted in his arms;—and now, Tarempou, regardless of the prohibition, exclaimed, "Help! my Serinda dies." Instantly the voice from the throne returned this melancholy sound: "Tarempou dies;" immediately two mutes approached with the fatal bow-string, and seizing Tarempou, fixed an instrument of silence on his lips;—while other mutes hurried away Serinda, insensible of the danger of her lover; but the father, unable to restrain the anguish of his soul, cried out with bitterness. "If to speak, be death, let me die also; but first, I will execrate the savage customs, and curse the laws that

doom the innocent." He would have proceeded, but other mutes surrounded him, and stopped his speech, as they had done Tarempou's. Then the Supreme Lama again addressed them in these words: "Know, presumptuous and devoted wretches, that before ye brake that solemn law which enjoins silence in this sacred presence, ye were already doomed to death. Thou, Lama Zarin, for daring to degrade the Holy Priesthood of Lamas by marrying thy daughter to a slave; and thou, Tarempou, for presuming to ally thyself with one of that sacred race; the promise which this foolish Lama made, was literally fulfilled, these daring rebels against the laws of Thibet, have seen, and been united to each other; and the embrace which was permitted, was doomed to be the last; now, therefore, mutes perform your office on Tarempou first." They accordingly bound the victim, who was already gagged, to one of the altars, and were fixing the cord about his neck, when they desisted on a sudden, and prostrating themselves before Tarempou, they performed the same obeisance, which is paid only to the heir of the sacred throne of Tonker. A general consternation seized all present; and the Supreme Lama descending from his throne, approached Tarempou; on whose left shoulder, which had been uncovered by the executioners, he now perceived the mystic characters, with which the sacred family of Thibet are always distinguished at their birth. He saw the well-known mark, the voice of nature confirmed this testimony of his sight, and, falling on the neck of Tarempou, he exclaimed, "It is my son! my long-lost son! quickly restore

his voice: henceforth this place shall be no longer called the Hall of Silence, but of Joy; for in this place we will to-morrow celebrate the nuptials of Tarempou and Serinda."

The history then explains this sudden event, by relating that some Jesuit Missionaries, who had gained access to the capital of Thibet, in their zeal for religion, had stolen the heir of the throne, then an infant, hoping to make use of him in the conversion of these people; but in their retreat through the great desert of Cobi, they had been attacked by a banditti, who killed the Jesuits, and sold the young Lama for a slave; he had served in the Ottoman army; he had been taken by the Knights of Malta; afterwards became servant to a French officer, with whom he travelled through all Europe, and at length accompanied him to India; here, in an engagement with the Mahrattas, he had been again taken prisoner, and sold as a slave to some merchants of Thibet; by this means he came into the service of Lama

Zarin, without knowing any thing of his origin, or the meaning of those characters which he bore on his left shoulder, and which had effected this wonderful discovery.

The history concludes with saying, that Tarempou was wedded to the fair Serinda; and that their happiness was unexampled: that the lessons he had been taught in the school of adversity, and the observations he had made in the various countries he had seen, prepared him to abolish the many foolish and impious customs of Thibet; and he caused to be written over the throne of the Great Hall, this inscription.

"Mark the Cries of Distress, and  
 "give Relief.—Receive the Blessings of the grateful; and rejoice  
 "in them.—Hearken to the Words  
 "of Age, Experience and Goodness, and obey them.—Stifle not  
 "the feelings of Humanity, but  
 "encourage virtuous Love; for  
 "the still small Voice of Innocence and Nature is, in every  
 "Country, the true *Voice of Heaven*."



## P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1788.

By T. WARTON, Esq. *Poet-Laureat.*

## I.

RUDE was the pile, and massy-proof,  
 That first uprear'd its haughty roof  
 On Windsor's brow sublime, in warlike state:  
 The Norman tyrant's jealous hand  
 The giant-fabric proudly plann'd:  
 With recent victory elate,  
 " On this majestic steep," he cried,  
 " A regal fortress, threatening wide,  
 " Shall spread my terrors to the distant hills;  
 " Its formidable shade shall throw  
 " Far o'er the broad expanse below,  
 " Where winds yon mighty flood, and amply fills  
 " With flowery verdure, or with golden grain,  
 " The fairest fields that deck my new domain!  
 " And London's towers, that reach the watchman's eye,  
 " Shall see with conscious awe my bulwarks climb the sky."

## II.

Unchang'd, through many a hardy race,  
 Stood the rough dome in sullen grace;  
 Still on its angry front defiance frown'd:  
 Though monarchs kept their state within,  
 Still murmur'd with the martial din  
 The gloomy gateway's arch profound;  
 And armed forms, in airy rows,  
 Bent o'er the battlements their bows,  
 And blood-stain'd banners crown'd its hostile head;  
 And oft its hoary ramparts wore  
 The rugged scars of conflict fore;  
 What time, pavilion'd on the neighb'ring mead,  
 Th' indignant Barons rang'd in bright array  
 Their feudal bands, to curb despotic sway;  
 And leagu'd a Briton's birthright to restore,  
 From John's reluctant grasp the roll of freedom bore.

M 4

III. When

## III.

When lo, the king that wreath'd his shield  
 With lilies pluck'd on Cressy's field,  
 Heav'd from its base the mouldering Norman frame!—  
 New glory cloath'd th' exulting steep,  
 The portals tower'd with ampler sweep;  
 And Valour's toften'd Genius came,  
 Here held his pomp, and trail'd the pall  
 Of triumph through the trophied hall;  
 And War was clad awhile in gorgeous weeds;  
 Amid the martial pageantries,  
 While Beauty's glance adjudg'd the prize,  
 And beam'd sweet influence on heroic deeds.  
 Nor long, ere Henry's holy zeal, to breathe  
 A milder charm upon the scenes beneath,  
 Rear'd in the watery glade his classic shrine,  
 And call'd his stripling-quire, to woo the willing Nine.

## IV.

To this imperial seat to lend  
 Its pride supreme, and nobly blend  
 British Magnificence with Attic Art;  
 Proud Castle, to thy banner'd bowers,  
 Lo! Picture bids her glowing powers  
 Their bold historic groups impart:  
 She bids th' illuminated pane,  
 Along thy lofty-vaulted fane,  
 Shed the dim blaze of radiance richly clear.—  
 Still may such arts of Peace engage  
 Their Patron's care! But should the rage  
 Of war to battle rouse the new-born year,  
 Britain arise, and wake the slumbering fire,  
 Vindictive dart thy quick-rekindling ire!  
 Or, arm'd to strike, in mercy spare the foe;  
 And lift thy thundering hand, and then withhold the blow!

ODE on his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1788.

By T. WARTON, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

## I.

WHAT native Genius taught the Britons bold  
 To guard their sea-girt cliffs of old?  
 'Twas Liberty: she taught disdain  
 Of death, of Rome's imperial chain.  
 She bade the Druid harp to battle sound,  
 In tones prophetic, thro' the gloom profound

Of forests hear, with holy foliage hung;  
 From grove to grove the pealing prelude rung;  
 Belinus call'd his painted tribes around,  
 And, rough with many a veteran scar,  
 Swept the pale Legions with the scythed car,  
 While baffled Cæsar fled, to gain  
 An easier triumph on Pharsalia's plain;  
 And left the stubborn isle to stand elate  
 Amidst a conquer'd world, in lone majestic state!

## II.

A kindred spirit soon to Britain's shore  
 The sons of Saxon Elva bore;  
 Fraught with th' unconquerable soul,  
 Who died, to drain the warrior-bowl,  
 In that bright Hall, where Odin's Gothic throne  
 With the broad blaze of brandish'd falchions shone;  
 Where the long roofs rebounded to the din  
 Of Spectre chiefs, who feasted far within:  
 Yet, not intent on deathful deeds alone,  
 They felt the fires of social zeal,  
 The peaceful wisdom of the public weal;  
 Though nurs'd in arms and hardy strife,  
 They knew to frame the plans of temper'd life;  
 The king's, the people's, balanc'd claims to found  
 On one eternal base, indissolubly bound.

## III.

Sudden, to shake the Saxon's mild domain,  
 Rush'd in rude swarms the robber Dane,  
 From frozen wastes, and caverns wild,  
 To genial England's scenes beguil'd;  
 And in his clamorous van exulting came  
 The Demons foul of Famine and of Flame:  
 Witness the sheep-clad summits, roughly crown'd  
 With many a frowning foss and airy mound,  
 Which yet his desultory march proclaim!—  
 Nor ceas'd the tide of gore to flow,  
 Till Alfred's laws allur'd th' intestine foe;  
 And Harold calm'd his headlong rage  
 To brave achievement, and to counsel sage;  
 For oft in savage breasts the buried seeds  
 Of brooding virtue live, and freedom's fairest deeds!

## IV.

But see, triumphant o'er the southern wave,  
 The Norman sweeps!—Tho' first he gave  
 New grace to Britain's naked plain,  
 With Arts and Manners in his train;

And

And many a fane he rear'd, that still sublime  
 In massy pomp has mock'd the stealth of time ;  
 And castle fair, that, stript of half its towers,  
 From some broad steep in shatter'd glory lours :  
 Yet brought he slavery from a softer clime ;  
 Each eve, the curfew's note severe  
 (That now but sooths the musing poet's ear)  
 At the new tyrant's stern command,  
 Warn'd to unwelcome rest a wakeful land ;  
 While proud Oppression o'er the ravish'd field  
 High rais'd his armed hand, and shook the feudal shield.

## V.

Stoop'd then that Freedom to despotic sway,  
 For which, in many a fierce affray,  
 The Britons bold, the Saxons bled,  
 His Danish javelins Lefwin led  
 O'er Hastings' plain, to stay the Norman yoke ?  
 She felt, but to resist, the sudden stroke :  
 The tyrant-baron grasp'd the patriot's steel,  
 And taught the tyrant-king its force to feel ;  
 And quick revenge the regal bondage broke.  
 And still, unchang'd and uncontrol'd,  
 Its rescued rights shall the dead empire hold :  
 For lo, revering Britain's cause,  
 A King new lustre lends to native laws !  
 The sacred Sovereign of this festal day  
 On Albion's old renown reflects a kindred ray !

*An ODE on the POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS of the HIGHLANDS of  
 SCOTLAND, considered as the Subject of Poetry.*

*By the late Mr. WILLIAM COLLINS.*

*From Vol. I. of Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

## I.

**H**—, thou return'ft from Thames, whose Naiads long  
 Have seen thee ling'ring, with a fond delay,  
 Mid those soft friends, whose hearts, some future day,  
 Shall melt, perhaps, to hear thy tragic song.  
 Go, not unmindful of that cordial youth,  
 Whom, long endear'd, thou leav'ft by Lavant's side ;  
 Together let us wish him lasting truth,  
 And joy untainted with his destin'd bride.  
 Go! nor regardless, while these numbers boast  
 My short-liv'd bliss, forget my social name ;  
 But think far off how, on the southern coast,  
 I met thy friendship with an equal flame !



Fresh to that soil thou turn'st, whose ev'ry vale  
 Shall prompt the poet, and his song demand :  
 To thee thy copious subjects ne'er shall fail ;  
 Thou need'st but take the pencil to thy hand,  
 And paint what all believe who own thy genial hand.

## II.

There must thou wake perforce thy Doric quill,  
 'Tis Fancy's land to which thou sett'st thy feet ;  
 Where still, 'tis said, the fairy people meet  
 Beneath each birken shade on mead or hill.  
 There each trim lass that skims the milky store  
 To the swart tribes their creamy bowl allots ;  
 By night they sip it round the cottage door,  
 While airy minstrels warble jocund notes.  
 There every herd, by sad experience, knows  
 How, wing'd with fate, their elf-shot arrows fly ;  
 When the sick ewe her summer food foregoes,  
 Or, stretch'd on earth, the heart-smit heifers lie.  
 Such airy beings awe th' untutor'd swain :  
 Nor thou, though learn'd, his homelier thoughts neglect ;  
 Let thy sweet muse the rural faith sustain :  
 These are the themes of simple, sure effect,  
 That add new conquests to her boundless reign,  
 And fill, with double force, her heart-commanding strain.

## III.

Ev'n yet preserv'd, how often may'st thou hear,  
 Where to the pole the Boreal mountains run,  
 Taught by the father to his list'ning son  
 Strange lays, whose power had charm'd a Spencer's ear.  
 At ev'ry pause, before thy mind possessest,  
 Old Runic bards shall seem to rise around,  
 With uncouth lyres, in many-colour'd vest,  
 Their matted hair with boughs fantastic crown'd :  
 Whether thou bid'st the well-taught hind repeat \*  
 The choral dirge that mourns some chieftain brave,  
 When ev'ry shrieking maid her bosom beat,  
 And strew'd with choicest herbs his scented grave ;  
 Or whether, sitting in the shepherd's shiel †,  
 Thou hear'st some sounding tale of war's alarms ;  
 When, at the bugle's call, with fire and steel,  
 The sturdy clans pour'd forth their bony swarms,  
 And hostile brothers met to prove each other's arms.

\* First written, *relate*.

† A kind of hut, built for a summer habitation to the herdsmen, when the cattle are sent to graze in distant pastures.

## IV.

'Tis thine to sing, how framing hideous spells  
 In Sky's lone isle the gifted wizzard "fits\*,"  
 "Waiting in" wintry cave "his wayward fits †;"  
 Or in the depth ‡ of Uist's dark forests dwells:  
 How they, whose sight such dreary dreams engross,  
 With their own visions oft astonish'd § droop,  
 When o'er the wat'ry strath or quaggy moss  
 They see the gliding ghosts unbodied troop.  
 Or if in sports, or on the festive green,  
 Their "piercing ||" glance some fated youth descry,  
 Who, now perhaps in lusty vigour seen  
 And rosy health, shall soon lamented die.  
 For them the viewless forms of air obey  
 Their bidding heed \*\*, and at their beck repair.  
 They know what spirit brews the stormful day,  
 And heartless, oft like moody madness stare  
 To see the phantom train their secret work prepare.

## V.

†† "Or on some bellying rock that shades the deep,  
 "They view the lurid signs that cross the sky,  
 "Where, in the west, the brooding tempests lie,  
 "And hear their first, faint, rustling pennons sweep.  
 "Or in the arched cave, where deep and dark  
 "The broad, unbroken billows heave and swell,  
 "In horrid musings rapt, they sit to mark  
 "The labouring moon; or lift the nightly yell  
 "Of that dread spirit, whose gigantic form  
 "The seer's entranced eye can well survey,  
 "Through the dim air who guides the driving storm,  
 "And points the wretched bark its destin'd prey.  
 "Or him who hovers, on his flagging wing,  
 "O'er the dire whirlpool, that, in ocean's waste,  
 "Draws instant down whate'er devoted thing  
 "The failing breeze within its reach hath plac'd—  
 "The distant seaman hears, and flies with trembling haste.

\* Collins had written, *seer*.

† Collins had written, *Lodg'd in the wintry cave with*—and had left the line imperfect: Altered and the chasim supplied by Dr. Carlyle.

‡ First written, *gloom*.

§ First written, *afflicted*.

|| A blank in the manuscript. The word *piercing* supplied by Dr. Carlyle.

\*\* First written, *mark*.

†† A leaf of the manuscript, containing the fifth stanza, and one half of the sixth, is here lost. The chasim is supplied by Mr. Mackenzie.

VI.

“ Or, if on land the fiend exerts his sway,  
 “ Silent he broods o’er quicksand, bog, or fen,  
 “ Far from the shelt’ring roof and haunts of men,  
 “ When witch’d darkness shuts the eye of day,  
 “ And shrouds each star that wont to cheer the night;  
 “ Or, if the drifted snow perplex the way,  
 “ With treach’rous gleam he lures the fated wight,  
 “ And leads him flound’ring on, and quite astray.”  
 What though far off, from some dark dell espied  
 His glimm’ring mazes cheer th’ excursive sight,  
 Yet turn, ye wand’rers, turn your steps aside,  
 Nor trust the guidance of that faithless light;  
 For watchful, lurking ’mid th’ unrustling reed,  
 At those mirk \* hours the wily monster lies,  
 And listens oft to hear the passing steed,  
 And frequent round him rolls his sullen eyes,  
 If chance his savage wrath may some weak wretch surprise.

VII.

Ah, luckless swain, o’er all unblest indeed!  
 Whom late bewilder’d in the dank, dark fen,  
 Far from his flocks and smoking hamlet then!  
 To that sad spot “ his wayward fate shall lead † :”  
 On him enrag’d, the fiend, in angry mood,  
 Shall never look with pity’s kind concern,  
 But instant, furious, raise the whelming flood  
 O’er its drown’d bank, forbidding all return.  
 Or, if he meditate his wish’d escape  
 To some dim hill that seems uprising near,  
 To his faint eye the grim and grisly shape,  
 In all its terrors clad, shall wild appear.  
 Meantime, the wat’ry surge shall round him rise,  
 Pour’d sudden forth from ev’ry swelling source.  
 What now remains but tears and hopeless sighs?  
 His fear-shook limbs have lost their youthful force,  
 And down the waves he floats, a pale and breathless corse.

VIII.

For him, in vain, his anxious wife shall wait,  
 Or wander forth to meet him on his way;  
 For him, in vain, at to-fall of the day,  
 His babes shall linger at th’ unclosing ‡ gate.

\* First written, *fad*.

† A blank in the manuscript. The line filled up by Dr. Carlyle.

‡ First written, *cottage*.

Ah, ne'er shall he return! Alone, if night  
 Her travell'd limbs in broken slumbers sleep,  
 With dropping willows drest, his mournful sprite  
 Shall visit sad, perchance, her silent sleep:  
 Then he, perhaps, with moist and wat'ry hand,  
 Shall fondly seem to press her shudd'ring cheek \*,  
 And with his blue swollen face before her stand,  
 And, shiv'ring cold, these piteous accents speak :  
 Pursue †, dear wife, thy daily toils pursue  
 At dawn or dusk, industrious as before ;  
 Nor e'er of me one hapless thought renew,  
 While I lie weltring on the ozier'd shore,  
 Drown'd by the Kaelpie's ‡ wrath, nor e'er shall aid thee more !

## IX.

Unbounded is thy range ; with varied file  
 Thy muse may, like those feath'ry tribes which spring  
 From their rude rocks, extend her skirting wing  
 Round the moist marge of each cold Hebrid isle,  
 To that hoar pile which still its ruin shows §:  
 In whose small vaults a pigmy-folk is found,  
 Whose bones the delver with his spade upthrows,  
 And culls them, wond'ring, from the hallow'd ground !  
 Or thither where beneath the show'ry west  
 The mighty kings of three fair realms are laid ||:  
 Once foes, perhaps, together now they rest.  
 No slaves revere them, and no wars invade :  
 Yet frequent now, at midnight's solemn hour,  
 The risted mounds their yawning cells unfold,  
 And forth the monarchs stalk with sov'reign pow'r  
 In pageant robes, and wreath'd with sheeny gold,  
 And on their twilight tombs aerial council hold.

\* First written, *Shall seem to press her cold and shudd'ring cheek.*

† First written, *proceed.*

‡ A name given in Scotland to a supposed spirit of the waters.

§ On the largest of the *Flannan islands* (isles of the Hebrides) are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. Flannan. This is reckoned by the inhabitants of the Western Isles a place of uncommon sanctity. One of the Flannan islands is termed the *Isle of Pigmies* ; and Martin says, there have been many small bones dug up here, resembling in miniature those of the human body.

|| The island of *Iona* or *Icolmkill*. See Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland. That author informs us, that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four kings of Ireland, and five of Norway, were interred in the church of St. Ounan in that island. There were two churches and two monasteries founded there by St. Columbus about A.D. 565. Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. Collins has taken all his information respecting the Western Isles from Martin ; from whom he may likewise have derived his knowledge of the popular superstitions of the Highlanders, with which this ode shows so perfect an acquaintance.



## X.

But O! o'er all, forget not Kilda's race\*,  
 On whose bleak rocks, which brave the wasting tides,  
 Fair Nature's daughter, Virtue, yet abides.  
 Go, just, as they, their blameless manners trace!  
 Then to my ear transmit some gentle song  
 Of those whose lives are yet sincere and plain,  
 Their bounded walks the rugged cliffs along,  
 And all their prospect but the wintry main.  
 With sparing temp'rance, at the needful time,  
 They drain the faintest spring, or, hunger-press'd,  
 Along th' Atlantic rock undreading climb,  
 And of its eggs despoil the solan's nest.  
 Thus blest in primal innocence they live,  
 Suffic'd and happy with that frugal fare  
 Which tasteful toil and hourly danger give.  
 Hard is their shallow soil, and bleak and bare;  
 Nor ever vernal bee was heard to murmur there!

## XI.

Nor need'st thou blush, that such false themes engage  
 Thy gentle mind, of fairer stores possess;  
 For not alone they touch the village breast,  
 But fill'd in elder time th' historic page.  
 There Shakespeare's self, with ev'ry garland crown'd †,  
 In musing hour, his wayward sisters found,  
 And with their terrors dress'd the magic scene.  
 From them he sung, when mid his bold design,  
 Before the Scot afflicted and aghast,  
 The shadowy kings of Banquo's fated line,  
 Through the dark cave in gleamy pageant past.  
 Proceed, nor quit the tales which, simply told,  
 Could once so well my ans'ring bosom pierce;  
 Proceed, in forceful sounds and colours bold  
 The native legends of thy land rehearse;  
 To such adapt thy lyre and suit thy powerful verse.

## XII.

In scenes like these, which, daring to depart  
 From sober truth, are still to nature true,  
 And call forth fresh delight to fancy's view,  
 Th' heroic muse employed her Tasso's art!

\* The character of the inhabitants of St. Kilda, as here described, agrees perfectly with the accounts given by Martin and by Macaulay, of the people of that island. It is the most westerly of all the Hebrides, and is above 130 miles distant from the main land of Scotland.

† This stanza is more incorrect in its structure than any of the foregoing. There is apparently a line wanting between this and the subsequent one, *In musing hour*, &c. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *scene*.

How have I trembled, when at Tancred's stroke,  
 Its gushing blood the gaping cypress pour'd;  
 When each live plant with mortal accents spoke,  
 And the wild blast up-heav'd the vanish'd sword \*!  
 How have I sat, when pip'd the pensive wind,  
 To hear his harp, by British Fairfax strung.  
 Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind  
 Believ'd the magic wonders which he sung!  
 Hence at each sound imagination glows;  
 Hence his warm lay with softest sweetness flows;  
 Melting it flows, pure, num'rous, strong and clear,  
 And fills th' impassion'd heart, and wins th' harmonious ear †.

## XIII.

All hail, ye scenes that o'er my soul prevail,  
 Ye "spacious †" friths and lakes which, far away,  
 Are by smooth Annan fill'd, or past'ral Tay,  
 Or Don's romantic springs, at distance, hail!  
 The time shall come when I, perhaps, may tread  
 Your lowly glens, o'erhung with spreading broom  
 Or o'er your stretching heaths by fancy led:  
 Then will I dress once more the faded bow'r,  
 Where Johnson sat in Drummond's § "social ||" shade,  
 Or crop from Tiviot's dale each "classic flower,"  
 And mourn on Yarrow's banks "the widow'd maid \*\*."  
 Meantime, ye Pow'rs, that on the plains which bore

\* These four lines were originally written thus: -

*How have I trembled, when, at Tancred's side,  
 Like him I stalk'd, and all his passions felt;  
 When charm'd by Ismen, through the forest wide,  
 Bark'd in each plant a talking spirit dwelt!*

† These lines were originally written thus:

*Hence, sure to charm, his early numbers flow,  
 Though strong, yet sweet —————  
 Though faithful, sweet; though strong, of simple kind.  
 Hence, with each theme, he bids the bosom glow,  
 While his warm lays an easy passage find,*

*Pour'd through each inmost nerve, and lull th' harmonious ear.*

‡ A blank in the manuscript. The word *spacious* supplied by Dr. Carlyle.

§ Ben Johnson undertook a journey to Scotland a-foot in 1619, to visit the poet Drummond, at his seat of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh. Drummond has preserved in his works, some very curious heads of their conversation.

|| A blank in the manuscript. *Social* supplied by Dr. Carlyle.

\*\* Both these lines left imperfect; supplied by Dr. Carlyle. This last stanza bears more marks of hastiness of composition than any of the rest. Besides the blanks which are supplied by Dr. Carlyle, there is apparently an entire line wanting after the seventh line of the stanza. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *broom*.

The cordial youth, on Lothian's plains attend,  
 Where'er he dwell, on hill, or lowly muir,  
 To him I lose, your kind protection lend,  
 And, touch'd with love like mine, preserve my absent friend.

To a L A D Y. *Written in Ireland.*

Septimi Gades, aditure mecum.

HOR. Lib. ii. Ode 6.

O H thou! by firm affection led  
 To seek with me this humble shed,  
 And, fram'd for gentlest ease,  
 Nor suited to this poor abode,  
 With me endur'd the toilsome road,  
 Nor fear'd the wintry seas.

Had fate indulg'd the fairy dream,  
 Near Arno's smooth, poetic stream  
 The Tuscan muse had smil'd,  
 And teaching vain Ambition's cure,  
 Mid swains as idle and as poor,  
 My careless life beguil'd:

That fond, fantastic thought repress,  
 Not yet within my calmer breast  
 The restless wish retreats;  
 To sweeter scenes, to softer skies,  
 To fair Devonian's coast it flies,  
 And hails those beauteous seats;

Where, dress'd in Spring's perpetual green,  
 Her cottage-sprinkl'd downs are seen,  
 Where every breeze is health;  
 And Plenty round the laughing land  
 Scatters profusely from her hand  
 Each source of rustic wealth;

And all the blooming groves produce  
 The golden apple's sparkling juice,  
 To cheer the peasant's toil;  
 Where scarce the winter's rigid sway,  
 Soon yielding to the western ray,  
 Deforms the happy soil.

Often in Fancy's picture warm  
 Rises to view her various charm,  
 Her billow-beaten rocks,

Her airy cliffs' majestic pride,  
 Her verdant mountain's sloping side,  
 And silver fleecy flocks.

Often the lovely scenes enchain  
 My soul, and every votive strain  
 With harmony inspire,  
 Till rapt in visionary joys,  
 I seem to hear a cherub's voice  
 Responsive to the lyre:

" There, sunk in some sequester'd spot,  
 " And every former grief forgot,  
 " Your shelter'd home shall brave  
 " The change of many a circling year,  
 " And there your Anna's constant tear  
 " Shall bathe her poet's grave."

*The ADIEU and RECALL to LOVE.*

*From Vol. I. of the British Album.*

GO, idle Boy! I quit thy pow'r;  
 Thy couch of many a thorn, and flow'r;  
 Thy twanging bow, thine arrow keen,  
 Deceitful Beauty's timid mien;  
 The feign'd surprize, the roguish leer,  
 The tender smile, the thrilling tear,  
 Have now no pangs, no joys for me,  
 So fare thee well, for I am free!  
 Then flutter hence on wanton wing,  
 Or lave thee in yon lucid spring,  
 Or take thy bev'rage from the rose,  
 Or on Louisa's breast repose:  
 I wish thee well for pleasures past,  
 Yet bless the hour, I'm free at last.

But sure, methinks, the alter'd day  
 Scatters around a mournful ray;  
 And chilling ev'ry zephyr blows,  
 And ev'ry stream untuneful flows;  
 No rapture swells the linnet's voice,  
 No more the vocal groves rejoice;  
 And e'en thy song, *sweet Bird of Eve!*  
 With whom I lov'd so oft to grieve,  
 Now scarce regarded meets my ear,  
 Unanswer'd by a sigh or tear.  
 No more with devious step I choose  
 To brush the mountain's morning dews;

" To



" To drink the spirit of the breeze,"  
 Or wander midst o'er-arching trees ;  
 Or woo with undisturb'd delight,  
 The pale-cheek'd Virgin of the Night,  
 That piercing thro' the leafy bow'r,  
 Throws on the ground a silv'ry show'r.  
 Alas ! is all this boasted ease,  
 To lose each warm desire to please,  
 No sweet solicitude to know  
 For others bliss, for others woe,  
 A frozen apathy to find,  
 A sad vacuity of mind ?  
 O hasten back, then, heav'nly Boy,  
 And with thine anguish bring thy joy !  
 Return with all thy torments here,  
 And let me hope, and doubt, and fear.  
 O rend my heart with ev'ry pain !  
 But let me, let me love again.

DELLA CRUSCA.

PRAYER to VENUS.—*From Vol. II. of the same Work.*

**K**IND Venus, hear thy Suppliant's pray'r,  
 Hear, and indulgent grant ;  
 For love I ask—you well may spare  
 The little I shall want.

No storms of passion I desire,  
 No boundless transports claim,  
 Give me that gentle doubtful fire,  
 Which feeds a sportive flame.

For oh ! I've known the soft delights,  
 That warm the breast sincere ;  
 The anxious days and sleepless nights,  
 That nurse the tender fear.

Have shar'd the fond endearing kiss,  
 Which mutual ardour fires,  
 And tasted oft that genuine bliss,  
 Which mutual truth inspires.

I've felt the fierce extreme of love,  
 Which utterance would destroy ;  
 When speechless raptures silent prove,  
 The soul's sublimest joy.

But then its bitterest pangs I've borne,  
 Deprest with tenfold care;  
 And many an hour with anguish torn,  
 Sat brooding o'er Despair.

Whelm'd, with such violence of-woe,  
 Would melt a heart of steel,  
 Which only those who love can know,  
 Who lose can only feel.

Hence, let me calmly view the sex,  
 Contented to enjoy  
 That bliss, which absence cannot vex,  
 Or Perfidy destroy:

O Venus! let me favour win,  
 Secure from Cupid's dart,  
 Still let it gently pierce my skin,  
 But never probe my heart!

ARLEY.

## CHARACTERISTIC SONG.

*Supposed to be sung by a Sailor's Lass, to her Favourite; who has been treating her rather unkindly.—From the same.*

**Y**OUR Molly has never been false, she declares,  
 Since last time we parted at Wapping Old Stairs;  
 When I swore that I still would continue the same,  
 And gave you the 'Bacco-box—mark'd with my name.

When I pass'd a whole fortnight between decks, with you,  
 Did I e'er give a buff, Tom, to one of the crew?  
 To be useful and kind to my Thomas I staid,  
 For his trowsers I wash'd, and his humbo I made.

Though you threaten'd last Sunday to walk in the Mall  
 With Susan, from Deptford, and Billingsgate Sal,  
 In silence I stood, your unkindness to hear,  
 And only upbraided my Tom with a tear.

Still faithful and fond from the first of my life,  
 Tho' I boast not the name, I've the truth of a wife;  
 For falsehood in wedlock too often is priz'd,  
 And the heart that is constant should not be despis'd.

ARLEY.

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR LE DUC DE NIVERNOIS ayant demandé a MADAME LA MARECHALE DE MIREPOIS une boucle de ses cheveux, elle la lui envoya avec les vers suivans.

**L**ES voila! les cheveux depuis long tems blanchis,  
 D'une longue union qu'ils soient pour vous le gage!  
 Je ne regrette rien de ce que m'otat l'age,  
 Il m'a laissé de vrais amis.  
 On m'aime presqu'autant, et j'aime davantage,  
 L'astre de l'amitié luit dans l'hiver des ans,  
 Fruit précieux du gout, de l'estime, & du tems;  
 On ne s'y meprend plus, on cede à son empire,  
 Et l'on joint sous les cheveux blancs  
 Aux charmes de s'aimer le droit de se le dire.

REPONSE DE MONSIEUR LE DUC.

**Q**UOI! vous parlez de cheveux blancs!  
 Laissons, laissons courir le tems,  
 Que vous importe son ravage!  
 Les tendres cœurs en sont exempts,  
 Les Amours sont toujours enfans,  
 Et les Graces sont de tout age.  
 Pour moi, Themire, je le sens,  
 Je suis toujours dans mon printems  
 Quand je vous offre mon hommage;  
 Si je n'avois que dix-huit ans,  
 Je pourrois aimer plus long tems,  
 Mais non pas aimer davantage.

*From MADAME LA MARECHALE DE MIREPOIS to MONSIEUR LE DUC DE NIVERNOIS, with a Lock of her Hair.*

*Imitated by WILLIAM PARSONS, Esq.*

**B**EHOLD this lock which deck'd my face!  
 But rest of all its former grace;  
 Long since hath Time forbade to shine  
 Each youthful charm that once was mine;  
 Yet while my faithful friends remain,  
 I cannot of his thefts complain:  
 They love me still—I love them more,  
 Such joys have I with tresses hoar.

Friendship's bright star with purer rays  
 Gilds the calm evening of our days :  
 No longer then, to doubts a prey,  
 We dread fierce Love's imperious sway ;  
 And, if a soft emotion rise,  
 Suspect him veil'd in friendship's guise ;  
 For well we know his power is o'er,  
 He flies abash'd from tresses hoar.

Nor longer then does Custom bind  
 In tyrant chains the captive mind,  
 And, when a tender thought we feel,  
 Bid us that tender thought conceal ;  
 But without blushing we impart  
 The chaste affections of the heart :  
 This freedom, ne'er enjoy'd before,  
 Has age bestow'd with tresses hoar.

### ODE to the VENUS of MEDICIS.

By WILLIAM PARSONS, Esq. F.R.S.

*Written at FLORENCE 1785.*

QUEEN of each tender thought and soft desire,  
 Whose matchless beauties here in marble shine,  
 Who didst the wond'ring Greek's proud heart inspire  
 To form this semblance of thy charms divine !

\* Fountain of bliss ! by whose ecstatic aid  
 In Jove's soft hour his consort rul'd the skies,  
 Thy charming zone her rapturous form array'd,  
 And seal'd with languid pause the Thunderer's eyes.

Mother of life ! by whose awakening powers  
 All Being springs from Chaos and from night,  
 † With smiles the deep, the earth is clad with flowers,  
 And the sky brightens with diffusive light.

To this thy best-lov'd image, goddess fair !  
 Let me not bring my votive gifts in vain ;  
 No milk-white doves, no bleating lambs are there,  
 With guiltless blood thy purer shrine to stain.

\* Iliad. Book 14.

† ——— Tibi suavis dædala tellus  
 Summittit flores, tibi rident æquora ponti,  
 Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cœlum.

LYCRETIUS, Lib. 1.

But



But dearer trophies, which to thee I owe,  
Soft notes that speak the mighty force of love,  
Tresses the fond believing fair bestow,  
In meaning forms, and mystic cyphers wove,

Now all around obey thy gladdening voice,  
And rove in pairs to woo the young Desires;  
In Hymen's bands my British friends rejoice,  
The glowing natives burn with looser fires.

I, hapless torn from all my soul held dear,  
Am now no more with love's soft transports blest,  
No fond delights my lingering moments cheer,  
A death-like calm usurps my vacant breast.

O goddess fair! by all that could subdue  
War's furious god to seek those gentle charms;  
By all the tides of joy that erst you knew,  
When young Adonis languish'd in your arms;

O once again the gentle flame impart,  
I court the bliss, nor dread the pleasing woe;  
Chase then this cold indifference from my heart,  
Bid some kind fair with equal passion glow!

Then too my breast shall feel poetic fire,  
And British Muses haunt the Tuscan plain;  
As oft they come when Merry strikes the lyre,  
And raptur'd Arno listens to the strain!

### *The MUSES in MOTION,*

*Spoken at the Royalty Theatre, in the Characters of the Tragic and Comic Muses, and written by MILES PETER ANDREWS, Esq.*

*[Scene draws, and discovers the Tragic Muse, standing on a Pedestal, as in the Pantomime of Hobson's Choice.—After some time, she advances to the Front with her Bowl and Dagger.]*

**N**EW to this Stage, beset with Virgin fears,  
For the first time Melpomene appears;  
Tho' on these Boards she oft hath silent stood  
With eye uplifted thus—in mournful mood,  
Fixt as a post she neither said or sung:—  
'Tis the first time the Muse has found her tongue.  
What shall she urge, to prove her vast delight,  
Thus left at liberty to talk all night?

What joy on earth so great, so overflowing,  
 As when a Female tongue's just set a-going?  
 Answer, ye Husbands, is there aught in life  
 So truly precious as a chatt'ring wife?  
 Save the still dearer joy, if left alone,  
 To praise their talents, when they're dead and gone.  
 But hold:—my province is to fume and swagger,  
 Rave, rant, and start, and wield my Bowl and Dagger;  
 Oh! would some wooden Hero now appear\*!  
 Whom I might scold and stab without a fear;  
 How I would pull his painted locks about,  
 Seize his glass eye, and tear his blinker out.

[A voice is heard from below.]

What noise is that, seems threat'ning from below,  
 Breaks on our grief, and interrupts our woe?

[Mrs. Gibbs, as the Comic Muse, speaking under the Stage.]

Open the trap, Sirs, quick, and wind me up—

[Comic Muse ascends—the other starts, and affects a serious attitude.]

Your servant, Sister, with your Knife and Cup. [Sneeringly.]

[To the Audience.]

Well, Friends! we both are come your hands to kiss,  
 The Tragic Lady, and the Comic Miss;  
 But should we both attempt to keep possession,  
 Warrants may issue from the Quarter Session;  
 For tho' alone, our tongues may be untied well,  
 A Dialogue will send us both to Bridewell;  
 Think of our danger should we rouse again  
 The informing Carpenter of Drury Lane;  
 Danger so dire it staggers all belief,  
 Water and Bread, for calling out Roast Beef†!

[Imitating Delpini.]

Since then you cannot take us both in keeping,  
 Which Miss shall stay, the laughing, or the weeping?  
 If me ye choose, kind Sirs, for cara Sposa,  
 I'll instant tip my Sister a Mendoza. [Holds up her fists]  
 The Comic Muse with fists can make dispatch,  
 A very Jordan at a Boxing-match.

[To the Audience.]

Methinks you smile—Sister, I've got the day—  
 Resign you must, so sink, and die away.

[Touches her with the Mask.]

Strike, Music, (Music plays) to assist her parting groan,  
 There, going, going, going, going, gone.

[Tragic Muse sinks to soft Music.]

\* Alluding to the Figures in the Mock Tragedy of Almirina.

† The charge against Delpini was for articulating those words without music.

[*The Comic Muse, when the other has disappeared.*]

I've clear'd the Stage ; but now how hard the task  
To clear myself, and sport the Comic Mask ;  
With inoffensive mirth the hour to waste,  
And suit the humour of each varying taste.  
'Tis easier far to rise with dumb grimaces,  
Stand on a Pedestal, and make wry faces.  
Look at that lean consumptive Critic yonder,

[*Pointing to the House.*

Wrapp'd in his night-gown, how he gapes with wonder.  
Methinks he says, " I hate your foolish giggle,

[*Talking like a besotted old Man.*

" As well sing Butter'd Peas, or Wilkes's Wriggle.

" Give me Don Juan, when he's hoisted off,

" Gray, and a Church-yard—haugh (*coughing*) oh, curse this  
" cough."

" Fegs !" cries that short thick Lady in the corner—

" I think as how, 'tis *very* cross to scorn her :

" I loves a joke—for Spouse he jokes, and Cuz :

" Laugh and grow fat, they cries, and so we does."—

" Look !" says Miss Frizzle to her friend Miss Simper,

" How can you like, my dear, to sit and whimper ?

" I'm all for fun and frolic, mirth and glee,

" Signor Delpini is the man for me."

[*In an affected formal manner.*

" But not for me, Miss, tho' the creatures sing ;

" They tell me, your Signors are not the thing."

What do I see ! Miss Biddy—pray step down,

[*Beckoning to the House.*

The Comic Muse may claim you as her own.—

[*Retires to the side a little, and returns as Miss Biddy.*

Well, here I am, quite anxious to be seen,

And, on my *Sayso*, Miss, I'm turn'd thirteen ;

Lord how the Beaux do stare ! Goles, what a heap !

Lend me your Mask, that I may take a peep ;

[*Looking through the Mask.*

Tho' hang it, that's a foolish way to see ;

For then the Beaux can't take a peep at me,

[*Throws the Mask away.*

Would you believe it, Miss ? Last night, Papa

Sitting at supper with my poor Mamma ;

Betwixt ourselves, they don't agree a bit ;

" Wife," says old Gruff, " that Girl's a forward chit."—

" It can't be, dear."—" Psha ! hold thy silly clack ;

" I saw her riding on the coachman's back."

" Well, let her ride—she's nothing but a child ;

" Young folks, my love, will be a little wild :

" She knows no harm."—" No harm, wife ?"—

" No,

“ No, duck, no ; ” —  
They little think, but I know what I know.

[*Putting her finger to her nose archly.*]

Well, I do like to see two folks make love :  
First she smiles thus—then he draws off her glove ;  
Then she says, Don't you—then he says, I will,  
And then she frowns, and tells him to sit still :  
Then he looks glum, and then she pats his cheek ;  
Then they get up, and play at hide and seek ;  
And then they Buss, and then she's made a wife—  
Oh ! I could act it to the very life,

These humble efforts of the Comic Muse  
She trusts this gen'rous circle won't refuse ;  
More than content, if you accept her toil,  
And crown it with a kind approving smile.

PROLOGUE to THE TON; or, FOLLIES OF FASHION,  
*a Comedy by* LADY WALLACE.

*Written by* MR. JEKYLL,

WHILE Reformation lifts her tardy hand,  
To scourge at length transgression from the land ;  
And dormant Statutes, rous'd by Proclamation,  
Affright the petty Sinners of the Nation,  
Who shall presume the Rule of Right to draw,  
For those who *make, enforce, and break the Law ?*  
The Country Justice, with terrific frown,  
May scare a district or appal a town ;  
May hurl dire vengeance on a guilty elf  
Who dares to do—*just what he does himself* ;  
But who shall rule the Justice ?—Who shall dare  
To tell his Worship, that He must not swear ?  
Drive him to church, prohibit his diversions,  
Or fine him well, for *Sabbath-days excursions ?*

In London, happily our zeal's more warm :  
Here live the great Examples of Reform ;  
With pure dissent' rest each devoutly labours  
To mend—if not himself, at least his neighbours.  
No secret canker now corrupts the State ;  
The name of Vice is lost among the Great.  
The *Virtues*—in St. James's Street that dwell,  
Spread thro' the Square, and all along Pall Mall,  
Are such !—'tis quite *impossible to tell.*

However, with great search and studious care,  
A Female Bard has glean'd some Follies there.



Bred among those, who would not fear to own 'em,  
 Had there been Vices there, she must have known 'em:  
 Some trifling faults, perhaps, as *drinking, gaming,*  
*Pride*, and the like, may want a little shaming;  
 'Gainst these she aims; in aid of Law to use  
 The supplemental sanctions of the Muse:  
 Assist, ye *Fair*, she fights for You and Virtue:  
 Ye Great, support her, for she cannot hurt you;  
 Ye Rich—ye Poor,—above—below the laws,  
 Applaud her, and promote the common cause:  
 And if there live who still disgrace the age,  
 Bid them revere *the Vengeance of the Stage*.

EPILOGUE *to the same.*

*Written by* CAPTAIN MORRIS *and* CAPTAIN TOPHAM.

**I**S the *Storm* over? is the *Thunder* past?  
 And shall the Epilogue be heard at last?  
 'Tis our last word; a word, you know, of old,  
 That's always ready, when you rave or scold.  
 But where beseech?—where best bestow my breath?

[*To the Pit.*]

I can't press you, already press'd to death—  
 No, there's no room your anger to bewitch;  
 You can't be *mov'd*, you're screw'd to such a pitch.  
 Methinks I hear some prompting Spirit cry,  
 "Look up in your distress; *Hope* lives on high!"  
 Shall I there find her? Sure you won't suppress  
 Your noblest power, ye *Gods*! your power to bless.

[*To the Boxes.*]

For you, fair Nymphs, who melt in approbation,  
 This Play, I trust, you'll call, a Relaxation;  
 And sure our author's gallant thirst of fame  
 Deserves, from polish'd hearts, a shelter'd name.  
 For brave it was, thus fairly on the Stage,  
 To meet the Coxcombs' and the Gamblers' rage;  
 Fearless in Virtue's cause to draw her pen;  
 And prove what *women* dare, against *you men*.  
 Now *for myself*, some pity I should wake—  
 Unskill'd, unpractis'd in the task I take:  
 Here, where the powers of finish'd speakers shine,  
 How silly was it to make choice of *mine*;  
 Of me! a Weed; unknown to Rhet'rick's flowers;  
 A *simple* Cowslip, in these fragrant bowers!

What

What can *I* do, but rest my hopeless aims  
On Imitative Arts, and borrow'd Names;  
Call to your eyes delights you oft have felt,  
And try with copy'd charms to please and melt?

VERSES *by* Dr. WALCOT.

AH! tell me no more, my dear girl, with a sigh,  
That a coldness will creep o'er my heart;  
That a sullen indiff'rence will dwell on my eye,  
When thy beauty begins to depart.

Shall thy graces, O Cynthia, that gladden my day,  
And brighten the gloom of the night,  
Till life be extinguish'd, from memory stray,  
Which it ought to review with delight?

Upbraiding, shall Gratitude say with a tear,  
“ That no longer I think of those charms  
“ Which gave to my bosom such rapture sincere,  
“ And faded at length in my arms?”

Why yes! it may happen, thou damsel divine:—  
To be honest—I freely declare,  
That e'en now to thy converse so much I incline,  
I've already forgot thou art fair.

SONG to DELIA.

*By the same.*

HOW long shall hapless Colin mourn  
The cold regard of Delia's eye?  
The heart, whose only crime is love,  
Can Delia's softness doom to die?

Sweet is thy name to Colin's ear;  
Thy beauties, O divinely bright!  
In one short hour by Delia's side  
I taste whole ages of delight!

Yet though I lov'd thee more than life;  
Not to displease a cruel maid,  
My tongue forbore its fondest tale,  
And sigh'd amid the distant shade.

What happier shepherd wins thy smile,  
 A bliss for which I hourly pine?  
 Some swain, perhaps, whose fertile vales  
 And fleecy flocks are more than mine?

Few are the vales that Colin boasts,  
 And few the flocks those vales that rove!  
 With wealth I court not Delia's heart—  
 A nobler bribe I offer—Love!

Yet should the virgin yield her hand,  
 And thoughtless wed for wealth alone;  
 The act may make my bosom bleed,  
 But surely cannot bless her own.

## V E R S E S.

*By the* EARL of CARLISLE.

**M**Y heart's mighty empire bright Celia possess,  
 And reign'd a most absolute queen in my breast;  
 Till too far she presum'd on the power that I gave,  
 And from a free subject soon made me a slave.  
 Love's laws she subverted with insolent pride,  
 And redress of my grievances ever deny'd.  
 In distress to Amelia my griefs I impart,  
 Amelia was destin'd to conquer my heart;  
 She summon'd each beauty to rise up in arms,  
 And the tyrant drove out by the force of her charms.

VERSES *by* Mrs. Piozzi.

**W**HEN lurking Love in anguish lies  
 Under Friendship's fair disguise,  
 When he wears an angry mien,  
 Imitating Spite or Spleen;  
 When, like Sorrow, he seduces,  
 When, like Pleasure, he amuses;  
 Still, howe'er the parts are cast,  
 'Tis but *lurking Love* at last.

*The following extempore Verses were written by the PRINCE DE LIGNE, on the Spot where the MARSHAL TURENNE was killed by a Cannon-Ball.*

**R**Eçois, o Turenne, où tu perdis la vie,  
 Les transports d'un Soldat qui te plaint et t'envie  
 Dans l'Elysée assis près du chef des Césars,  
 Ou dans le ciel peut-être entre Bellone et Mars;  
 Fais moi te suivre en tout, exauce ma prière,  
 Puissé-je ainsi remplir et finir ma carrière !

# VERSES UPON THE ROAD,

*To LORD JOHN CAVENDISH.*

*By the late Mr. GARRICK.*

*From Vol. III. of the Asylum for Fugitive Pieces.*

*Facit Indignatio.*

**W**HILST all with sighs their way pursue  
 From Chatsworth's blest abode,  
 My mind still fires, my Lord, at you,  
 And thus bursts out in ode.

Forgive my phrenzy, good Lord John,  
 For Passion's my Apollo:  
 Sweet Hebe says—when sense is gone,  
 That nonsense needs must follow.

Like Indian knife, or Highland sword,  
 Your words have hewn and hack'd me;  
 Whilst Quin, a rebel to his Lord,  
 Like his own Falstaff back'd me.

In vain I bounce, and fume, and fret,  
 Swear Shakespeare is divine;  
 Fitzherbert \* can awhile forget  
 His pains to laugh at mine.

Lord Frederick, George, and eke his Grace,  
 My honest zeal deride;  
 Nay Hubert's melancholy face  
 Smirks on your Lordship's side.

\* William Fitzherbert, Esq. of Tiffington, member for Derby.



With passion, zeal, and punch misled,  
 Why goad me on to strife?  
 Why send me to a restless bed,  
 And disappointed wife?

This my reward! and this from you!  
 Is't thus you Bowman \* treat?  
 Who eat more toads than *you know who*  
 Each night did strawberries eat.

Did I not mount the dun-drawn chaise,  
 And sweat for many a mile?  
 And gave his Grace's skill much praise,  
*Griming a ghastly smile!*

Did I not elsewhere risk my bones,  
 My Lord-Duke's freaks took pride in?  
 Did I not trot down hills of stones,  
 And call it pleasant riding?

Did I not all your feats proclaim,  
 Nor once from duty shrink?  
 In flattery I sunk my fame;  
 A Bowman ev'n in drink.

Did I not oft my conscience force,  
 Against its dictates swear?  
 Have I not prais'd Lord George's horse?  
 Nay, ev'n your Lordship's mare?

Did I not oft in rain and wind,  
 O'er hills, thro' vallies roam,  
 When wiser folk would lag behind,  
 And spaniels staid at home?

Have I not with your natives fed,  
 The worst of all my labours,  
 And ventur'd both my ears and head  
 Among your scalping neighbours?

Not Quin's more blest with calipce,  
 Fitzherbert in his puns,  
 Lord John in contradicting me,  
 Lord Frederick with his nuns.

\* The name of a character in Lethe.

Than I am blest in Shakespeare's muse !  
 Each drop within my standish;  
 Each drop of blood for him I'll lose,  
 As firm as any Ca'ndish.

As Whig you gain the world's applause,  
 For once a Tory shine ;  
 A Tory once in Shakespeare's cause,  
 And *feel* his right divine !

Attack my wife, my patent tear,  
 Do deeds without a name !  
 Burn, kill, or ravish, Lord ! but spare,  
 O spare my Shakespeare's fame !

Did not Dean Barker \* wisely preach,  
 Opinion may be sin ?  
 Did not his sermon wisely teach,  
 To cleanse ourselves within ?

From infidelity awake !  
 O melt your heart of stone ;  
 Conceal your errors for my sake,  
 Or mend them for your own.

D. G.

## S O N G.

*Translated from the French of Mary, Queen of Scots,*

*By JOHN BAYNES, Esq.*

AH ! pleasant land of France, farewell !  
 My country dear,  
 Where many a year  
 Of infant youth I lov'd to dwell !  
 Farewell for ever, happy days !  
 The ship which parts our loves conveys  
 But half of me—One half behind  
 I leave with thee, dear France, to prove  
 A token of our endless love,  
 And bring the other to thy mind.

\* The Rev. William Barker, M. A. Dean of Raphoe. He died about 1777.

## THE SUPERANNUATED HORSE TO HIS MASTER\*.

*Who had sentenced him to die at the End of the Summer, on Account of his being unable, from extreme old Age, to live through the Winter.*

AND must thou fix my doom, sweet master, say,  
And wilt thou kill thy servant old and poor?  
A little longer let me live, I pray,  
A little longer hobble round thy door.

For much it glads me to behold this place,  
And house within this hospitable shed;  
It glads me *more* to see my master's face,  
And linger near the spot where I was bred.

For, ah! to think of what we both enjoy'd  
In my life's prime, ere I was old and poor,  
When from the jocund morn to eve employ'd,  
My gracious master on this back I bore.

Thrice told ten years, have danc'd on down along,  
Since first these way-worn limbs to thee I gave,  
Sweet-smiling years! when both of us were young,  
The kindest master, and the happiest slave.

Ah, years sweet smiling! now for ever flown!  
Ten years, thrice told, alas, are but a day!  
Yet, as together we are aged grown,  
Together let us wear our age away,

For still, the times behind are dear to thought,  
And rapture mark'd each minute as it flew;  
To the light heart all-changing seasons brought  
Pains that were soft, or pleasures that were new.

Ah! call to mind, how oft near Scarning's stream  
My steps were bent to yonder Muse-trod grove,  
There, she who lov'd thee was thy tender theme,  
And I the chosen messenger of love,

On the gale's pinion, with a lover's care,  
E'en with the speed of thought did I not go—  
Explore the cottage of thy absent fair,  
And eas'd thy sick'ning bosom of its woe?

\* The Rev. Mr. Potter, at Scarning in Norfolk, to whom the public is indebted for the admirable Translations of Æschylus and Euripides.

And when that doubting heart still felt alarms,  
Throbbing alternate with its hope and fear,  
Did I not bear thee safely to her arms,  
Assure thy faith, and dry up ev'ry tear?

And ah! forget not, when the fever's power  
Rag'd fore, how swift I fought the zephyr's wing,  
To cool thy pulses in the fragrant bower,  
And bathe thy temples in the clearest spring.

Friend to thy love, and health, and not a foe  
E'en to the Muse who led thee on to fame;  
Yes, e'en thy lyre to me some charms may owe,  
And fancy kindles into brighter flame.

And hast thou fix'd my doom, sweet master, say—  
And wilt thou kill thy servant, old and poor?  
A little longer let me live, I pray,  
A little longer hobble round thy door.

Nor could'st thou bear to see thy servant bleed,  
Tho' weeping pity has decreed his fate;  
Yet, ah! in vain, thy heart for life shall plead,  
If Nature has denied a longer date.

Alas! I feel 'tis nature dooms my death,  
Ah me! I feel 'tis Pity gives the blow—  
Yet ere it falls, ah, *Nature!* take my breath,  
And my kind master shall no sorrow know.

Ere the last morn of my allotted life,  
A softer fate shall end me old and poor,  
May timely save me from th' uplifted knife,  
And gently stretch me at my master's door.

## EXTEMPORE LUDICROUS MILTONIC VERSES,

*To the late Mrs. GARDINER.*

*From Mr. JEPHSON.*

**M**ADAM! I write an humble suitor to you.  
—There is an actress, Mrs. *Taplin* hight,  
Whose benefit comes on next Saturday,  
Fam'd *As You Like It* is the spectacle,  
Invading *Harlequin's* the interlude,  
And plump *Miss Pope* plays *Dorothea Snip*.



To these succeeds, by way of *Petite Piece*,  
 The Masque of *Comus*, which the eyeless Bard  
 (*Britannia's Homer*) in immortal verse  
 Gave to th' admiring world, where moral grave,  
 Pleasure's allurements, and the revel route  
 Of Bacchanalian Riot, Dance and Song,  
 The cup of Circe, and the Sorcerer's wand,  
 Bright Spirits clad in weeds from Iris woof,  
 And Sensuality with Porker's snout,  
 And virtuous Lady spurning liquorish baits,  
 Bold in the praise of sun-clad Chastity,  
 And Youths full of wise saws and sentences,  
 (The frequent lore of Eld's oft-razor'd lip)  
 In mingled measure charm the eye and ear.

A Dissertation on a Hobby-horse,  
 Pronounc'd by Mr. *Taplin*, crowns the scene.  
 Now hear the story of this *Taplin's* wife,  
 And the brief cause of my soliciting.  
*Dyer*, who trod so long the various stage  
 In sock or buskin, (now he treads no more,  
 Save there be theatres in *Pluto's* realm)  
 Her father was—the ancestors of *Tighe* \*  
 Cherish'd with fost'ring hand the blameless man,  
 And *Tighe*, our friend to *Dyer's* only child,  
 Extends his kind protection: he to me  
 Has recommended her, and prays me join  
 To his my intercession, that your form,  
 Fairer than *Paris* lov'd, or *Zeuxis* drew,  
 May grace a side-box at her benefit.  
*Minchin* † and *Boyd* ‡, and many a comely nymph  
 Fond to be seen, but fonder to oblige,  
 Bring with you, room there is enough for all,  
 Tho' your whole mother § swell the company.

But, oh! whate'er you determine, Lady!  
 Apprise me quickly, by a written note,  
 Or message verbal, or a kinder call  
 On me or consort near the Castle-Hall.

April 1776.

R. J.

\* Mr. Edward Tighe, a very respectable character, well known in the literary and theatrical circles of Great Britain and Ireland.

† Afterwards Mrs. V. Montgomery.

‡ Now Countess of Carhampton.

§ A Lady remarkable for her beauty and *embonpoint*.

## I N S C R I P T I O N

*For the Cottage at Castle Town, dedicated to Michaelmas Day,*

*By Lady L. A. CONOLLY.*

MICHAELMAS, my favourite day!  
Joy to thy returning ray!

To thy dear propitious hour,  
Grateful I inscribe this bow'r;  
First, on thy blest'd noon, I saw  
Him whose will has been my law.  
Who such law wou'd not approve,  
While its bond is mutual love!

Here not pulse nor poultry fail,  
Wholesome bread nor amber ale,  
Water from yon plenteous stream,  
Harmless curds nor cheese of cream:  
You who like my cottage cheer,  
Love my love, and welcome here!  
All the reck'ning you need pay  
Is, to hail my favourite day.

S T A N Z A S,

*By R. B. SHERIDAN, Esq.*

ASK'ST thou, "how long my love shall stay,  
"When all that's new is past?"  
How long? Ah, DELIA! can I say

How long my life will last?  
Dry be that tear—be hush'd that sigh;  
At least, I'll love thee till I die.

## II.

And does that thought affect thee too,  
The thought of DAMON's death;  
That he who only lives for you,  
Must yield his faithful breath?  
Hush'd be that sigh, be dry that tear,  
Nor let us lose our heaven here!

DELIA

## DELIA TO DAMON.

*In answer to the above Stanzas.*

**T**HINK'ST thou, my Damon, I'd forego  
 This tender luxury of woe,  
 Which, better than the tongue, imparts  
 The feelings of impassion'd hearts;  
 Blest, if my sighs and tears but prove  
 The winds and waves that waft to love.

Can true affection cease to fear?  
 Poor is the joy not worth a tear!  
 Did passion ever know content?  
 How weak the rapture words can paint!  
 Then let my sighs and tears but prove  
 The winds and waves that waft to love.

The Cyprian bird, with plaintive moan,  
 Thus makes her faithful passion known;  
 So Zeph'rus breathes on Flora's bow'rs,  
 And charms with sighs the queen of flow'rs!  
 Then let my sighs and tears but prove  
 The winds and waves that waft to love.

*The following Impromptu, by the Hon. Thomas Erskine, was occasioned by his being much indisposed one evening at Lady Payne's, who very kindly made him retire and lie down; he soon returned with the following lines in his hand, which he presented to her Ladyship,*

**'T**IS true I am ill, but I need not complain,  
 For he never knew *pleasure*, who never knew *Payne*.

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1788.

*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: by Edward Gibbon, Esq; Vols. II. III. IV. V. and VI.*

**I**N the year 1777, the first volume of this interesting history first attracted our notice, and excited our admiration; and it is with the most sincere pleasure that we see it in our power now to congratulate the public, on the completion of this extensive work, which has filled up, in so masterly a manner, the long and dark interval between ancient and modern history, and which is so justly and so universally allowed to be at least among the number of the most valuable literary productions of the present times. When the first volume was originally given to the public, all that its ingenious author then ventured to promise, was one volume more; fortunately, however, he has been favoured with as many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance, as were necessary to the execution of the whole of his extensive plan; and, from the age of the Antonines, to the final settlement of the ecclesiastical state, he has condescended to be our guide through those obscure and intricate periods of history, in which ordinary writers have either hesitated to proceed, or by proceeding have only shewn the world how little their powers were suited to the toils

of such an undertaking.—As we have, upon a former occasion, stated very fully the plan which Mr. Gibbon had laid down for himself in the arrangement of this work, we have only to resume it now at the period at which we then left off, that is at the close of the sixteenth chapter; and though we by no means presume to give our readers, in the little space that is necessarily allowed us upon these occasions, any thing like a competent idea of the various merits of this performance, yet we think we shall not render an unacceptable service to those, who have not yet had leisure to peruse the work itself, if we succeed in making them acquainted briefly with the manner in which it has been conducted, and in pointing out to their observation a few of those splendid passages which are scattered so profusely through every part of this valuable history. One preliminary remark only we feel ourselves now compelled to make, however reluctantly, and that is, that wherever either the progress or the doctrines of the Christian religion are in question, Mr. Gibbon is to be read with the utmost caution; and it is to be remembered, that even his fidelity and exactness as an historian, on this subject, do not by any means stand unimpeached. To attempt to enter into any detail of the controversies which this part of the work has excited, would



would be as impertinent on an occasion like the present, as it must be limited and unsatisfactory; but we should feel ourselves wanting to what we have the happiness to consider as the truth, if, with our general hearty approbation of this work at large, we did not as plainly and as heartily condemn those particular parts of it, which wantonly attempt to throw doubts and clouds over the brightest prospect to which our mind can look forward, and which thus cruelly would deprive us of "what not enriches him, but "makes us poor indeed."—But to quit this ungrateful part of our task, the only part indeed from which we have not received the highest satisfaction, we shall proceed now immediately to the second volume, which includes the space of time that elapsed between the foundation of Constantinople, and the unexpected exaltation of Theodosius to the purple of the Eastern empire. In the three first chapters of this volume, we find an account of the situation and of the progress of this new capital; a detail of the political system established in it by Constantine and his successors; and are then carried on to the division of the empire among the three sons of Constantine, which was soon terminated by the tragical deaths of Constantine and Constans, when the divided provinces were again united under the government of Constantius. The elevation and subsequent disgrace and death of Gallus, with the elevation of Julian to the rank of Cæsar, and his campaigns in Gaul and Germany, fill up the remainder of this chapter. Having already given our opinion of the

spirit by which that part of this history is animated, which relates to the establishment and progress of Christianity, we shall make no apology for not entering into any particular account of the two next chapters, as they are taken up entirely by the motives, &c. of the conversion of Constantine, a detail of the first legal establishment of the Christian church, and of the principal heresies which first appeared in it, particularly that of Arius. The reign of Julian, with his artful persecution of the Christians, and his expedition against Persia, which terminated in his death, and was followed by the retreat of the Roman army under the conduct of Jovian, fill up the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth chapters: and in the two remaining ones, our attention is principally attracted, after the death of Jovian, by the reign of Valentinian, and his brother Valens; a dissertation on the manners of pastoral nations, with some account of the progress and decline of the Huns; their union with the Goths; the fatal battle of Hadrianople, and the final establishment and settlement of the Goths in Thrace and in Asia, under the reign of Theodosius, and in consequence of a treaty made with that emperor.—With respect to the circumstances attending the division of the empire, our author thus expresses himself\*:—"Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the Empire. All ranks of subjects who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public

\* Chap. xxv. Page 488. Vol. II.

"accusations. The silence of man-  
 "kind attested the spotless inte-  
 "grity of the præfect Sallust; and  
 "his own pressing solicitations that  
 "he might be permitted to retire  
 "from the business of the state,  
 "were rejected by Valentinian  
 "with the most honourable expres-  
 "sions of friendship and esteem.  
 "But among the favourites of the  
 "late emperor, there were many  
 "who had abused his credulity or  
 "superstition; and who could no  
 "longer hope to be protected either  
 "by favour or justice. The greater  
 "part of the ministers of the pa-  
 "lace, and the governors of the  
 "provinces, were removed from  
 "their respective stations; yet the  
 "eminent merit of some officers  
 "was distinguished from the ob-  
 "noxious crowd; and, notwithstand-  
 "ing the opposite clamours of zeal  
 "and resentment, the whole pro-  
 "ceedings of this delicate enquiry  
 "appear to have been conducted  
 "with a reasonable share of wisdom  
 "and moderation. The festivity  
 "of a new reign received a short  
 "and suspicious interruption from  
 "the sudden illness of the two  
 "princes; but, as soon as their  
 "health was restored, they left  
 "Constantinople, in the beginning  
 "of the spring. In the castle or  
 "palace of Mediana, only three  
 "miles from Naissus, they executed  
 "the solemn and final division of  
 "the Roman Empire. Valenti-  
 "nian bestowed on his brother the  
 "rich præfecture of the East, from  
 "the Lower Danube to the confines  
 "of Persia; whilst he reserved for  
 "his immediate government the  
 "warlike præfectures of Illyricum,  
 "Italy, and Gaul, from the ex-  
 "tremity of Greece to the Cale-

"donian rampart; and from the  
 "rampart of Caledonia to the foot  
 "of Mount Atlas. The provin-  
 "cial administration remained on  
 "its former basis; but a double  
 "supply of generals and magis-  
 "trates was required for two coun-  
 "cils and two courts. The division  
 "was made with a just regard to  
 "their peculiar merit and situation,  
 "and seven master generals were  
 "soon created, either of the ca-  
 "valry or infantry. When this  
 "important business had been ami-  
 "cably transacted, Valentinian and  
 "Valens embraced for the last time.  
 "The emperor of the West esta-  
 "blished his temporary residence at  
 "Milan, and the emperor of the  
 "East returned to Constantinople,  
 "to assume the dominion of fifty  
 "provinces, of whose language he  
 "was totally ignorant."

In the third volume, we are con-  
 ducted from the death of Gratian to  
 the final extinction of the Roman  
 empire in the West, under Augus-  
 tulus, comprehending a period of  
 about ninety-six years, that is, from  
 383 to 479.—Among the many in-  
 teresting parts of this picture, those  
 which strike us most forcibly, are  
 the different invasions of the Ro-  
 man provinces, and the ravages  
 committed in them by the Goths,  
 Huns, and Vandals, under Alaric,  
 Attila, and Genseric, till at last the  
 patient Romans were prepared to  
 acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer  
 and his Barbaric successors.

The miserable state of Italy at  
 this period, is thus represented by  
 our author, and exhibits a sad con-  
 trast, when compared with the ve-  
 ry different scenes it presented in  
 the better ages of the Roman em-  
 pire.

"Notwith-

“ \* Notwithstanding the prudence  
 “ and success of Odoacer, his king-  
 “ dom exhibited the sad prospect  
 “ of misery and desolation. Since  
 “ the age of Tiberius, the decay of  
 “ agriculture had been felt in Italy;  
 “ and it was a just subject of com-  
 “ plaint, that the life of the Roman  
 “ people depended on the acci-  
 “ dents of the winds and the waves.  
 “ In the division and the decline  
 “ of the empire, the tributary har-  
 “ vests of Egypt and Africa were  
 “ withdrawn; the numbers of the  
 “ inhabitants continually diminish-  
 “ ed with the means of subsistence,  
 “ and the country was exhausted by  
 “ the irretrievable losses of war,  
 “ famine, and pestilence. St. Am-  
 “ brose has deplored the ruin of a  
 “ populous district, which had been  
 “ once adorned with the flourishing  
 “ cities of Bologna, Modena, Re-  
 “ gium, and Placentia. Pope Ge-  
 “ lasius was a subject of Odoacer,  
 “ and he affirms, with strong exag-  
 “ geration, that in Æmilia, Tus-  
 “ cany, and the adjacent provinces,  
 “ the human species was almost  
 “ extirpated. The Plebeians of  
 “ Rome, who were fed by the hands  
 “ of their master, perished or dis-  
 “ appeared as soon as his liberality  
 “ was suppressed; the decline of  
 “ the arts reduced the industrious  
 “ mechanic to idleness and want;  
 “ and the senators, who might sup-  
 “ port with patience the ruin of  
 “ their country, bewailed their pri-  
 “ vate loss of wealth and luxury.  
 “ One third of those ample estates  
 “ to which the ruin of Italy is ori-  
 “ ginally imputed, was extorted for  
 “ the use of the conquerors. In-  
 “ juries were aggravated by in-  
 “ sults; the sense of actual suffer-

“ ings was embittered by the fear  
 “ of more dreadful evils; and, as  
 “ new lands were allotted to new  
 “ swarms of Barbarians, each se-  
 “ nator was apprehensive lest the  
 “ arbitrary surveyors should ap-  
 “ proach his favourite villa, or his  
 “ most profitable farm. The least  
 “ unfortunate were those who sub-  
 “ mitted without a murmur, to the  
 “ power which it was impossible to  
 “ resist. Since they desired to live,  
 “ they owed some gratitude to the  
 “ tyrant who had spared their lives;  
 “ and, since he was the absolute  
 “ master of their fortunes, the por-  
 “ tion which he left must be ac-  
 “ cepted as his pure and voluntary  
 “ gift. The distress of Italy was  
 “ mitigated by the prudence and  
 “ humanity of Odoacer, who had  
 “ bound himself, at the price of his  
 “ elevation, to satisfy the demands  
 “ of a licentious and turbulent mul-  
 “ titude. The kings of the Bar-  
 “ barians were frequently resisted,  
 “ deposed, or murdered by their  
 “ native subjects; and the various  
 “ bands of Italian mercenaries, who  
 “ associated under the standard of  
 “ an elective general, claimed a  
 “ larger privilege of freedom and  
 “ rapine. A monarchy, destitute  
 “ of national union, and hereditary  
 “ right, hastened to its dissolution.  
 “ After a reign of fourteen years,  
 “ Odoacer was oppressed by the su-  
 “ perior genius of Theodoric king  
 “ of the Ostrogoths; a hero, alike  
 “ excellent in the arts of war and  
 “ of government, who restored an  
 “ age of peace and prosperity, and  
 “ whose name still excites and de-  
 “ serves the attention of mankind.”  
 An account of Theodoric, with the  
 history of his invasion and conquest

of Italy, form the principal objects of the thirty-ninth chapter of this work, and the first of the fourth volume. The remaining part of the volume, consisting in the whole of nine chapters, contains not only the continuation of the history of the Roman empire, but also a minute account of the state of the Barbaric world, and of the kingdom of Persia, under the reigns of Nushirvan or Chosroes, and his grandson Chosroes the second; "by whose ambition," as our author observes, "the revolution of the East was prepared, which was speedily accomplished by the arms and the religion of the successors of Mahomet."

Of what relates more immediately to the Roman empire, the reign of Justinian forms both the most considerable and the most interesting portion; and a whole chapter is allotted to give us an idea of the Roman system of jurisprudence, from the age of Romulus to that of Justinian. It is almost unnecessary, we are persuaded, to inform our readers, that this chapter, both from the importance of the subject, and the manner in which that subject is treated, is most particularly worthy of their attention. The laws of a nation form always the most interesting portion of its history, and every reader will undoubtedly rejoice with us, that Mr. Gibbon, though "he had devoted himself to write the annals of a declining monarchy, did not neglect this occasion to breathe the pure and invigorating air of the republic."

Of the fifth and sixth volumes, Mr. Gibbon himself has favoured us with the following abstract:—"The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned

"at Constantinople during a period of six hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: a rapid abstract, which may be supported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this introduction I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various arguments of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the Barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the East, and enlightened the West, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these enquiries must be postponed till our farther progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian æra. After this foundation of the Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connection with the Roman world, and the present age. I. The Franks; a general appellation which includes all the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne."



"magne. The persecution of ima-  
 "ges and their votaries, separated  
 "Rome and Italy from the Byzan-  
 "tine throne, and prepared the re-  
 "storation of the Roman empire  
 "in the West. II. The Arabs or  
 "Saracens; three ample chapters  
 "will be devoted to this curious  
 "and interesting object. In the  
 "first, after a picture of the coun-  
 "try and its inhabitants, I shall  
 "investigate the character of Ma-  
 "homet; the character, religion,  
 "and success of the prophet. In  
 "the second, I shall lead the A-  
 "rabs to the conquest of Syria,  
 "Egypt, and Africa, the provinces  
 "of the Roman empire: nor can  
 "I check their victorious career,  
 "till they have overthrown the  
 "monarchies of Persia and Spain:  
 "In the third, I shall enquire how  
 "Constantinople and Europe were  
 "saved by the luxury and arts,  
 "the division and decay, of the  
 "empire of the Caliphs. A single  
 "chapter will include, III. the Bul-  
 "garians; IV. Hungarians; and  
 "V. Russians, who assaulted by sea  
 "or by land the provinces and the  
 "capital; but the last of these, so  
 "important in their present great-  
 "ness, will excite some curiosity  
 "in their origin and infancy. VI.  
 "The Normans, or rather the pri-  
 "vate adventurers of that warlike  
 "people, who founded a powerful  
 "kingdom in Apulia and Sicily,  
 "shook the throne of Constanti-  
 "nople, displayed the trophies of  
 "chivalry, and almost realized the  
 "wonders of romance. VII. The  
 "Latins; the subjects of the Pope,  
 "the nations of the West, who en-  
 "listed under the banner of the  
 "Cross for the recovery or relief of  
 "the holy sepulchre. The Greek  
 "emperors were terrified, and pre-

"served by the myriads of pilgrims  
 "who marched to Jerusalem with  
 "Godfrey of Bouillon, and the  
 "peers of Christendom. The se-  
 "cond and third Crusades trode in  
 "the footsteps of the first. Asia  
 "and Europe were mingled in a  
 "sacred war of two hundred years,  
 "and the Christian powers were  
 "bravely resisted, and finally ex-  
 "pelled, by Saladin and the Ma-  
 "malukes of Egypt. In these me-  
 "morable crusades, a fleet and army  
 "of French and Venetians were  
 "diverted from Syria to the Thra-  
 "cian Bosphorus: they assaulted  
 "the capital; they subverted the  
 "Greek monarchy; and a dynasty  
 "of Latin princes was seated near  
 "threescore years on the throne of  
 "Constantine. VIII. The Greeks  
 "themselves, during this period of  
 "captivity and exile, must be con-  
 "sidered as a foreign nation; the  
 "enemies, and again the sovereigns  
 "of Constantinople. Misfortune  
 "had rekindled a spark of national  
 "virtue, and the imperial series  
 "may be continued with some dig-  
 "nity from their restoration to the  
 "Turkish conquest. IX. The Mo-  
 "guls and Tartars. By the arms  
 "of Zingis and his descendants,  
 "the globe was shaken from China  
 "to Poland and Greece; the Sul-  
 "tans were overthrown; the Ca-  
 "liphs fell; and the Cæsars trem-  
 "bled on their throne. The vic-  
 "tories of Timour suspended above  
 "fifty years the final ruin of the  
 "Byzantine empire. X. I have  
 "already noticed the first appear-  
 "ance of the Turks; and the names  
 "of the fathers, of Seljick and  
 "Othman, discriminate the two  
 "successive dynasties of the nation,  
 "which emerged, in the eleventh  
 "century, from the Scythian wilder-  
 "ness.

“ nefs. The former established a  
 “ potent and splendid kingdom  
 “ from the banks of the Oxus to  
 “ Antioch and Nice; and the first  
 “ crusade was provoked by the vio-  
 “ lation of Jerusalem, and the dan-  
 “ ger of Constantinople. From  
 “ an humble origin, the Ottomans  
 “ arose the scourge and terror of  
 “ Christendom. Constantinople was  
 “ besieged and taken by Maho-  
 “ met II. and his triumph annihi-  
 “ lates the remnant, the image,  
 “ the title of the Roman empire  
 “ in the East. The schism of the  
 “ Greeks will be connected with  
 “ their last calamities, and the re-  
 “ storation of learning in the  
 “ Western world. I shall return  
 “ from the captivity of the new to  
 “ the ruins of ancient Rome: and  
 “ the venerable name, the interest-  
 “ ing theme, will shed a ray of glo-  
 “ ry on the conclusion of my la-  
 “ bours.”

To this brief account of this celebrated work, and of the manner in which it has been arranged, we shall only add a few observations on the style, which has long been the subject of much discussion, and which has been as highly extolled by some people as it has been severely criticised and condemned by others. To us it appears, we will not scruple to confess, that the only reasonable objection is, that it is not *English* enough, (if we may be allowed the expression); but whether this has proceeded from affectation on the part of Mr. Gibbon, or has been merely the effect of a constant intercourse with French books, and a familiar and frequent use of the French language, we will by no means take upon our-

selves to ascertain. In justice, however, we feel ourselves bound to remark, that much greater allowances are to be made for this last circumstance than many of our readers may perhaps be aware of; and that in this, as in most other instances, we have but too often reason to regret the limited state of our faculties, which seldom permits us to make any great acquisition whatever, but at the expence of something already in our possession. That Mr. Gibbon's style is both dignified and harmonious, and that it abounds in the most varied and elegant turns of expression, has been universally allowed; and if, in the course of so long a work, he may be occasionally reproached with some incorrectness and obscurity, we confess that, in our opinion, the beauties of the style often overbalance so much the defects of it, that though we would not venture to recommend it as a model without fault, yet we do not hesitate to say, that from the study of it both much pleasure and much profit is to be derived.

The following extract from the General Observations on the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, which are to be found at the end of the third volume, is, in our opinion, particularly interesting.

“ \* This awful revolution may be  
 “ usefully applied to the instruction  
 “ of the present age. It is the  
 “ duty of a patriot to prefer and pro-  
 “ mote the exclusive interest and  
 “ glory of his native country: but  
 “ a philosopher may be permitted  
 “ to enlarge his views, and to con-  
 “ sider Europe as one great repub-  
 “ lic, whose various inhabitants

" have attained almost the same  
 " level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will  
 " continue to fluctuate, and the  
 " prosperity of our own or of the  
 " neighbouring kingdoms, may be  
 " alternately exalted or depressed;  
 " but these partial events cannot  
 " essentially injure our general  
 " state of happiness, the system of  
 " arts, and laws and manners,  
 " which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind,  
 " the Europeans and their colonies.  
 " The savage nations of the globe  
 " are the common enemies of civilised society; and we may enquire,  
 " with anxious curiosity, whether  
 " Europe is still threatened with a  
 " repetition of those calamities,  
 " which formerly oppressed the  
 " arms and institution of Rome.  
 " Perhaps the same reflections will  
 " illustrate the fall of that mighty  
 " empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

" I. The Romans were ignorant  
 " of the extent of their danger and  
 " the number of their enemies.  
 " Beyond the Rhine and the Danube, the northern countries of  
 " Europe and Asia were filled with  
 " innumerable tribes of hunters  
 " and shepherds, poor, voracious,  
 " and turbulent; bold in arms and  
 " impatient to ravish the fruits of  
 " industry. The barbarian world  
 " was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of  
 " Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The  
 " Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march  
 " towards the west; and the torrent was swelled by the gradual  
 " accession of captives and allies.  
 " The flying tribes, who yielded

" to the Huns, assumed in *their*  
 " turn the spirit of conquest; the  
 " endless column of barbarians  
 " pressed on the Roman empire  
 " with accumulated weight; and  
 " if the foremost were destroyed,  
 " the vacant space was instantly  
 " replenished by new assailants.  
 " Such formidable emigrations no  
 " longer issue from the north; and  
 " the long repose which has been  
 " imputed to the decrease of population is the happy consequence  
 " of the progress of arts and agriculture. Instead of some rude  
 " villages, thinly scattered among  
 " its woods and morasses, Germany  
 " now produces a list of two thousand three hundred walled towns;  
 " the Christian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland have  
 " been successively established;  
 " and the Hanse merchants, with  
 " the Teutonic knights, have extended their colonies along the  
 " coast of the Baltic, as far as the  
 " Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf  
 " of Finland to the Eastern Ocean,  
 " Russia now assumes the form of a  
 " powerful and civilised empire.  
 " The plough, the loom, and the  
 " forge are introduced on the  
 " banks of the Volga, the Oby,  
 " and the Lena; and the fiercest  
 " of the Tartar hords have been taught  
 " to tremble and obey. The reign  
 " of independent barbarism is now  
 " contracted to a narrow span;  
 " and the remnant of Calmucks or  
 " Uzbeks, whose forces may be almost numbered, cannot seriously  
 " excite the apprehensions of the  
 " great republic of Europe. Yet  
 " this apparent security should not  
 " tempt us to forget, that new enemies and unknown dangers may  
 " *possibly* arise, from some obscure people, scarcely visible in  
 the

“ the map of the world. The  
 “ Arabs or Saracens, who spread  
 “ their conquests from India to  
 “ Spain, had languished in pover-  
 “ ty and contempt, till Mahomet  
 “ breathed into those savage bodies  
 “ the soul of enthusiasm.

“ II. The empire of Rome was  
 “ firmly established by the singular  
 “ and perfect coalition of its mem-  
 “ bers. The subject nations, re-  
 “ signing the hope, and even the  
 “ wish, of independence, embraced  
 “ the character of Roman citizens ;  
 “ and the provinces of the west were  
 “ reluctantly torn by the Barbarians  
 “ from the bosom of their mother  
 “ country. But this union was pur-  
 “ chased by the loss of national free-  
 “ dom and military spirit ; and the  
 “ servile provinces, destitute of life  
 “ and motion, expected their safe-  
 “ ty from the mercenary troops  
 “ and governors who were directed  
 “ by the orders of a distant court.  
 “ The happiness of an hundred  
 “ millions depended on the per-  
 “ sonal merit of one or two men,  
 “ perhaps children, whose minds  
 “ were corrupted by education,  
 “ luxury, and despotic power. The  
 “ deepest wounds were inflicted on  
 “ the empire during the minorities  
 “ of the sons and grandsons of  
 “ Theodosius ; and, after those in-  
 “ capable princes seemed to attain  
 “ the age of manhood, they aban-  
 “ doned the church to the bishops,  
 “ the state to the eunuchs, and the  
 “ provinces to the Barbarians. Eu-  
 “ rope is now divided into twelve  
 “ powerful, though unequal king-  
 “ doms, three respectable common-  
 “ wealths, and a variety of smaller  
 “ though independent states : the  
 “ chances of royal and ministerial  
 “ talents are multiplied, at least,  
 “ with the number of its rulers :

“ and a Julian or Semiramis may  
 “ reign in the North, while Ar-  
 “ cadius and Honorius slumber on  
 “ the thrones of the house of Bour-  
 “ bon. The abuses of tyranny are  
 “ restrained by the mutual influ-  
 “ ence of fear and shame ; repub-  
 “ lics have acquired order and sta-  
 “ bility ; monarchies have imbibed  
 “ the principles of freedom, or at  
 “ least of moderation ; and some  
 “ sense of honour and justice is in-  
 “ troduced into the most defective  
 “ constitutions by the general man-  
 “ ners of the times. In peace, the  
 “ progress of knowledge and in-  
 “ dustry is accelerated by the emu-  
 “ lation of so many active rivals :  
 “ in war, the European forces are  
 “ exercised by temperate and un-  
 “ decisive contests. If a savage  
 “ emperor should issue from the  
 “ desarts of Tartary, he must re-  
 “ peatedly vanquish the robust pea-  
 “ sants of Russia, the numerous  
 “ armies of Germany, the gallant  
 “ nobles of France, and the in-  
 “ trepid freemen of Britain, who,  
 “ perhaps, might confederate for  
 “ their common defence. Should  
 “ the victorious Barbarians carry  
 “ slavery and desolation as far as  
 “ the Atlantic ocean, ten thousand  
 “ vessels would transport beyond  
 “ their pursuit the remains of ci-  
 “ vilised society ; and Europe  
 “ would revive and flourish in the  
 “ American world, which is al-  
 “ ready filled with her colonies  
 “ and institutions.”

III. “ Cold, poverty, and a life  
 “ of danger and fatigue, fortify the  
 “ strength and courage of the Bar-  
 “ barians. In every age they have  
 “ oppressed the polite and peace-  
 “ ful nations of China, India, and  
 “ Persia, who neglected and still  
 “ neglect to counterbalance these  
 “ natural



“ natural powers by the resources  
 “ of military art. The warlike  
 “ states of antiquity, Greece, Ma-  
 “ cedonia, and Rome, educated a  
 “ race of soldiers, exercised their  
 “ bodies, disciplined their courage,  
 “ multiplied their forces by regular  
 “ evolutions, and converted the  
 “ iron, which they possessed, into  
 “ strong and serviceable weapons.  
 “ But this superiority insensibly de-  
 “ clined with their laws and man-  
 “ ners; and the feeble policy of  
 “ Constantine and his successors  
 “ armed and instructed, for the ruin  
 “ of the empire, the rude valour of  
 “ the Barbarian mercenaries. The  
 “ military art has been changed by  
 “ the invention of gunpowder, which  
 “ enables man to command the  
 “ two most powerful agents of na-  
 “ ture, air and fire. Mathema-  
 “ tics, chymistry, mechanics, archi-  
 “ tecture, have been applied to the  
 “ service of war; and the adverse  
 “ parties oppose to each other the  
 “ most elaborate modes of attack  
 “ and defence. Historians may in-  
 “ dignantly observe, that the pre-  
 “ parations of a siege would found  
 “ and maintain a flourishing colo-  
 “ ny; yet we cannot be displeased,  
 “ that the subversion of a city  
 “ should be a work of cost and dif-  
 “ ficulty; or that an industrious  
 “ people should be protected by  
 “ those arts, which survive and sup-  
 “ ply the decay of military virtue.  
 “ Cannon and fortifications now  
 “ form an impregnable barrier a-  
 “ gainst the Tartar horse; and Eu-  
 “ rope is secure from any future ir-  
 “ ruption of Barbarians, since, be-  
 “ fore they can conquer, they must  
 “ cease to be barbarous. Their  
 “ gradual advances in the science  
 “ of war would always be accom-  
 “ panied, as we may learn from

“ the example of Russia, with a  
 “ proportionable improvement in  
 “ the arts of peace and civil policy;  
 “ and they themselves must deserve  
 “ a place among the polished na-  
 “ tions whom they subdue.”

“ Should these speculations be  
 “ found doubtful or fallacious, there  
 “ still remains a more humble source  
 “ of comfort and hope. The dis-  
 “ coveries of ancient and modern  
 “ navigators, and the domestic his-  
 “ tory or tradition of the most en-  
 “ lightened nations, represent the  
 “ *human savage*, naked both in  
 “ mind and body, and destitute of  
 “ laws, of arts, of ideas, and al-  
 “ most of language. From this  
 “ abject condition, perhaps the pri-  
 “ mitive and universal state of man,  
 “ he has gradually arisen to com-  
 “ mand the animals, to fertilise the  
 “ earth, to traverse the ocean, and  
 “ to measure the heavens. His pro-  
 “ gress in the improvement and  
 “ exercise of his mental and cor-  
 “ poreal faculties has been irre-  
 “ gular and various; infinitely slow  
 “ in the beginning, and increasing  
 “ by degrees with redoubled velo-  
 “ city: ages of laborious ascent  
 “ have been followed by a moment  
 “ of rapid downfall; and the se-  
 “ veral climates of the globe have  
 “ felt the vicissitudes of light and  
 “ darkness. Yet the experience  
 “ of four thousand years should en-  
 “ large our hopes and diminish our  
 “ apprehensions: we cannot deter-  
 “ mine to what height the human  
 “ species may aspire in their ad-  
 “ vances towards perfection; but  
 “ it may safely be presumed, that  
 “ no people, unless the face of na-  
 “ ture is changed, will relapse into  
 “ their original barbarism. The  
 “ improvements of society may be  
 “ viewed under a threefold aspect:  
 “ 1. The

“ 1. The poet or philosopher illust-  
 “ trates his age or country by the  
 “ efforts of a *single* mind; but these  
 “ superior powers of reason or fancy  
 “ are rare and spontaneous produc-  
 “ tions; and the genius of Homer,  
 “ or Cicero, or Newton, would ex-  
 “ cite less admiration, if they could  
 “ be created by the will of a prince,  
 “ or the lessons of a preceptor. 2.  
 “ The benefits of law and policy,  
 “ of trade and manufactures, of arts  
 “ and sciences, are more solid and  
 “ permanent; and *many* individu-  
 “ als may be qualified, by education  
 “ and discipline, to promote, in their  
 “ respective stations, the interest of  
 “ the community. But this gene-  
 “ ral order is the effect of skill and  
 “ labour; and the complex machi-  
 “ nery may be decayed by time, or  
 “ injured by violence. 3. Fortu-  
 “ nately for mankind, the more  
 “ useful, or, at least, more necessary  
 “ arts, can be performed without  
 “ superior talents or national sub-  
 “ ordination, without the powers of  
 “ *one*, or the union of *many*. Each  
 “ village, each family, each indi-  
 “ vidual, must always possess both  
 “ ability and inclination to perpe-  
 “ tuate the use of fire and of metals;  
 “ the propagation and service of  
 “ domestic animals; the methods  
 “ of hunting and fishing; the rudi-  
 “ ments of navigation; the imper-  
 “ fect cultivation of corn or other  
 “ nutritive grain; and the simple  
 “ practice of the mechanic trades.  
 “ Private genius and public indus-  
 “ try may be extirpated; but these  
 “ hardy plants survive the tempest,  
 “ and strike an everlasting root into  
 “ the most unfavourable soil. The  
 “ splendid days of Augustus and  
 “ Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud  
 “ of ignorance; and the Barbarians  
 “ subverted the laws and palaces of

“ Rome. But the scythe, the in-  
 “ vention or emblem of Saturn, still  
 “ continued annually to mow the  
 “ harvests of Italy; and the human  
 “ feasts of the Læstrigons have ne-  
 “ ver been renewed on the coast of  
 “ Campania.

“ Since the first discovery of the  
 “ arts, war, commerce, and reli-  
 “ gious zeal have diffused, among  
 “ the savages of the old and new  
 “ world, those inestimable gifts;  
 “ they have been sufficiently pro-  
 “ pagated; they can never be lost.  
 “ We may therefore acquiesce in  
 “ the pleasing conclusion, that every  
 “ age of the world has increased,  
 “ and still increases, the real wealth,  
 “ the happiness, the knowledge,  
 “ and perhaps the virtue, of the hu-  
 “ man race.”

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*Memoirs of Great Britain and Ire-  
 land, from the Battle off La Hogue  
 till the Capture of the French and  
 Spanish Fleets, at Vigo: by Sir  
 John Dalrymple, Bart. Baron of  
 Exchequer in Scotland. Volume  
 the Second.*

THE publication of the second  
 volume of these interesting  
 memoirs has been delayed (as the  
 author informs his readers in the  
 preface) near fourteen years, partly  
 through the disgust he conceived at  
 having been charged with forging  
 the vouchers, upon which they are  
 principally founded, and partly upon  
 account of the uneasiness which he  
 found his discoveries had created  
 in families, with whom he lived in  
 friendship. These causes would prob-  
 ably have occasioned the total sup-  
 pression of this work, at least dur-  
 ing the life-time of the author, if  
 the advantages, which he conceived  
 his

his country might derive from his labours, in a late critical conjuncture of public affairs, had not overcome the former, and induced him to publish this fragment. And we cannot help expressing our wishes, that as the state papers published by Mr. Macpherson, must render all delicacy, with respect to the latter, vain and unnecessary, he will not deprive the world of what still remains behind of his valuable researches.

The present volume contains the history of a period of ten years preceding the second year of the reign of queen Ann. The impolicy of our engaging in continental wars, is a favourite opinion of the author's, to which he wishes particularly to call the attention of this country, and which he conceives to be strongly established by the events of this period. Amongst other facts, by which this opinion is corroborated, he states, that during the war in which the first grand alliance involved us, it was computed, that fifteen hundred English ships were taken, valued at three millions sterling. Several of the misfortunes of this war, the reader will find traced to their origin in the treachery of persons of the first distinction in this country, both in and out of public employment; together with many curious, but humiliating anecdotes respecting that universal corruption which appears to have infected, almost without exception, all the conspicuous members of the state.

Amongst the transactions which have been imperfectly related by former historians, which the researches of our author have enabled him fully to elucidate, the origin and fate of the Darien company are

singularly interesting. The following extract, which contains an account of the first attempt to form a settlement upon that isthmus, cannot fail to excite the curiosity of the reader to peruse the history at large.

“ The peace of Ryswic was succeeded by an event, which had well nigh created a civil war between Scotland and England. As the writers of no nation are more marked by grandeur and meanness of composition in the same person, and the actors in public life by grandeur and meanness of character in the same person, than those of England; so the proceedings of the national assembly of England, the noblest that ever was on earth, except that of Rome, are often tinged with a strange mixture of the great and the little. Of this truth an instance appeared at this time in the proceedings of parliament, with regard to the Scots colony of Darien settled by Mr. Paterfon; of which colony I proceed to give an account more authentic than has hitherto met the public eye, because I have had access to the papers of the company, some of which are in the Advocates library, and others in the exchequer at Edinburgh, and to the family papers of many who were the chief actors in the company's affairs.

The birth of Paterfon is unknown. It is probable he had education, because he expressed himself well in writing, and had a good address. He was bred to the church; but having a violent propensity to see foreign countries, he made his profession the instrument of indulging it, by going to the new western world, under pretence

of converting the Indians to the religion of the old world. In his courses there, he became acquainted with captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards published, the one his voyages, and the other his travels, in the regions where the separation is narrowest between the Atlantic and the South Seas, and both of whom, particularly the first, appear by their books to have been men of considerable observation. But he got much more knowledge from men who could neither write nor read, by cultivating the acquaintance of some of the old Buccaneers, who, after surviving their glories and their crimes, still, in the extremity of age and misfortune, recounted with transport the ease with which they had passed and repassed from the one sea to the other, sometimes in hundreds together, and driving strings of mules before them loaded with the plunder of friends and of foes. Paterfon having examined the places, satisfied himself, that on the isthmus of Darien there was a tract of country running across from the Atlantic to the South Sea, which the Spaniards had never possessed, and inhabited by a people continually at war with them; that along the coast, on the Atlantic side, there lay a string of islands called the Sambaloes, uninhabited, and full of natural strengths and forests; from which last circumstance, one of them was called the island of pines; that the seas there were filled with turtle, and the manatee or sea cow; that midway between Portobello and Carthagena, but near fifty leagues distant from either, at a place called Acta, in the mouth of the river of Darien, there was a natural harbour, capable of

receiving the greatest fleets, and defended from storms by other islands which covered the mouth of it, and from enemies by a promontory, which commanded the passage, and by hidden rocks in the passage itself; that on the other side of the isthmus, and in the same tract of country, there were natural harbours, equally capacious and well defended; that the two seas were connected by a ridge of hills, which, by their height, created a temperate climate in the midst of the most sultry latitudes, and were sheltered by forests, yet not rendered damp by them, because the trees grew at a distance from each other, having very little under-wood; that, contrary to the barren nature of hilly countries, the soil was of a black mould two or three feet deep, and producing spontaneously the fine tropical fruits, and plants, and roots, and herbs; that roads could be made with ease along the ridge, by which mules, and even carriages, might pass from the one sea to the other in the space of a day, and that consequently this passage seemed to be pointed out by the finger of nature, as a common center, to connect together the trade and intercourse of the universe."

"By this obscure Scotsman a project was formed to settle, on this neglected spot, a great and powerful colony, not as other colonies have for the most part been settled, by chance, and unprotected by the country from whence they went, but by system, upon foresight, and to receive the ample protection of those governments to whom he was to offer his project. And certainly no greater idea has been formed since the time of Columbus.

I should do injustice to the ideas which



which swelled in Mr. Paterson's mind, if I expressed them in any other words than his own. In one of his letters to the Darien company, he says, "The time and expence of navigation to China, Japan, the spice-islands, and the far greatest parte of the East Indies, will be lessend more then half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled. — Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with any thing of a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being lyable to the fatigues, expences, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Cæsar. In all our empires that have been any thing universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet, is such, as can much more effectually bring empire home to its proprietors doors.

"But from what hath been said you may easily perceive, that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people, with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case of Spain and Portugall; who, by their prohibiting

"any other people to trade, or so much as goe to, or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and ruined their countries therewith; so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugall, then they have conquered the Indies: for, by their permitting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to these remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing: thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countrys, and yet not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation; and, in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world, than ever they did; or possibly could have done, by the sword."

Paterson's original intention was to offer his project to England, as the country which had the most interest in it, not only from the benefit, common to all nations of shortening the length of voyages to the East Indies, but by the effect which it would have had to connect the interests of her European, West-Indian, American, African, and East-Indian trade. For the English ships, which, for the most part, go with half a cargo to the West Indies and America, would then have

carried another half outwards to the isthmus, to be transported from thence to the East. The ships in the African trade, after selling their slaves, might have gone to the isthmus, and returned loaded with the produce of the East. The ships of the East India Company, which go, in a manner, without freight to the East Indies, would, after getting one freight to the port of the South sea from the India sea, have returned with another, to open a trade with the islands which lie between New Holland and India, if they kept near the line; and to increase the trade to China and India, according as they kept farther to the north of the line.

But Paterfon having few acquaintance, and no protection in London, thought of drawing the public eye upon him, and ingratiating himself with monied men, and with great men, by assisting them to model a project, which was at that time in embryo, for erecting the bank of England. But that happened to him, which has happened to many in his situation: the persons to whom he applied made use of his ideas, took the honour of them to themselves, were civil to him for a while, and neglected him afterwards. He therefore communicated his project of a colony only to a few persons in London, and these few discouraged him.

He was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drunk wine, and who was by nature void of passion; and therefore, as if nothing disagreeable had happened to him, he went to the continent, and by means of one Serrurier, whom he associated into his views, a Walloon banker, who spoke all languages, and could accommodate

himself to all men; he made offer of his project to the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and the elector of Brandenburg, because, by means of the passage of the Rhine and Elbe through their states, he thought, that the great additional quantities of East Indian and American goods, which his colony would bring into Europe, would be distributed through Germany. The Dutch and Hamburg merchants, who had most interest in the subject of his visit, heard him with indifference: the elector, who had very little interest in it, received him with honour and kindness. But court-arts and false reports lost him even that prince's favour.

Ingenious men draw to each other like iron and the loadstone: Paterfon, on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess; and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably a true one, that he was the person who persuaded Paterfon, to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger of it; for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist.

Although Fletcher, who had nothing to hope for and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, was of the country party; yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house in

East

East Lothian was near to that of the marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and therefore they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterfon down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the marquis, by arguments of public good, and of the honour which would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr. Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronised those abilities in Paterfon which they possessed in themselves; and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the prince of Orange's declaration at the Revolution, whose son was married to a niece of lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections. These persons, in June 1695, procured a statute from parliament, and afterwards a charter from the crown in terms of it, for creating a trading company to Africa and the new world, with power to plant colonies and build forts, with consent of the inhabitants, in places not possessed by other European nations.

Paterfon, now finding the ground firm under him, and that he was supported by almost all the power and talents of his country, the character of Fletcher, and the sanction of an act of parliament and royal charter, threw his project boldly upon the public, and opened a subscription for a company. The frenzy of the Scots nation to sign the solemn league and covenant, never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the peo-

ple, the royal burghs, without the exception of one, most of the other public bodies, subscribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock, widows sold their jointures to get the command of money for the same purpose. Almost in an instant £.400,000 were subscribed in Scotland, although it be now known, that there was not at that time above £.800,000 of cash in the kingdom. The famous Mr. Law, then a youth, afterwards confessed, that the facility with which he saw the passion of speculation communicate itself from all to all, satisfied him of the possibility of producing the same effect from the same cause, but upon a larger scale; when the duke of Orleans, in the year of the Mississippi, engaged him, against his will, to turn his bank into a bubble. Paterfon's project, which had been received by strangers with fears when opened to them in private, filled them with hopes when it came to them upon the wings of public fame: for colonel Erskine, son to lord Cardross, and Mr. Haldane of Gleneagles, the one a generous branch of a generous stem, and the other a country gentleman of fortune and character, having been deputed to receive subscriptions in England and on the continent, the English subscribed £.300,000, and the Dutch and Ham-burghers £.200,000 more.

In the original articles of the company it had been agreed, that Paterfon should get two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. on the profits; but when he saw the subscriptions so vast, he gave a discharge of both claims to the company; and in doing so, contrived to throw a grandeur of expression and sentiment, even into a law-re-

lease. "It was not," said he, "suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a consciousness that my services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in me, to ask a retribution for six years of my time, and £. 10,000 spent in promoting the establishment of the company. But now that I see it standing upon the authority of parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution, happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it."

In the mean time the jealousy of trade, which has done more mischief to the trade of England than all other causes put together, created an alarm in England; and the houses of lords and commons, without previous inquiry or reflection, on the 13th December of the year 1695, concurred in a joint address to the king, against the establishment of the Darien company, as detrimental to the interest of the East India Company. Soon after, the Commons impeached some of their own countrymen, for being instrumental in erecting the company; and also some of the Scots nation, one of whom was a peer, lord Belhaven; that is to say, they arraigned the subjects of another country, for making use of the laws of their own. Among six hundred legislators, not one had the happy ray of genius to propose a committee of both parliaments, to inquire into the principles and consequences of the establishment; and if these should, upon inquiry, be found good,

that the benefit of it should be communicated, by a participation of rights, to both nations. The king's answer was, "that he had been ill advised in Scotland." He soon after changed his Scottish ministers, and sent orders to his resident at Hamburgh to present a memorial to the senate, in which he disowned the company, and warned them against all connections with it. The senate sent the memorial to the assembly of merchants, who returned it with the following spirited answer. "We look upon it as a very strange thing, that the king of Britain should offer to hinder us, who are a free people, to trade with whom we please; but are amazed to think, that he would hinder us from joining with his own subjects in Scotland, to whom he had lately given such large privileges, by so solemn an act of parliament." But merchants, though mighty prone to passion, are easily intimidated; the Dutch, Hamburgh, and London merchants withdrew their subscriptions.

The Scots, not discouraged, were rather animated by this oppression; for they converted it into a proof of the envy of the English, and of their consciousness of the great advantages which were to flow to Scotland from the colony. The company proceeded to build six ships in Holland, from thirty-six to sixty guns, and they engaged twelve hundred men for the colony; among whom were younger sons of many of the noble and most ancient families of Scotland, and sixty officers who had been disbanded at the peace, who carried with them such of their private men, generally raised on their own, or the estates of their relations,




lations, as they knew to be faithful and brave; and most of these were Highlanders. The Scots parliament, on the 5th August 1698, unanimously addressed the king to support the company. The lord president, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, brother to lord Stair, and head of the bench, and the lord advocate, Sir James Stuart, head of the bar, jointly drew memorials to the king, able in point of argument, information, and arrangement, in which they defended the rights of the company, upon the principles of constitutional and of public law. And neighbouring nations, with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant, and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.

On the 26th day of July of the year 1698, the whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith, to see the colony depart, amidst the tears, and prayers, and praises of relations and friends, and of their countrymen. Many seamen and soldiers, whose services had been refused, because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions. Twelve hundred men failed in five stout ships, and arrived at Darien in two months, with the loss of only fifteen of their people. At that time it was in their power, most of whom were well born, and all of them hardily bred, and inured to the fatigues and dangers of the late war, to have gone from the northmost part of Mexico to the southmost of Chili, and to have overturned the whole empire of Spain

in the South Seas: but modest, respecting their own and their country's character, and afraid of being accused that they had plunder, and not a settlement in view, they began with purchasing lands from the natives, and sending messages of amity to the Spanish governors, within their reach. And then fixed their station at Acta, calling it New St. Andrew from the name of the tutelar saint of Scotland, and the country itself New Caledonia. One of the sides of the harbour being formed by a long narrow neck of land which ran into the sea, they cut it across, so as to join the ocean and the harbour. Within this defence they erected their fort, planting upon it fifty pieces of cannon. On the other side of the harbour, there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house, which, in the rarified air within the tropics, so favourable for vision, gave them an immense range of prospect, to prevent all surprise. To this place, it was observed, that the Highlanders often repaired, to enjoy a cool air, and to talk of their friends they had left behind in their hills, friends whose minds were as high as their mountains. The first public act of the colony was to publish a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations. This luminous idea originated with Paterson.

But the Dutch East India Company having pressed the King, in concurrence with his English subjects, to prevent the settlement of Darien, orders had been sent from England to the governors of the West Indian and American colonies, to issue proclamations against giving assistance, or even to hold correspondence with the colony;

and these were more or less harshly expressed, according to the tempers of the different governours. The Scots trusting to far different treatment, and to the supplies which they expected from those colonies, had not brought provisions enough with them; they fell into diseases, from bad food, and from want of food. But the more generous Savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow Britons refused. They lingered eight months, awaiting, but in vain, for assistance from Scotland, and almost all of them either died out, or quitted the settlement. Paterson, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien."



# THE C O N T E N T S.

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## HISTORY OF EUROPE.

### C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the year 1787, which led to, or preceded the rupture between the great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia. Ruined state of the Tartars. Sahim Guerai, their late khan, who had betrayed and sold his country to the Russians, flies from their dominion, and surrenders himself to the grand signior. Porte makes great preparations for war. Circular letter from the grand signior to the seven classes of the militia. Mauro Cordato, the hospodar of Moldavia, having escaped, under a charge of treason, into the Russian territories, is re-demanded by the Porte; but the court of Petersburg refuses to deliver him up, and treats the demand as an insult or injury. Captain Pacha recalled from Egypt, on account of the war, to the great prejudice of the empire. He returns, with great treasures for the public service, to Constantinople. Russian minister, on his return from Cherson, finds a total change in the countenance and disposition of the Porte, and a set of propositions, which he had left to be adopted as the basis of a new treaty between the two empires, are rejected with disdain. M. Bulgakow, the Russian minister, being summoned to a grand divan, is presented with a written instrument, containing a set of counter propositions, which he is required to sign directly, as the only alternative of immediate war. Spirited refusal of the Russian minister occasions his being committed prisoner to the castle of the Seven Towers. Declaration of war against Russia. Question of policy discussed, as to the propriety of the Porte's precipitating a war at this juncture. Astonishment of the court of Petersburg at this unexpected measure. Not prepared for immediate war. Long manifesto against the Turks. Russian ship of the line driven by tempest from*  
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## C O N T E N T S.

*the Black Sea into the harbour of Constantinople, and taken. Ill success of the Turks in the few attempts which they made, towards the close of the year, upon the new Russian frontiers. New prophet, Sheik Mansour, repeatedly defeated, and his partizans finally ruined, by prince Potemkin's army. Turkish vice-admiral, though a brave and able seaman, being prevented by the dissensions in his fleet from performing any of the actions that were expected, in the Black Sea, loses his head at his return. Brave garrison of Oczakow, after several gallant attempts to recover Kinburne, are so nearly cut off in their last attack, that Te Deum is sung for it at Petersburgh, as if it had been a great and decisive victory. Shabab Guerai appointed by the Porte khan of the Tartars. Deplorable state of that people. Unexampled depopulation of the Crimea. State of that beautiful peninsula. Natives sell their estates for any price they can procure, in order to abandon the country. A number of English, confiding in the faith of the empress, become purchasers, form settlements, and have already commenced great and expensive works for the cultivation and improvement of the country. Dictatorial powers granted by the grand signior to his minister and general, the grand vizir, in order to enable him to conduct the war with effect. Indian ambassador from Tippoo Saib treated with extraordinary honours and respect at Constantinople. Magnificent military spectacle exhibited by the grand vizir, in honour of the Indian embassy. Turkish ambassador at Spain magnificently received. Wavering and equivocal conduct of that court with respect to the war. Conduct of France with respect to the war: declares she cannot take any other part in it than as a mediator. Her minister to the Porte studiously endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between her and Russia, proposes a cessation of arms for three months, as indispensably necessary to afford time for negotiation; but the divan declare the proposal inadmissible, as being partially favourable to the enemy, and directly the reverse to them. Emperor of Germany declares his resolution to support his ally, Russia, with 80,000 men, being the force he was bound to furnish her with by treaty; but offered his mediation, merely to prevent the shedding of blood.*

[1

## C H A P. II.

*Emperor. Ineffectual attempt to surprize Belgrade. Similar attempt on Gradisca defeated. Austrians commence hostilities. War declared at Vienna. Court of Warsaw refuses a passage to the Imperial troops, in the pursuit of their military operations. Republic of Venice adheres inflexibly to her determination of not being drawn into the war, and of not lending one of her ports to the Russians for the use of their fleets. Probable motives for this conduct. Her final determination being communicated to the Emperor at Trieste, by a deputation of the senate, is by him highly rejected, and the deputies treated with extraordinary haughtiness. He opens a subscription for a large loan in the Low Countries, but with little success. Emperor joins the grand army on the Danube, and is present at the taking*



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*taking of Schabatz. Prince Lichtenstein's troops repulsed in their attempt to storm Dubicza; are attacked next day in their trenches; their works destroyed; and obliged to abandon the siege, and repass the Unna. Desperate valour displayed by the Turks in this campaign. Wise system adopted by the Grand Vizir in the conduct of the war. Wears out his enemy by continual attack, small action, and unremitting duty. Checks at Dubicza and other places, change the character of the war, which becomes defensive and languid on the Austrian side. Great dissatisfaction in the camps and at Vienna, increased by the tardiness of the Russians, whose junction had been long in vain expected. Not lessened by the innovations and reforms introduced by the Emperor. Prince of Cobourg repeatedly attacked with great fury by the Turks. Emperor prepares at length for the siege of Belgrade, which had been held out as the first object of the campaign. Collects a prodigious artillery, and throws three bridges over the Saave for that purpose. Grand Vizir, at the head of the grand Ottoman army, marches hastily from Silistria, to interrupt his design. Encamps in a most advantageous position on the Danube. Emperor breaks down his bridges, entrenches his troops, and adds new works to his already strong camp near Semlin. Sicknefs and a dreadful mortality, attended by a prodigious desertion in the Imperial armies. Three regiments drawn from Vienna, and 30,000 recruits hastily ordered to supply these losses. Prodigious waste of treasure and men in the course of the campaign. Recruits eagerly sought in all quarters. King of Sardinia forbids any to be raised in his dominions. Prince of Saxe Cobourg, being at length joined by a Russian body of forces under general Soltikow, they jointly commence the siege of Choczim. The town, magazines, and arsenal being destroyed, by a dreadful fire of artillery and bombs, the Serasquier is summoned to surrender, but refuses. Ruins of Choczim heroically defended by the gallant Serasquier and his intrepid garrison until the end of September. Grand Vizir lays bridges over the Danube at Cladova, and invades the Bannat of Temeswar. Defeat of the Austrians near Orsova. Continued losses and misfortunes. That fine country overrun and ruined. Rout of the Emperor's army on his retreat from Karansebes. Marshal Laudohn takes the command of the army in Croatia, where he reduces Dubicza and Novi, after most obstinate defences. Heavy rains, and the approach of winter, oblige the Grand Vizir to evacuate the Bannat. Emperor's return to Vienna, after writing a general letter to his army. Armistice concluded between the Austrian and Turkish commanders on the Danube. Manifesto issued by the Grand Signior, to encourage the Hungarians to shake off the Austrian yoke, occasioned the Emperor to promise them a restoration of their constitution and rights. Proceedings at Constantinople relative to the campaign, the evacuation of the Bannat, and the conduct of the Grand Vizir.*

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## C H A P. III.

*Preparations of Russia for conducting the war, directed to the side of the Black Sea. Supposed causes or motives for her failure of co-operation with the Austrians on the Danube. Powerful squadron equipped for the Mediterranean.*

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*terreanean. Light Squadron or flotilla, under the conduct of the Prince of Nassau, prepared on the Black Sea. Allied empires seem to have relied too much upon the supposed supineness of other powers, in the adoption of their present ambitious designs. General apparent disposition of the powers and states of Europe with respect to the war. Italian states. Spain. France. Northern powers. Holland. Prussia. England. Great disappointment to Russia, and check given to the Mediterranean expedition, through the declared neutrality of England and Holland, and the restraint laid upon its seamen and shipping from entering into foreign service by the former. Sixty British officers in the Russian naval service go in a body to lay down their commissions, upon the appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the fleet at Cronstadt. Thit adventurer sent to the Black Sea. Vast Russian army appears on the borders of the Bog. General Solitkoro marches to join the prince of Cobourg. Prince Potemkin advances to besiege Oczakow. Several engagements between the Russian and Turkish flotillas at the mouth of the Nieper, in which the latter are constantly defeated. Siege of Oczakow commenced; flotilla destroyed, and town bombarded by the Prince of Nassau. Unusual length of the siege and obstinacy of the defence. Winter approaches, and little progress yet made. Excessive coldness of the winter reduces the besiegers to great distress. Russian cavalry, incapable any longer of enduring the extremity of the weather, desert their infantry, and abandon the siege. Mutiny apprehended in the camp. Prince Potemkin, as the last resort, orders a general bombardment and cannonade with red-hot balls. Shell falls upon the grand powder magazine, which blows up with so terrible an explosion, as to destroy a great part of the wall. Long and bloody engagement in the streets and houses. Town taken with dreadful slaughter. Great designs of Russia against the Ottoman empire interrupted by the war with Sweden. Causes and motives which operated upon the Swedish sovereign in adopting that unexpected measure. Army sent to Finland: fleet sails from Carlskroon. Note presented by the Russian minister at Stockholm, greatly resented by the king. Answer to it. Circular note to the foreign ministers. Count Razamowski ordered to depart the kingdom. King proceeds to Finland. Hostilities commence. Russian manifesto. Severe naval action between the Russians and Swedes. Victory claimed on both sides. Great valour displayed by the Swedes, who were much inferior in force. Admiral Greig attacks the Swedes in the road of Sweaburg, and burns a ship of the line. Russians become masters of the midland seas within the Sound; take a Swedish flotilla laden with provisions for the fleet and army. Joy at Petersburg. Honours paid to admiral Greig. Empress writes a letter to him with her own hand. His death and pompous funeral. Delinquent officers, who had been sent home in irons for misbehaviour in the late sea fight, condemned for life to the galleys. Swedish manifesto. Great disappointments and mortifications experienced by the king, through the disaffection of the principal officers of the army, which renders the campaign ineffective on the side of Finland. Obligated to abandon the army to the care of his brother the duke of Ostrogothia, and to depart suddenly himself from Finland, in order to oppose the irruption of the Danes on the side of Norway.*

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## C H A P. IV.

*Causes of the early meeting of parliament declared in the king's speech; disputes in the United Provinces; intended interference of France; declaration of the court of Great Britain; treaty with Hesse Cassel; success of the Prussian forces; final accommodation. Speech of lord Fielding upon the works of Cherburgh; of Mr. Fox upon continental alliances; upon the dispositions of the French court; upon the subsidiary treaty; the increase of the army; and the appointment of admiral Pigot. Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Fox on those subjects. Speeches in the house of lords; of the bishop of Llandaff, upon our right of interference in Holland, and upon the balance of power; of lord Stormont, upon the same subject, and the negligence of ministers. Addresses in both houses, nem. con. State papers laid before parliament. Mr. Fox complains of the retention of the French notification; answered by Mr. Pitt; motion for an address for that paper negatived. Debate on the subsidiary treaty; objections of Mr. Fox; Mr. Pitt's defence. Opinion of Mr. Burke upon foreign alliances, and upon the merits of the treaty. Debate on the augmentation of the land forces; objected to by Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox; defended by Mr. Pitt. Debate on the ordnance estimates; on the plan of fortifying the West India islands; on the government manufacture of gunpowder; on the new corps of artificers. Account of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey in the seventh chapter.* [83

## C H A P. V.

*Case of the late promotion of officers to the flag; motion relative thereto, by lord Rawdon; defended by lord Howe, as expedient and agreeable to precedents; the motion supported by lord Hawke; objected to by the earl of Sandwich, on the general ground of inexpediency. His account of the establishment of the superannuated list; answered by lord Rawdon; motion rejected. Mr. Bastard's motion on the same subject in the house of commons; opposed by Mr. Beaufoyc and Mr. Pitt; different opinions of naval officers upon the subject; motion withdrawn. Second motion of Mr. Bastard, for a committee of enquiry; detail of the cases of the rejected captains; defence of the board of admiralty; the promotion defended by captain Berkeley; condemned by Mr. Fox; opinions of several military officers; of country gentlemen; charge of partiality against lord Howe; denied by his friends; motion rejected by a majority of only 16. Third motion, on the same subject, by Mr. Bastard; speakers in the debate; rejected by a majority of 49. Debates on the India declaratory bill; occasion of bringing in the bill; objected to, upon the general principles of declaratory bills, as unparliamentary, unjust, and as a dangerous precedent; motion for bringing in the bill defended by Mr. Pitt, on the plea of necessity; answered by Mr. Flood; India company heard by counsel on the second reading; bill opposed on two grounds; 1<sup>st</sup>, as not containing the true sense of the original act of 1784; 2<sup>dly</sup>, as vesting an arbitrary power* in

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*in the board of controul, and authorizing a measure injurious to the company; and dangerous to the constitution; defence of the bill against these objections; Mr. Pitt's conduct censured by several of his friends; motion for committing the bill carried by a majority of 125 to 182; bill re-committed and amended; debate on the third reading; names of speakers; passed by a majority of 54. Bill debated in the house of lords; speech of the marquis of Lansdown; passes by a majority of 71 to 28; protest entered.* [98]

## C H A P. VI.

*The clause in the mutiny bill, for incorporating in the army the new corps of military artificers, objected to in the house of commons, and carried upon a division. Debate upon the same in the house of lords. Duke of Richmond's account of the new-established corps; supported by lords Cathcart and Rawdon; opposed by the duke of Manchester, lords Portchester, and Carlisle. Debate on the bill for preventing the exportation of wool. Arguments adduced by the manufacturers in support of the bill; opposed by the country gentlemen. Speakers upon the question. Chancellor of the exchequer decides in favour of the bill; carried by a considerable majority. Budget opened. Flourishing state of the finances. Services voted; and the annual diminution of the national debt provided for without any additional tax. Progressive improvement of the revenues, and increase of commerce. State of the finances controverted by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. Further debate upon the report of the budget; remarks upon it by sir Grey Cooper. Bill for better regulating the trials of contested elections brought in by Mr. Grenville; objects of the bill; passed with general approbation. Motion by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the shop-tax. Additional arguments for the repeal; opposed by Mr. Pitt; rejected by a majority of 43. Particulars relating to the question of abolishing the slave-trade. Petitions presented against it. Committee of privy-council appointed to enquire into it. Motion by Mr. Pitt, that the house would take it into consideration early next session. Delay opposed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the reasons adduced by Mr. Pitt solemnly protested against. Bill proposed by sir W. Dolben, for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies; objects of the bill; opposed by the merchants of Liverpool and London. Counsel heard against the bill. Passes through both houses, and receives the royal assent. Compensation voted to the American loyalists; principles upon which it was to be apportioned, explained by Mr. Pitt. Case of Mr. Harford recommended by Mr. Fox; amendment acceded to by Mr. Pitt. Act passed for granting an annuity out of the Derwentwater estate to lord Newburgh.* [121]



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## C H A P. VII.

*Proceedings upon the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. His answer delivered at the bar of the house of lords; sent to the commons; replication of the commons. Managers appointed. Debate upon the rejection of Mr. Francis. Trial commences Feb. 13th. Counsel for the defendant. Assistant counsel to the managers. First and second days consumed in reading the articles and answers. Third day, Mr. Burke begins his opening of the charge, and concludes on the sixth. Proposal from the managers to hear each article of charge and the defence, singly. Objected to by the defendant's counsel, and decided in the negative by the house of lords. Seventh day, observations by Mr. Fox on the decision of the peers. He opens the Benares charge. Eighth day, Mr. Grey states and applies the evidence to be adduced. Four following days taken up in reading evidence, and examining witnesses. Debate upon matters of evidence. Thirteenth day, Mr. Anstruther sums up the evidence on the Benares charge. Fourteenth day, Mr. Adam opens the second charge, relative to the princesses of Oude. Fifteenth day, Mr. Pelham states the evidence. Sixteen following days, evidence heard and examined. Thirty-second, thirty-third, and thirty-fourth days, Mr. Sheridan sums up the evidence. Trial adjourned to the next session. Debates in the house of commons upon the expences incurred in consequence of the impeachment. Account of the proceeding upon the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Six charges exhibited against him by Sir Gilbert Elliott. Sir Elijah heard at the bar in his defence upon the first charge, relative to the putting Nundcomar to death. Evidence produced. Mr. Francis's vindication of himself against insinuations of Sir Elijah Impey. Debates on the first charge. Rejected. Consideration of the other charges deferred.*

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Some observations on the probable, as well as ostensible causes and motives, which induced Denmark to take part with Russia in the war against Sweden. Great attention paid by the King of Sweden, to remove all traces of the jealousy, which some acts at the commencement of his reign had excited on the side of Denmark; and to renew and cement the greatest friendship between both kingdoms. His unexpected visit at Copenhagen, near the close of the year 1787. Fails in his endeavours to render that court a convert to his political opinions, and a party in his designs. Farther applications of the King to Prince Charles of Hesse, and to the Prince Royal of Denmark, upon their arrival in Norway, prove equally inefficacious. Notice given by the court of Copenhagen to the foreign ministers (while the King of Sweden was conducting the campaign in Finland) of her determination to supply Russia with a considerable auxiliary force. Hasty return of the King from Finland. Critical and dangerous state of his affairs. Mutinous army in*

*Finland*

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*Finland* send a deputation to *Petersburgh*, after the King's departure, and without his consent, to conclude an armistice with the Empress. Sudden arrival of the King at *Stockholm*, prevents the measures pursued by the senate, for convening a diet, from taking effect. Enthusiasm of the citizens, upon the King's entrusting the defence of the capital, and the protection of the court, to their courage and loyalty. Memorial to the court of *Copenhagen*. Answer by Count *Bernstorff*. Fortunate event for the King, that the newly-allied Powers of *England*, *Prussia*, and *Holland*, were not disposed to suffer *Sweden* to be crushed by a combination of hostile power. King indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for resisting his new enemy. Proceeds to *Dalecarlia*, and obtains an aid of 3,000 volunteers from that brave people. Prince *Charles of Hesse* invades *Sweden*, on the side of *Norway*, at the head of a body of 12,000 auxiliaries. Takes *Stromstadt*, *Udevalla*, and other places. Surrounds a small body of Swedish forces under Colonel *Tranefield*, who, after a slight engagement, are forced to surrender prisoners of war. Advances towards *Gottenburgh*. Governor of that place summons a meeting of the inhabitants, at which it is agreed upon to surrender. King arrives unexpectedly, displaces the Governor, and brings the inhabitants to a determination to defend the city, at all risques, to the last extremity. That place still in great danger, and the King's situation very critical, when the timely and happy intervention of the mediating Powers prevents the dreaded effects. Mr. *Elliot*, the British minister at *Copenhagen*, passes over to *Sweden*, as delegate from the allied powers, and by his zeal and ability procures an armistice for eight days. Mr. *Elliot* is joined by the Baron de *Borcke*, minister from the King of *Prussia*. Second armistice passed for a month; and a third, after many difficulties, for six months. Danish army withdrawn into *Norway*.

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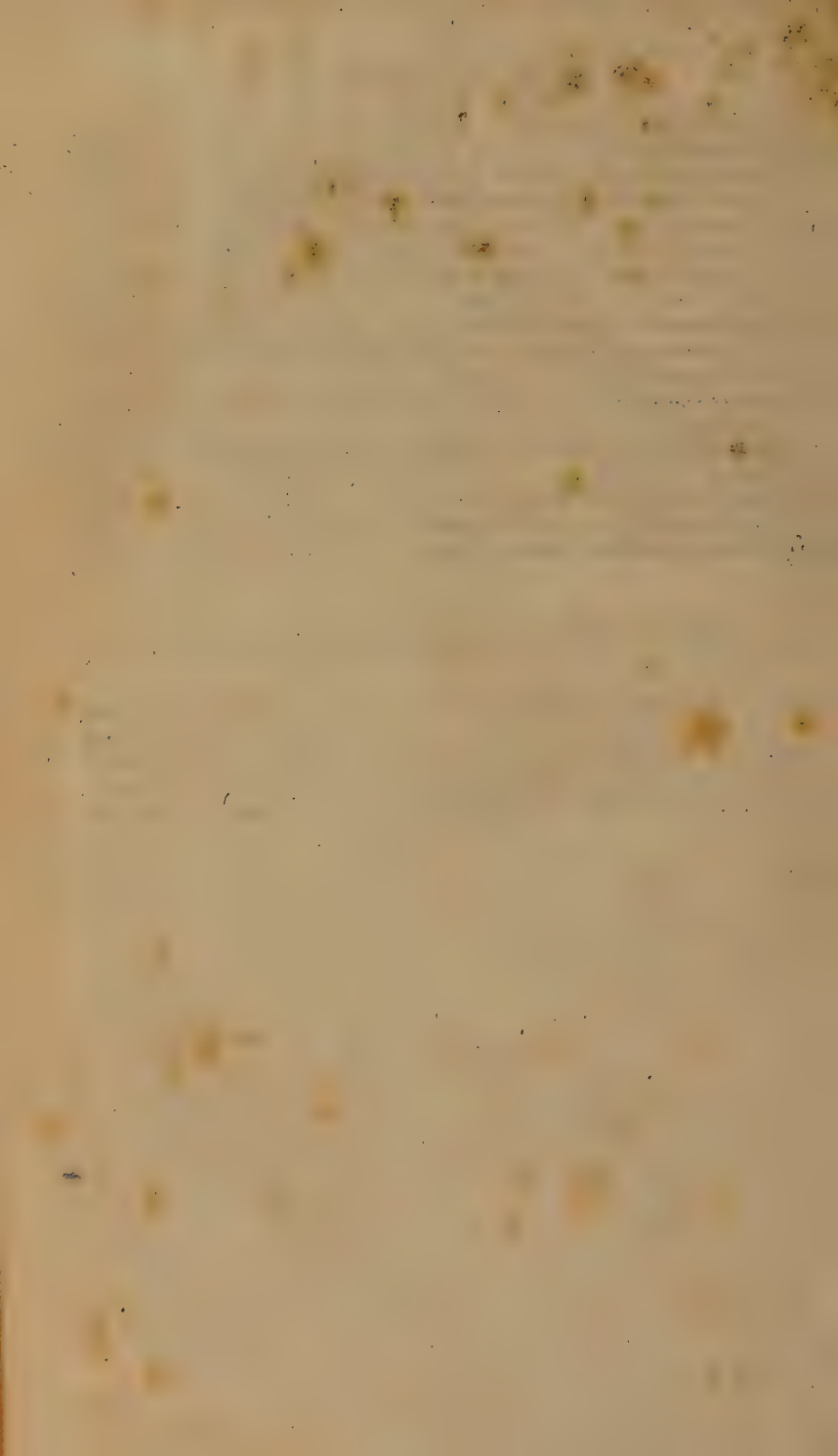
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